

1585.

THE
DESCRIPTION
OF SCOTLAND,

Written at the first by Hector Boe-
tius in Latine, and afterward tran-
slated into the Scottish speech by
John Bellenden Archdeacon of
Murrey, and now final-
lie into English by
R. H.

Wherevpon is inferred the
historie of Scotland, conteining
the beginning, increase, proceeding,
continuance, acts, and government of
the Scottish nation, from the originall
thereof unto the year 1571, gathe-
red and written in English by Ra-
phaell Hollinshead: and conti-
nued from 1571, to
1585, by o-
thers.

Cum priuilegio Regie
Majestatis.



To the Right vvorshipfull Maister
 Thomas Secford Esquire and Maister of the
 Requests, William Harison wisheth all knowledge
of God, with dailie increáse of his gifts at this
 present, and in the world to come
life everlasting.



HAuing by your singular curte-
 sie receiued great help in my description
 of the riuers & streames of Britaine, and
 by conference of my trauell with the
 platforms of those few shires of England
 which are by your infinite charges alre-
 die finished (as the rest shall be in time
 by Gods helpe, for the inestimable be-
 nefit of such as inhabit this Iland) not a little polished those rough
 courfes of diuers waters not exactly before time described by *Le-*
land our countrieman, or any ancient writer, I could not deuise a-
 ny thing more agreeable with mine abilitie and your good nature
 (which greatlie fauoureth any thing that is doone for a commo-
 ditie vnto many) than to shew some token of my thankfulnessse
 for these your manifold kindneses, by the dedication of my sim-
 ple translation of the description of Scotland at this time vnto
 your worship.

Indeed the trauell taken heerein is not great, bicause I tie not my
 translation vnto his letter, neither the treatise of it selfe such, as ta-
 keth vp any huge roome in the volume of this chronicle. But
 such as it is, and whatsoeuer it is, I yeeld it wholie vnto you, as a
 testimonie of my good will, which detesteth vtterlie to receiue a-
 ny benefit, though it be neuer so small, and not to be thankfull for
 it Certes my vocation is such, as calleth me to a farre other kind
 of studie, so that I exercise these things onlie for recreation sake, &
 to saie the truth, it is much vnfitting for him that professeth Diui-
 nitie, to applie his time any otherwise vnto contemplation of ciuill
 histories. And this is the cause wherfore I haue chosen rather, on-

A.ij.

lie

lie with the losse of three or foure daies to translate *Heſlor* out of the Scotiſh (a toong verie like vnto ours) than with more expenſe of time to deuife a new, or follow the Latine copie, which is far more large and copious. How excellentlie if you conſider the art, *Boetius* hath penned it, and the reſt of his hiftorie in Latine, the ſkilfull are not ignorant: but how profitable and compendiouslie *John Bellenden* archdeacon of Murrey his interpreter hath turned him from the Latine into the Scotiſh toong, there are verie few Engliſhmen that know, becauſe we want the books.

Wherefore ſith the learned read him in his owne ſtile, and his cuntrymen in their naturall language, why ſhould not we borrow his deſcription, and read the ſame in Engliſh likewiſe, ſith the knowledge therof may redound to the great benefit of ſo manie as read or heare the ſame? Accept therefore (right worſhipfull) this my ſimple offer, and although I aſſure my ſelfe, your naturall inclination to be ſuch, as that it will take nothing in ill part that is well meant toward you, how rudelie ſoeuer it be handled in the doing, yet I will not let to craue pardon for my preſumption, in that I dare be ſo bold as to offer ſuch a triſle to you, whom more weightie affaires doo daillie call from things of ſo ſmall importance.

Almightie God keepe your worſhip from time to time in
his feare, and bleſſe you and my good ladie your wife
with ſuch increaſe of his benefits, as may
moſt redound to his glorie,
& your own ad-
uantage.





The contents of the chapters contained
in this booke.

- 1 **O**f the bounds of Albion, with the fundrie commodities thereof, and of the great infirmities that fall vnto the people there for their intemperancie: and finallie of the religion vsed there in old time.
- 2 The description of the east, west, and middle borders of Scotland, with the most notable townes and foulds thereof.
- 3 The description of Gallowaie, Kile, Carricke, and Cunningham, with the notable townes, lakes, and riuers in the same.
- 4 The situation of Renfrew, Cliddeisdale, Lennox, Lowmund, Argile, Loughquaber, Lorne and Kentire, with all the notable things contained in the same.
- 5 Of Rosse, Stranauerne, and Murrey land, with such lakes and riuers as are to bee touched there.
- 6 Of Boene, Anze, Buquhane, Mar, Mernes, Fiffe & Angus, with the lakes, foulds, abbeis, townes, and other notable commodities there to be seene and found.
- 7 Of Louthian, Striuelin, Menteith, Calidon wood, Bowgewall, Gareoth, with the notable cities, castels and foulds thereof.
- 8 Of the great plentie of hardis, harts, and other wild beasts in Scotland, also of the strange nature of fundrie Scottish dogs, and of the nature of salmon.
- 9 Of fundrie kinds of muskles and cockles in Scotland, and pearles gotten in the same. Of vncouth and strange fish there to be seene, and of the nature of the herbe Citifus, commonlie called Hadder.
- 10 Of the Iles of Scotland, and such notable things as are to be found in them.
- 11 Of the nature of their Clarke geese, and diuerse maner of their procreation, and of the Ile of Thule.
- 12 The description of Orkeney, and Shetland, with other fundrie small Iles, and of the maners and conditions of the people dwelling in the same.
- 13 Of the maners of the Scots in these daies, and their comparison with the behaiour of the old and such as liued long since within this Iland.
- 14 The description of an ancient Pict, and such as dwelled beyond the wall of Hadrian.
- 15 Of bishoprikes, vniuersities, and counties in Scotland.



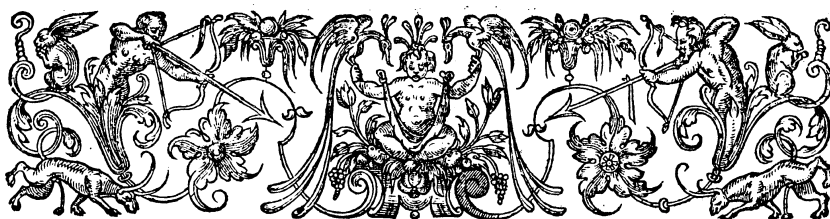


The authors out of whome this historie of
Scotland hath beene gathered.

Hector Boetius.
Iohannes Ferrarius Pedemontanus.
Iohannes Maior.
Iohannes Fourdon.
Rogerus Houeden.
Richardus Southwell.

Wilhelmus Paruus, siue Neoburgensis.
Albertus Crantz.
Aeneas Syluius.
Edward Hall.
Richard Grafton.
Iohn Stow: and others.





The description of Scotland, writ-

ten at the first by *Hector Boetius* in Latine, and after-

ward translated into the *Scotish speech* by

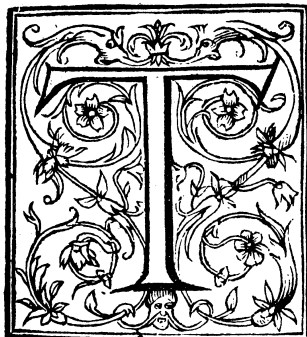
John Bellenden archdeacon of Mur-

rey, and now finally into

English by W. H.

The bounds of Albion with
the sundrie commodities thereof,
and of the great infirmities that
fall vnto the people there for
their intemperancie, and final-
lie of the religion vsed
there in old time.

The first Chapter.



The Ile of Al-
bion containeth
in the whole cir-
cumference, 2
90. miles, ha-
ving in length
700, & in bredth
300, as appea-
reth well by the
coast therof that
doth lie ouer a-
gainst France
where it is broad-
est, and from

thence it gathereth narrower and narrower, till it
come to the utter marches & last bounds of England
and Scotland. For betwixt the spule of Gallowate
that is on the west side ouer against the Irish seas,
and saint Ebbes head, that lieth vpon the Germane
ocean toward the east, are scarce 130 miles, and
thenceforth it groweth smaller and smaller till it
touch vpon the north seas, where it is not aboue thir-
tie miles, as I noted before in the description of
Britaine.

This Ile is replenished with people, horses, and
all other kind of cattell and corne in most abundant
maner, except it be in such places where as God of
his singular goodnesse hath otherwise indued the soile
with rich mines of gold, silver, tin, brasse, copper,
and quicksilver, which for the most part are so plenti-
full, that they suffice not onlie for the necessities of
the whole Island, but also of sundrie regions that are
situated round about it, if the inhabitants were skil-
full and painefull to deale withall accordingly. But
the abundance of all other things requisite for the
vse of man, that is found generallie in our Island,
maketh the people lesse carefull of these commodi-
ties, and more giuen to idlenesse. For beside the
great plentie of those things which heauen and earth

do minister, as grasse, corne and cattell, foules of
sundrie kinds, there is such store of fish in all parties
of our seas, especiallie towards the north, that the
same would suffice to feed and susteine all the people
of the Island, if there were none other commodities
to be found within the same.

For the inhabitants of all countries that border
vpon vs, as France, Flanders, Zealand, Holland,
and a great part of Germanie (especiallie those which
lie nere vnto the coast) do saile hither with great
numbers of vessels daile to fish vpon our coasts, and
buy such as we haue already caught, not onlie for
their owne vse, but also for the Lenton prouision of
such nations as lie vpon the Leman seas, where they
sell the same at their owne wils, with very speedie
utterance. Manie other rich and pretious commodi-
ties are to be gotten in the said Ile, whereof the a-
foresaid nations do make no small account, be-
side these common things. What shall I saie of our
woolles, which are in so high estimation in all lands,
because of their necessarie vses, and whereof a great
part is so fine and soft, that of it are made the costlie
scarlets, pliant gloues, and manie other grained
and delicate clothes, of which I thought good to make
this mention, because the report thereof is not yet
made common and generallie knowne to all men.

Dionysius Alex-
andrinus saith that the
wool of Brit-
taine is often
spun so fine
that it is in
manner com-
parable to
the spiders
draught.

Certes this I dare boldly affirme, that if the
kingdoms of Britaine had such grace giuen them
from aboue, as that they might once liue in vnitie,
or by any meanes be brought vnder the subiection of
one prince, they should per long feele such a sauiour in
this amitie, that they would not onlie liue frantike
of their owne, without any forren purchase of things,
but also resist all outward inuasion, with small tra-
uell and lesse damage. For as touching their per-
sons, and likewise their notable wits, apt both for
the attaining of learning and knowledge of hand-
crafts, they are inferiour to no other nation. There-
vnto we find them to be couragious and hardie, of-
fering themselves often vnto the uttermost perils
with great assurance, so that a man may pronounce
nothing to be ouerhard or past their power to per-
forme, if they would giue themselves to litle tempe-
ratelie, and follow their predecessors in moderation
of diet.

Therefore it is (as I thinke) that almightie God by
his prouident disposition of all things, hath ordeined
their grounds (otherwise plentifully indued with all
kinds of commodities) to be destitute and void of
wine; as foreseeing that the said liquor, which bring-
eth greatest benefit vnto other countries, would
grow in the end to be most pernicious & noisome
to them.

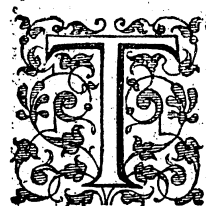
them. For they are giuen to such vnnaturall rauening and greedie desire of foireine things (whilest they contemne or not regard their owne) that they cannot reſtraine the immoderate vse of wine, and exceſſe vſed in drinkeing of the ſame: inſomuch that we may ſee diuerſe to be ouertaken and haunted, not onelie with ſundrie kinds of grieuous maladies common to vs and them of the maine, but alſo manie other which they haue not, neither be anie thing at all acquainted with, as experience daile ſea- cheth.

Some by long ſickneſſe and languishing graces doe grow into ſuch deſormitie onelie through exceſſiue feeding, and greedie abuſe of wine, that if you know them when they were children & yong men, you ſhall hardlie remember them when they be old and aged: and that which more is, in compariſon of other that liue more ſoberlie, you will hardlie thinke them to be borne in the Ile, but rather ſuppoſe them to be changelings and monſters, brought out of other countries to gaze and loke vpon: diuerſe of them through the continuall vſe of wine are moleſted in their age, with phreneticall pangſ and paſſions. Seldome alſo ſhall you ſee thoſe that are giuen much vnto wine and ſuch welſare, to become parents of manie children, ſith their naturall moiſture and generatiue force is much abated, if not altogether extinguiſhed by ſuch immoderate diet.

But to returne to our purpoſe, the Albanes or Britains, as Caſar in his commentaries, and Tacitus in his annales doe report, were very religious, after the maner of religion vſed in old time. For in thoſe daies the prieſts of Britaine named Druides, were expert both in naturall and morall philoſophie, and from thence came the firſt profeſſors of that ſect and opinion into France. The principall ſeat of their prieſts was in the Ile of Man, which was reputed at that ſeaſon for the welſpring and fountaine of all learning and knowledge, and after that their prieſts were once conuerted to the catholike faith, they perſeuered in the ſame with great conſtancie, without anie note of heretie.

The deſcription of the eaſt, weſt, and middle borders of Scotland, with the moſt notable townes and flouds thereof.

The ſecond Chapter.



The Picts had ſometimes the principall and moſt fertile part of that countrie, which now is vnder the regement of the Scots, and after they had continued in the ſame by the ſpace of 1171 yeares, ioined in maner in perpetuall league with the Scots, and mainteining mutually the warres ſometimes with the Britains and Romans, and ſometimes alſo ſarring with their Scottiſh neighbours, at the laſt they fell into extreme hatred one of another, till it was brought to paſſe by the diuine prouidence, that the ſaid Picts were ouerthrowne, their name extinguiſhed, and the kingdom vniited vnto that other of the Scots for euermore. After this time furthermore, although the Scots haue bene verie oftentimes aſſailed with moſt dangerous and terrible wars, and oftentimes inuaded by enimies from diuers regions, yet ſuch hath bene the fauour of almighty God towards them, that ſtill they flouriſh and reſeigne their eſtate inuolate.

Whatſoeuer we haue generally ſpoken of Albiſon, that is chieflie to be vnderſtood of the Scots, and farre greater, eſpecially among the Scots, as they call them in the high land, as people that haue leſſe to doe with foireine merchants, and therefore are leſſe delicate, and not ſo much corrupted with ſtrange bloud and alliance. Whereby in like ſort it cometh to paſſe, that they are more hard of conſtitution of bodie, to beare off the cold blaſts, to watch better, and abſteine long, wherunto alſo it appeareth that they are bold, nimble, and thereto more ſkilfull in the warres. As for their faith and promiſe, they hold it with greateſt conſtancie, as Hector hath ſet downe. Towards the Almaine ſea, I find, that Scotland hath the ſpers, ſometime the moſt plentiful region of the Picts for their march, which ſo long as the ſaid people did inhabit it, was called Deera, or Dere; but after their expulſion, it was named ſpers, that is to ſay, the marches or limits of their countrie. In proceſſe of time alſo the Scots extended their bounds euen vnto the Tweed, which now diuideth Northumberland from the ſpers.

On the other ſide of the countrie towards the weſt, ſundrie ſmall bournes deſcend from the Cheriot hilles, and other mounteines lieng thereabout into the Solue, diuiding Cumberland from Annandale, and ſo being brought into one chanell, they fall together into the Iriſh ocean, & ſtand for the bounds of Scotland vpon that halfe of the countrie. The Cheriot hilles are in like ſort taken for the middle marches of the region, which with certeine ſmall brookes that fall from the ſame, doe ſeparate both the countries, whereby their limits are knotone. The ſpers hath vnder marches at ſeueral places (whether it is extended) as ſometime the Germane ſea, ſometime eaſt Lothian, ſometime the Tweed, and ſometime the Forth, and among manie ſtrong holds and caſtels, that ſtand vpon the borders, is the towne and caſtell of Barwicke in ſine paſt called Ordolucium, as the inhabitants are called Ordoluci (if Hector be not deceiued.)

The Tweed ſpringeth out from a meane head, and after his augmentation with other ſmall waters that fall into the ſame, it deſcendeth with a large courſe into the Almaine ſea. Beyond the Tweed, to the middle march vnder the Cheriot hilles lieth Teuidale, that is to ſay, the vale of Tiſſe: beyond it is Elkedale, or the vale of Elke, of a riuer ſo called that runneth through the ſame: ouer againſt Elkedale on the other ſide lieth Cusdale, ſo named of the riuer Cus that paſſeth thereby, and falleth into the water of Annand: but Tiſſe and Elke doe run into the Tweed: furthermore, on the weſt ſide ouer againſt the Iriſh ſea, lieth Annandale, wherunto the Annand water giueth denomination, which maketh ſometimes without the bounds of Elkedale, where all the three riuers aforeſaid, that is to ſay, Cus, Annand and Sulway deſcend together in one bottome into the Iriſh ſea.

In Annandale is a loch or lake named Lochma- ben, ſiue miles in length and ſoure in bredth, not onlie verie full of fiſh, but of ſuch kind as few men are acquainted with. Beſide this lake alſo there is a caſtell of the ſame name, builded of purpoſe to reſſeine the furious dealing of theues which doe great hurt in thoſe quarters. For not onlie in Annandale, but in all the dales or vales afore rehearſed, are manie ſtrong theues, which often ſpoile the countrie, and exerciſe much cruell laughter vpon ſuch as inhabit there, in anie troublous time. Theſe robbers (becauſe the Engliſh doe border vpon their drie marches, and are their perpetuall enimies) doe often make forcible rodes into the Engliſh bounds, for their better maintenance and ſuſtentation, or elſe they

they pilfer praille from them, as men leading in the meane season a poze beggerlie and verie miserable life. In the time of peace also, they are so intyred to theft and rapine, that they cannot leane off to steale at home: and notwithstanding that they be often berie for handled therefore, yet they thinke it praiseworthy to smolest their aduersarie, as they call the truer sort, whereby it cometh to passe, that manie rich and fertile places of Scotland lie wast and void of culture for feare of their inuasion.

Not far from the Sulwaie (a water where great plentie of fish is to be had) are manie quicke-sands, and those so perillous that no man may well go ouer the same, but with great difficultie and danger of his life. This vale of Armand was sometime called Ordouicia, and the people thereof Ordouices, whose ancient barbarousnesse is reported to be such, that in times past they refused not to kill and eate such prisoners as had yielded themselves vnto them. The verie women in like sort would slea their husbands, if at ante time they fled from the field, and returned to their houses, onelie to giue occasion vnto other men to stand to their tacklings at euerie such aduenture. On the west borders and also toward the north lieth Fiddesdale, so called of the water of Fiddes. It beginneth with a verie narrow course, and increasing broder in the middle marches of Scotland, it finally restraineth it selfe againe, till it cometh at the sea, whither it runneth with a swift course, as the Scottish writers doe report. In this vale standeth a towne named Dunfries, wherein manie fine clothes speciallie whites are made, which are brought by and caried into England, France, Flanders, and Germanie, where they are had in great price and estimation.

The description of Gallowaie, Kile, Carricke, and Cuningham, with the notable townes, lakes and riuers in the same.

The third Chapter.

ABoue Fiddesdale is Gallowaie (named sometimes Brigantia) the people whereof were in times past called Brigantes: this region is di-
 50 uided by the water of Cree into two parts, whereof that which lieth nearest to Fiddesdale, is called nether Gallowaie, and the other that is aboue the Cree is named vpper Gallowaie. In nether Gallowaie is Kirkcubright, a rich towne and of a good trade in merchandize, and in vpper Gallowaie is Whitherne, in Latine *Candida Casa*, an abbeie dedicated to saint Spinian the bishop, and there lieth his carcase, which is honozed of the people with great
 60 superstition and errour. Aboue Whitherne is Wigton towne, and not far from thence is the great lake of Moriton, the one halfe whereof doth freeze by naturall congelation as other poles and plashes doe; but the other is neuer scene to beare anie yce at all, which vnto me doth seeme to be a great wonder. In Gallowaie moreouer are two other lakes, the Sallet and the Pentramen, of equall length and bredth with the Lochmirton; as for Gallowaie it selfe, it yeldeth out a great point, promontorie, or cape (which the Scots call a mule or nuke) into the Irish sea. The common sort name it the mules nuke, and by the rounding of it selfe, it maketh two great lakes, named Kean and Lois, except I be deceived,

one of these lakes or poles is 30, and the other 16, miles of length, and both full of oysters, herrings, congers, cockles, and other like kinds of fish.

Some are of the opinion that Brigantia was the same region of Britaine that is now called Wales, wherein the Britains inhabited manie yeates after their expulsion out of Britaine. But this opinion is false, sith the Romans write that Span the Island lieth ouer against Brigantium and midwaie betwene the same and Ireland: for albe it that the bzaies or bates are now woene wider & further distant ech from other by the washing and working of the sea, yet the same latitude & elevation of the pole that Ptolomie ascribed to the Brigants, agreeth well to the height of the pole ouer Gallowaie, which is verie far from Wales, sithens the Ile of Span lieth also 300 miles from thence, and in the sight of Gallowaie. In like sort by the testimonie of sundrie authors both Irish and Spanith (we affirme that out of Brigantium a
 20 citie in Spaine, now named Compostella) there came a new companie of people into Ireland called Spaniards, and out of Ireland another crew of the same nation with king Fergus into Albion, and in remembrance of the citie Brigance, wherein they inhabited whilest they were in Spaine, they called themselves Brigantes. To this opinion in like sort Cornelius Tacitus doth seeme to leane, who saith, that the Brigantes descended from the Spaniards, which in his time dwelled in the vttermost parts of
 30 Britaine, including vnder that name all the Ile of Albion. These regions afore rehearsed, that is to say, Armandale, Fiddesdale, and Gallowaie, beside fiske wools and stoe of cattell, doth also abound with all kinds of graine, wheate onelic excepted.

Aboue Gallowaie is Carrike, sometime a portion of the region of the Silures, of whose name it is not yet certeinlie knowne, whether it was deriued from the famous citie Carrike, whose ruines doe
 40 yet remaine, or not. Silurie is diuided into three parts, to wit, Carrike, Kile, and Cuningham. In the first, as I said, was Carrike the noble citie: and in this countrie are manie strong castles, both by naturall situation and policie of man: herein also are faire kine and oren, whose flesh is delicate and verie tender to be eaten, the fallow moreouer of their wombs is so moist and sappe that it neuer
 50 waxeth hard, but relenteth of the owne accord, and becommeth like vnto oile. Beyond Carrike is Kile, so called of Coile king of Britaine, sometime laine in the said region, and therein is a stone, not much aboue 12 miles from the towne of Air, full 30 foot high, and three elms of breadth, called the deafe stone, not without cause: for when a man is on the one side thereof, he shall not heare what is said or done on the other, though there be neuer so great noisse made, no not if a canon should be discharged of set purpose; which to me doth seeme vnpossible, neuertheless the
 60 further a man standeth from the same, the better shall he heare, whatsoever the noisse be. Next to Kile is Cuningham the third part of Silurie, whose inhabitants in time past were most noisome to the Romans. In Kile is a pole named Downe, from whence the riuier Downe doth runne through the middelt of that region into the Irish sea. In Cuningham likewise is a lake called Carnoth, equall in quantitie vnto the Downe, and no lesse famous for the abundance of fish that is daillie found therein; and not farre from the same is the towne called Largs, where Alexander the third king of Scotland of that name, sometime ouercame the Danes and Norwegians, whereby it grew to be famous, and of more reputation among vs.

Reade in the Latine Hector. 12 foot in hight 30 foot in length, and three elms thick.

The description of Scotland.

The situation of Renfrew, Clidestale, Lennox, Lowmund, Argile, Louchquhaber, Lorne, and Kentire, with all the notable things contained in the same.

The fourth Chapter.

The water of Clide divideth Lennox on the north side from the baronie of Renfrew, and it ariseth out of the same hill in Calidonwood, from whence the Annand falleth, and goeth with a long course into the Irish sea; some call this river Gluda, and Cluda: but Tacitus nameth it Clota. Not far also from the fountaines of Clide, ariseth the water of Forth, that runneth on the contrarie side into the Germane ocean. In like sort after the water of Clide hath run for a season toward the north, it gathereth somewhat inward, till it come to the mountaine of Granzeben, & from thence holdeth on with a swift course, till it fall (as I said) into the Irish seas. The countrie where it runneth is named Clidestale. Betwixt Clide and Lennox lieth the baronie of Renfrew, wherein are two poles named Dubinsouth and Leboth, of which the first is 12 miles in compasse, the other 20, and both verie rich and plentifull of fish. But in Lennox, that lieth next aboute Renfrew toward the ocean (called by Ptolomie Belgonia) is a great mere or lake that hight Lochmond, of 24 miles in length, and eight in breadth, and within this thin or pole are 30 Islands, well replenished with churches and dwelling houses.

And in the same also are three things worthie consideration, whereof the first is, that the pleasant and verie delicat fishes there bred doe want fins. The second is, that the water will often swell with huge waues though no wind be stirring, and that in such wise that the best mariners in the countrie dare not adventure to saile thereon. There is also a verie fruitfull and commodious Ile therein, verie necessarie for the pasturage of cattell, which lieth hither and thither as the wind bloweth. This lake is situat at the foot of the hill called Granzeben, which were sometime the marches or limits betwixt the Scots and Picts, and are extended from Lochlowmund to the mouth of Dee. Certes the Picts had no part of the countrie beyond the Granzeben, nor toward the Irish seas, for this region was inhabited by the Scots. Eight miles from Lochlowmond is the castell of Dumbritteine named sometime Alclud, and here the water of Leuen falleth into the Clide.

Beyond Lochlowmund is Argile, an hillie countrie and full of crags and mounteins, therein also are two lakes, Lochfine & Lochquho, that divide the region into three parts, that in the middelt being called Inapdale. In Lochfine is more plentie of hering than in anie part of the coast that compasseth the Island, but in Lochquho are such kinds of fish to be vsuallie had, as are commonlie bred in fresh waters. There are moreover in Argile two castels, Glenunquhart and Enconell, & in it are 12 Isles, whose chiefe commoditie resteth rather in pasturage for cattell, than abundance of graine. In Argile furthermore are manie rich mines full of mettall, but the people there haue no skill to find and trie out the same. The constant report also goeth there, how there is a stone

of such nature, that if it be hidden in straw for a certaine season, it will kindle of it selfe, and consume the straw to ashes. There are severall other lakes in Argile, whereof some are thirtie miles in length and breadth, and other lesse.

It was told me once by Doncan Campbell a noble knight, that out of Carloll, one of the poles of Argile, there came a terrible beast, in the yeare of Grace 1510, which was of the bignesse of a greibound, and footed like a gander, and issuing out of the water earlie in the morning about midsummer time, did verie easilie and without anie visible force or streining of himselfe ouerthrow huge oaks with his taile, & thereunto killed three men out-right that hunted him with three strokes of his said taile, the rest of them sauing themselves in trees thereabouts, whilste the foresaid monster returned to the water. Those that are giuen to the obseruations of rare and vncouth sights, beleue that this beast is neuer seene but against some great trouble & mischief to come vpon the realme of Scotland. For it hath bene described also before that time, although not verie often. Lorne abutteth vpon Argile, which was once a part of Argile, and reacheth out into the Irish sea, in manner of a cape or tong, full firtie miles. This point also was called Nouantia, but now it is named Kintire (that is to saie) the head of Lorne, whose vttermoost part is not full 16 miles from Ireland. Some authors affirme, that both Argile and Cantire, were called Nouantia in old time, sith Ptolomie maketh no mention of Argile in his cosmographie. In this Lorne is great abundance of barleie, which the Scots call beir. Beyond Lorne is Lochquhaber, heretofore a portion of Murrey land, verie rich in mines of iron and lead, and no lesse benefittfull to the countrie in all kinds of cattell.

There are likewise manie woods, manie lakes, and manie riuers, but two of them are most notable for the plentie of samons, and other delicate fish, as well of the salt as fresh water, which be there taken, and almost without anie trauell; neither is there anie where else in all the Ile such store. The one of these is named Lochtie, & the other Spanze, but vpon what occasion these names were giuen to them I find as yet no certaintie. The Lochtie riseth not above eight miles from Lochness, and falleth beneath the same into the Germane ocean, and beside it, there is a rockie crag, running out at length into the sea, named Hardnomoth. In the mouth of Lochtie likewise was sometime a rich towne name Inuerlochtie, whither the merchants of France & Spaine did make their daillie resort, till at the last it was so defaced by the warres of the Danes, that it neuer was able since the said time to recouer hir pastinate renowne. But whether the negligence of the due repaire of this towne, proceedeth of the sloth of our people, or hatred that some enuious persons doe beare to cities and walled townes in our countrie, as yet it is vncertaine. Beyond Lochtie is the castell of Dunstafage, in time past named Euonium: beyond Dunstafage also is the mouth of the water of Spanze, where it falleth (as I heare) into the Germane ocean.

The discourse of Ros, Stranauerne, & Murrey land, with the lakes, riuers, and notable townes in them.

The fift Chapter.

Beyond the water of Spanze lieth Ros, sometime called Lugia, a verie narrow region (God it wote) but running out in great length through the middelt of

of the Island, being environed on both sides with the ocean. That portion thereof which lieth nearest to the Irish seas, is verie difficult for such as trauele by the countrie, by reason of the high mounteins, which maketh the countrie moze apt for wild beastes than mankind to inhabit: neuer thelesse waing moze fertill on that part which stretcheth toward the German sea, it prebely it selfe to culture, and rendyeth some graine. In pasture also it is not altogether vnprofitable, fith there is good grasse and verie batable for their heards: for the ballies there, being watered with sundrie pleasant streames, do yeld a sweet and verie sauorie grasse, wherewith all sorts of cattell are verie much delighted. In Kos are sundrie lakes, but Lochbryn is the greatest. There are also manie fresh riuers, fraught with excellent fish, and finally a notable firth or safe haven called Cromart, whereto diuers in time of necessitie do resort, to avoid the danger of shipwracke, that otherwise would assuredly annoy them. The Scottish men call it Heill of Shipmen. In this region mozeouer is the towne called Thane, where the bones of Dutho an holy man (as they say) do rest, & are had in greater estimation among the superstitious sort (as sometime ouer the whole Island) than the holie gospell of God and merits of his sonne, whereby he are onelie saued. Two ancient houses are likewise maintained in one vale of the Kos, whose formes resemble so manie belles, but to what end as yet I do not find. Next vnto the said Kos lieth the Stranauerne, as the uttermost region of Scotland, the coasts wherof abutting for a while vpon the Deucalidon sea, do afterward turne againe toward the Almain seas, hauing partly the Deucalidon coast, and partly Cathnesse vpon the north side, Southerland on the east, Kossia on the south, and Deucalidon againe vpon the west. There are thre great crags or points lieng on the uttermost side of Stranauerne, that is to saie, the Hoie, Holmbryn (the greatest of the thre) and Dolu nible, which because they shot farre off into the sea, do make two great firths and lakes, each of them being seuerallie distinguished from other.

Next vnto Cathnesse lieth Southerland, a profitable region both for graine and all kinds of poultrion, but chieflie for the nourishment of bestiall, whereto it chieflie inclineth, as do the other two last before rehearsed. On the further side also of this lieth Spurrey land, sometime called Vararis, although the marches thereof are changed from that they were of old. For whereas in time past all the region lieng betwene Spate and Pesse to the Irish sea, was named Spurrey; now it is knowne to be onlie beyond the water of Spate & Killocke, & reacheth on vntill it come to the Irish sea. Betwixt Kos and Spurrey land, is a great baie, and likewise a descent of sundrie waters: for thereinto fall the Pesse, Barden, Findoyme, Los and Spate, whereof this latter runneth with so ferce & violent a streame, that the force of the sea at the flood struing to enter into the same, is put back, & may not resist the inuincible fall, and beates backe the water that descendeth into the ocean. The Pesse issueth out of a lake of the same name (which is not passing 8 miles from the said plash, from whence the Lochtie runneth) & thence goeth into the Irish seas: and this propertie it hath, that neither the streame, neither the lake it selfe will yeld to be frozen in the verie deepe of winter. Such also is the force thereof, that if anie yce or anie frozen substance be cast thereinto, it will by and by relent and dissolue againe to water, whereby it becommeth verie profitable for such cattell as are benumbed with cold. In the mouth of the Pesse, standeth a towne called Inuernesse, where sometime was great abundance of herring taken, but now they be

gone by the secret working of God. The common people put the fault in the rich & men of higher calling, who enuiling the commoditie of the poze inhabitants, will often seme to bereue them of this emolument, by force and slaughter. Wherupon (as they say) it commeth to passe, that the increase of stones becometh, and verie small stoze is taken there by manie yeares after such iniurie offered.

But to proceed: beside Lochnesse, which is 24 miles of length, and foure in breadth, by reason of the great woods there standing, is great stoze of sauage beastes, as harts, wild horses, roes, and such like. There are likewise martins, beuers, foxes & wezels, whose skins and cates are sold vnto strangers at huge and excellent prices. In Spurrey land also is not alonely great plentie of wheat, barlie, otes, and such like graine, beside nuts and apples, but likewise of all kinds of fish, and especiallie of samon. The people thereof in like sort do vse a strange manner of fishing: for they make a long wele of twicker, narrow necked, and wide mouthed, with such cunning, that when the tide commeth, the fish shot themselves into the same, and forthwith are so inclosed, that whilst the tide lasteth he cannot get out, nor after the water is gone escape the hands of the fishers. In this region mozeouer is a lake named Spiney, wherein is exceeding plentie of swans.

The cause of their increase in this place is ascribed to a certeine herbe, which groweth there in great abundance, and whose seed is verie pleasant vnto the said foule in the eating, wherefore they call it Swangirs: and herevnto such is the nature of the same, that where it is once sowne or planted, it will neuer be destroyed, as may be proued by experience. For albeit that this lake be fure miles in length, and was sometime within the remembrance of man verie well stozed with samon and other fish, yet after that this herbe began to multiply vpon the same, it became so shallow, that one may now wade through the greatest part thereof, by means wherof all the great fishes there be utterly consumed. In this position furthermore, is the church of Pette, where the bones of little John remaine in great estimation. Certes his carcasle hath bene 14 fot long, his members well proportioned according to his stature, and not fullie six yeres before this booke was written (by Boetius) he saw his hand bone, which seemed so great as the whole thigh of a man, and he did thrust his arme into the hollownesse thereof, whereby it appeareth what mightie people grew vp in our region before they were overcome with gluttonie and excess. In this quarter finally is the towne called Elgin, not farre from the mouth of Spate, and therein is a cathedrall church furnished with canons: there are thereto sundrie rich and verie wealthie abbeies in Spurrey, as Killos of the order of the Cisteriaur, and Bliscardie of the Cunitaks.

This was no Scot but an Englishman, fled into Ireland, and then into Scotland

Of Boone, Anze, Buchquhane, Mar, Mernis, Fiffe, and Angus, with the lakes, floods, abbies, townes, and other notable things contained in the same.

The sixt Chapter.

Next vnto the Spurrey lieth Boone, and Anze, two fertill and plentifull regions, which extend their bounds euen vnto the seas. They are both verie notable indowed with batable pastures, and by reason thereof are verie full of

of cattell, they yeld mozeouer excellent coyne, and by meanes of their large woods and forrests not without great store of wild beasts of sundrie kinds and natures. There also vnto the Douerne water, which is a riuer maruellouslie stozed with fish, standeth a towne named Bamse, and vnder these two regions afore said lieth Buchgahane, a verie batable soile for all kinds of cattell, but especiallie of sheepe, whose wooll excēdeth that of the like beast of all other countries thereabouts for whitenesse and fineness. The riuers that are in this countrie do in like maner abound with samons, so that there is no one of them void of this commoditie, except the Kattra onellie, wherein it is not heard that anie hath bene taken: here in also standeth the castell of Slanis, in which the high constable of Scotland dwelleth, and nere vnto the same is a marvellous caue: for the water that droppeth into the same, in a short processe of time becommeth an hard white stone, and except they had bene oft remoued heretofore, the caue it selfe had bene filled vp with the same manie yeeres agoe.

This region is void of rats, and such is the nature thereof, that if anie be brought thither from other places, they are found to die immediatlie: finally it is most marvellous of all, that as otes do grow there in manie places of themselves without culture and tillage; so if a man come thither of set purpose to mow downe the same, he shall find nothing els but emptie huls and straw: but if he chance vpon the sudden and without premeditation of the thing to cut downe anie (a matter impossible in my mind) he shall find them so good and full as anie are elsewhere, to be gathered and led home. Certes it appeareth hereby, that this is nothing else but an illusion, wherewith the wicked faends do captivate and blind the senses of the superstitious sort; for that it should be so by nature, it is a thing altogether impossible. Next vnto this lieth the great region of Mar, which is verie plentiful of cattell, and extendeth 60 miles in length, from the Almaine seas to Wadzenoch. In this is the citie of Aberdeen, wherein is a bishops see, and noble vniuersitie, sometime founded by William Elphinston bishop there. This citie lieth betwixt two rich riuers, the Done and the De, wherein is the greatest store of samons that is to be found againe within the compasse of Albion, and likewise the greatest and longest if you respect their quantitie.

Next vnto Mar, we haue Pernis toward the sea, a verie fat soile, full of pasture, and abundantlie replenished with euerie sort of cattell. In this portion standeth Dunnother the marshall of Scotlands house, and likewise the towne of Forndon, in which the bones of Palladius do rest, who is taken generally for the apostle of our nation. The water of Eske is bound vnto this region, which is otherwise called Fortheske, a verie dangerous channell, and wherein manie haue perished for default of a brydge, as they haue attempted to passe and repasse ouer the same. Angus bordereth vpon the Pernis, it was sometime part of Horeffia, and now watered with three notable riuers, as the Fortheske already mentioned, and maruellouslie replenished with samons, likewise the Southeske; and finally the Taie, the noblest water in all Scotland, and remembered by the Romane Writers vnder the name of Tan.

In Angus also is an high mountaine or promontorie, called the Red braes, which lieth out far off into the Almaine seas. The Taie also riseth farre beyond the mounteins of Granzen out of loch Taie, which is a pole of 24 miles of length, and 10 of breadth, wherein are not onelie diuers Ilands, with castels in them, but the water of the lake it selfe (being most

fine and subtil) is notablie replenished with great store of fish, and therefore verie commodious for such as dwell about it. It falleth into the Almaine sea beside Dunide, a towne called in old time Aletum, wherein I was borne, and in which the people trauell verie painfullie about weaving and making of cloth. There are in Angus also manie other cities and rich abbeies, as Mountros, Brechin, and Fozsaire, beside so manie castels as lieth not in me to number. This likewise is not to be passed ouer with silence, that whereas Fozsaire was in times past a notable citie, strengthened with two roiall castels, as the ruines do yet declare, now it is brought vnto little more than a countrie village, replenished with simple cotages. Manie lakes & poles are also in Angus, and those well fraught with fish. There is also in this countrie one place called the vale of Eske, whose sheepe haue such white, fine, and excellent wooll, as the like vnto it is hardlie to be found againe within the whole Iland.

After we be ouer the Taie, we come vnto Fife, sometime a part of Dttoline. In this region groweth all maner of graine so plentifulle as elsewhere in anie part of Albion; and where no coyne is, there is no lesse foison of cattell. There are blacke stones also digged out of the ground, which are verie good for firing, and such is their intollerable heat, when they are kindled, that they resoluē and melt iron, and therefore are verie profitable for smiths, and such artificers as deale with other mettals; neither are they found anie where else (that I do know of) but betwene the Taie and the Tine within the whole Iland. Salt is likewise made within this region in great quantitie of sea water, which they boile according to their maner. There are furthermore sundrie cities in the same, of which S. Andzeles is the chiefe, wherein is both the see of an archbishop and a famous vniuersitie. There are mozeouer sundrie lakes, as loch Torre and loch Leuin, and in this later are diuerse Isles, and in one of them also the church of S. Phillane, a Scotish saint, of no small name and reputation.

Fife is diuided of Lothian by the riuer of Forth that runneth a large & broad channell into the ocean seas. Certes it is a water verie plentifulle indued with rockles, oysters, muskels, scales, pellocks, merreswine, whales, and great foison of white fish: and among manie other Isles that are to be found in this Forth, that of Maie is of greatest fame, because Adrian and his fellows were killed in the same. In the midst of this Ile springeth by a founteine of fresh and cleare water, from an high rocke, which is not a little to be maruelled at, considering the quantitie and situation of the Ile. Beside this also is a wonderfull crag, rising within the sea, where vnto is so strit and narrow a passage, that a man shall hardlie come vnto it by a fisher bote, and therefore but at one place. This rocke (called the Bassel-castell) is inuincible, and therein are manie causes verie profitable for defense, made heretofore by great labor and industrie of men.

Certes, there is nothing in this rocke that is not full of admiration and wonder: therein also is great store of soland geese (not vnlike to those which Plinie calleth water eagles, or (as we saie) sea herons) and no where else but in Ailsaie and this rocke. At their first coming, which is in the spring of the yeare, they gather such great plentie of sticks and boughs together for the building of their nests, that the same do satiffie the keeper of the castell, for the perelie maintenance of his seiwel, without anie other provision. These fowles do feed their yong with the most delicat fish that they can come by. For though they haue already preyed vpon anie one, and haue

it fast

it fall in their beake or talons, yet if they happen as they lie toward the land to espie a better, they let the first fall againe into the sea, and pursue the later with great and eager swiftnesse, untill they take hold thereof.

Sometimes their preie is taken from them by the keepers of the castell, as also their sticks from time to time for the aforesaid vse; but they making small or rather no resistance, doe turne againe forthwith, for more wood or fish (as their losse requirerh) not ceasing till they haue builded their nests with the one, and nourished vp their yong with the other, so that what by the timber of their nests, the beguiling them of their preie, and stealing awate of their yong, they bring yercleie no small commoditie vnto the owner of the castell. Within the bowels of these geese there is a kind of grease to be had of singular force in medicine, and cleaing likewise the skin from their bodie with the fat, they make an oile verie profitable for the gout and manie other diseases in the hanches and groines of mankind. In this crag more, there groweth an hearbe verie pleasant and delicious for salads, but if it be taken vp and planted elsewhere, it either groweth not at all, or bitterlie giueth ouer the vertues wherewith it was earth indued.

There was sometime a stone found here in this rocke much like to a water sponge or pumice, hollow on the one side, and of such a nature, that if ante salt water had bene powred thereinto, and suffered to run through, it would forthwith lose the naturall saltnesse, and become fresh and verie pleasant vnto the mouth and tast. We heare in these daies that this stone is to be scene in Fast castell, whither it was brought after it had passed manie hands for the triall of this matter. In this firch also is the Ile Atmon, wherein is an abbete. There are likewise diuers other Islands, and those are verie full of conies; and in the said firch are sundrie fishes oftentimes scene of monstrous shape, with cowles hanging ouer their heads like vnto monks, and in the rest resembling the bodie of man. They shew themselves likewise about the water to the nauill, howbeit they neuer appeare but against some great pestilence of men, or murten of cattell; wherefore their onelie sight doth breed great terro: vnto the Scottish nation, who are verie great obseruers of vncomly signes & tokens.

The description of Louthian, Striueling, Menteth, Calidon wood, Bougewall, Gareoth, with the notable cities, castels, and founts thereof.

The seuenth Chapter.



In the south of the Forth lieth Louthian, so called of Lothe or Loth, one of the kings of the Picts, it was sometime named Pictland; but now it is parcell of the Scottish kingdome, & therefore to for bountie of soile is not inferiour to anie region of Scotland. In Louthian are manie abbeies, castels and towne, as Hadinton, Dunbar, Northberwicke and Leith: but Edinburgh passeth them all, as well in policie of reglement as in forme of building and wisdome, and riches of the inhabitants: therein also is the castell of Waddens, remembred by the most renowned authors, & also the kings chiefe palace, the which tri-

pleth the renoume of the foresaid citie. Not farre from thence moreouer is a certeine oile spring, which riseth out of the ground in such abundance, that the more is caried from thence, the more is re- stored: and the people are perswaded hereof, that it is verie medicinable against all cankers and skalls.

Not farre from the mouth of Forth is the castell of Dunbar, which by naturall situation and industrie of man, is now become one of the chiefe holds in Albion. It was sometimes the principall house appertaining to the earles of March: and there hard by is a towne of the same name, wherein is a rich abbey or colledge of canons founded by those earles. Next vnto Louthian lieth Spers, whereof I haue spoken already, but we will now go by higher way to the land. Next vnto Spers therefore lieth Tweidale, and about it is Tweedale: next vnto Tweedale is Druisdale; Walscopdale, Douglassdale, and Cliddisdale, and all these are such names as the riuers haue that run along their bottoms. The principall towne of Cliddisdale is Glasco the archbishops see, wherein is a notable church erected in the honor of saint Mongow, and builded with great magnificence. In Glasco also is a noble vniuersitie, where the liberall arts and sciences are verie plentifully taught.

In this region moreouer is a verie rich mine of gold, and another of azure, the commoditie of which later is reaped with small trauell. There are sometimes found diuers pretious stones also, as rubies and diamonds. Certes this mine was disclosed in the time of James the fourth, who would no doubt haue brought it to full perfection, if he had longer liued, whereas now little profit redoundeth thereby to the commonwealth, because it is either vicerlie neglected, or not very much regarded. North of Glasco lieth Spenteith, and Striueling shire, bordering vpon Argile and Lennor. In Striueling shire is the towne of Striueling, and about it is the castell of Striueling, which was sometime called the dolorous mountaine. At this towne also began the great Calidon wood, which ran through Spenteith and Stratherne, to Atholl and Lochquhaber, as Ptolome writeth in his first table.

In this wood were sometime white bulls with shaght beares and curled manes like fierce lions, otherwise they were like vnto the tame, neuertheless so wild and sauage, that they would neuer be made familiar, nor fast of any hearbe or grasse that mans hand had once touched, after manie daies. Being taken also by the industrie of man (which was very hard to doe) they would refuse all sustenance, & starue themselves to death. Asone as any did inuade them, they would rush vpon him with great violence, and beare him to the earth; as for dogs, nets, or any kind of weapon they feared not, neither cared for any manner of engine.

It is said that Robert Bruce after his coronation did hunt one of these bulls in the foresaid wood, being accompanied but with a small traine, in which volage he escaped narrowlie with his life. For after the beast felt himselfe fore wounded by the hunters, he rushed vpon the king, who hauing now no weapon left in his hand wherewith to defend himselfe, he had suerlie perished if rescue had not come: howbeit in this distresse one came running vnto him, who ouerthrew the bull by plaine force, and held him down till the hunters came that killed him outright. For this valiant act also the king indued the aforesaid partie with great possessions, and his lineage is to this daie called of the Turnebulls, because he ouerturned the beast, and saued the kings life, by such great prowesse and manhod. Certes the flesh of these beasts were reputed in old time as a most delicate

licate food, and onlie meate for the nobilitie, notwithstanding that it be verie full of sinetous and gristles, whereat some delicat feeders doe often take offense. In times past also they were bred in many places of the Calidon, but now they be all consumed by the gluttonie of the inhabitants, so that none of them are left, but onlie in Comerland.

On the east side of Henteith lieth Stratherne, & bordereth also upon Fife. Through the ballies likewise of this region runneth the water of Crn, that falleth into Tay. This is moreover worthy to be noted, that not foure miles from the confluence of Crn and Tay, there is a stone of small quantitie, and yet of great wonder, for in what place soeuer it be laid, it will not be remoued from thence by manuell practice, art, or engine, & yet one man may so moue it as an hundred. On the other side of Tay beyond Angus and Colway lieth Stermond, a region plentifullie indued both with grasse and coyne. Not farre from Stermond is Athole, wherein are many noble ballies and riuers full of fish, as pikes, lamperns, &c. The soile there also is so bountifull, that it yeldeth coine in maner without any tillage. There is likewise therein a towne called Lud, whose felde are so plentiful, that (if they be well tilled and dressed) they will yeld great store of barlie without any sowing of seed. Howbeit, as this is in that part of the region often verified, so in other there is a contrarious disposition to be found in the earth, which turneth wheat some into god and perfect rie, the like whereof I heare to be not far from Luke, & in the countries thereabouts.

West of Buchquhane and Boche lieth Bostgerwell and Garroth, very plentiful soiles both for grasse and coine. In Garroth also is an hill called Doundore, that is to saie, the golden mountaine: for the shepe that feed thereon are yellow, and their teeth of the same hew, resembling burnished gold. Their flesh moreover is red as it were tinged with saffron, and so is their wooll much after the same manner. There is furthermore in the same region, an heape of stones lieng together in maner of a croton which yeld a sound when one of them is stricken as if it were a bell. Some are of the opinion, that one idoll temple or other stood heretofore in that place, while the Scottish nation was addicted to the worshipping of diuels. Many other regions are in Scotland, as Bzabalbane, Strabzaun, and Badernoth, with diuers small territories and fouds, howbeit they are not so notable as those which we haue already touched, and therefore I thinke it but follie to deale any further with them.

Of the great plentie of hares, red deer,
and other wilde beasts in Scotland,
of the strange properties of sundrie
Scottish dogs, and of
the nature of
samon.

The eight Chapter.

Having made this speciall description of the realme of Scotland, now will I touch such things as concerne the same in generall. First of all therefore in the fields and wild places of the countrie there is great plentie of hares, red deer, fallow deer, roes, wild horses, wolues and foxes. These horses are not gotten but by great sight and pollicie: for in the winter season the inhabitants

turne certaine tame horses & mares among them, wherewith they grow in the end to be so familiar, that afterward they go with them to and fro, and finally home into their masters yards, where they be taken and some broken to their hands. The wolues are most fierce and noisome to the hearths and flocks in all parts of Scotland, saving in one parcell of Angus, called Glennoys dale, where these beasts doe no manner of hurt vnto the domesticall cattell, but preie onlie vpon the wild.

10 Foxes doe much mischefe generally in all strads, but cheslie in the mounteines, where they be verie hardlie hunted, howbeit art hath deuised a meane to prevent their malice, and to preserve their pultrie. Certes there is almost no house that doth not haue certaine dales chertish by a pong for, which the Scots doe call a Lodde, and then killing the same, they mince the flesh thereof amongst such meat, as they giue vnto their foules and other little bestials, and by this meanes so many foules and cattell as eate hereof are preserved from danger of the fox, almost by 20 two moneths after, so that they may wander whither they will, for the foxes as it were winding or smelling the flesh of their fellows yet in their crops will in no wise meddle with them, but eschew, and know such a one, although it were among an hundred of other.

In Scotland also are dogs of maruelous condition; for beside the common nature and vniuersall properties of dogs of all other countries, there are three 30 sorts with vs, which are not scene else where in anie quarter of the world. The first is an hound of great swiftnesse, hardinesse, and strength, fierce and cruel vpon all wilde beasts, and eger against thence that offer their masters any violence. The second is a racy or hound verie exquisite in following the foot, (which we call dyatwing) whether it be of man or beast, yea he will pursue any manner of foule, and find out whatsoeuer fish is cast vp, or lurketh among 40 the rocks, by that excellent sense of smelling wherewith he is indued. The third sort is no greater than that of raches, in colour for the most part red, with blacke spots, or else blacke and full of red marks. These are so skilfull that they will pursue a hare, or these stolen goods in most precise maner, and finding the trespasser, with great assurance they will make a raile vpon him. If it be so that he haue taken the water for his safegard, he shrinketh not to follow him, and entring and issuing at the same places 50 where the partie went in and out, he neuer ceaseth to range till he haue nosed his footing, & he come to the place wherein the hare is shodded. The dogs of this kind are called sleuthhounds. Certes this report would seeme more incredible, except it were daily had in experience vpon the borders of England and Scotland, where pillage is god purchase in differentlie on both sides. There is a law also among the borderers in time of peace, that whoso denieth entrance or lute of a sleuthhound in pursuit made 60 after fellows and stolen goods, shall be holden as accessarie vnto the theft, or taken for the selfe these.

Of foules, such (I meane) as liue by preie, there are sundrie sorts in Scotland, as eagles, falcons, goshawkes, sparrowhawkes, marlions, and such like: but of water foules there is so great store, that the report thereof may seeme to exceed all credit. There are other kinds of birds also in this countrie, the like of which is no where else to be scene, as the capercaillie or wild horse greater in bodie than the rauen, and liuing onelie by the rinds and barks of the pine trees. We haue in like maner many more cocks and hens, the which abstaining from coine, doe feed vpon nought else, but the leaues of Cytisus, which the Scots doe commonlie call Padder. These

These two are verie delicate in eating. The third sort is reddish blacke of colour, in quantitie comparable to the pheasant, and no lesse delicious in taste and sauor: at the table, our countrie men call them wild cocks, and their chiefe sustenance is by wheat.

Beside these, we haue also another foule in these more strange and vncouth than all these afore mentioned, called a guslard, fullie so great as a swan, but in colour of feathers and tast of flesh, little differing from a partridge, howbeit these birds are not verie common, neither to be sene in all places, such also is their qualitie, that if they perceiue their eggs to haue bene touched in their absence by mans hand (which lie commonlie on the bare earth) they forsake those nests, and laie in other places. All other our foules are common to vs and other nations. Samon is more plentiful in Scotland than in anie other region of the world, and bicause the nature of this fish is strange, I will set downe so much as I doe know hereof at this present time as followeth.

The samon in harvest time commeth vp into the small riuers, where the water is most shallow, and there the male and female rubbing their wombe one against another, they shed their spawne, which forthwith they couer with sand and grauell and so depart away. From henceforth they are gant and slender, and in appearance so leane that they appeare nought else but skin and bone, and therefore woodhille said to be growne out of use and season. It is said also that if they touch anie of their full fellows, during the time of this their leanness, the same side which they touched will likewise become leane, whereby it commeth to passe, that a samon is oft sene to be fat on the one side of the chine, and leane on the other. But to proceed, the afore said spawne and milt being hidden in the sand (as you haue heard) in the next spring dooth yeld great number of little frye, but so nely and tender for a long time, that till they come to be so great as a mans finger (if you catch anie of them) you shall perceiue them to melt, and their substance to dissolue and fade euen as it were gellie, or as yfe laid forth against the sun. From henceforth they go to the sea, where within the space of 20 daies they grow to a maruellous greatnesse, and then returning againe toward the place of their generation, they shew a notable spectacle not vnto this to be considered.

Certes in Scotland there are manie lumes or pools, which being in some places among the rocks verie shallow aboue, are yet deepe beneath, with the fall of the water, and thereto the samon not able to pearse through the chanel, either for swiftnesse of the course, or depth of the descent of such water as cometh against him, he goeth so nere vnto the side of the rocke or dam, if I may so call it, as he may, and there aduentureth to leape ouer and vp into the lin, if he leape well at the first he obtaieth his desire, if not, he assaileth the second or third time, till he returne now vnto his countrie: a great fish able to swim against the streame, that before was a little hob, and maugre his resistance, caried with the violent course of the water into the maine ocean. Such as assay often to leape, and cannot get ouer, doe bryse themselves and become inealled: others that happen to fall vpon drie land, a thing often sene, are taken by the people (that watch their times) in caldrons of hot water, which they set vpon the shallowe drie plots with fire vnder them, in hope to catch the fattest, & such as by reason of their weight do oftneest leape hopt. Certes the tast of these is reputed to be most delicate, and therefore their price is commonlie greater than of the rest. It is inhibited in Scotland to take any samon from the 8 of September, untill the 15 of Nouember. Finally there is no man that

knoweth reabilite whereon this fish liueth, for neuer was anie thing yet found in their bellies, other than a thicke slimie humoz.

Of the fundrie kinds of muskles and cockles in Scotland, and of pearles gotten in the same: of the vncouth and strange fish there to be seene, and of the nature of the herbe Citilus, commonly called Hadder.

The ninth Chapter.

BEfore it resteth that I shew the nature of muskles and cockles, whereof we haue manie and fundrie kinds among vs: of these also some are small, and yet if they be eaten fresh, are not without a naturall delicacie in tast. Others are greater and not vnlke in forme and quantitie to those that haue the purple: and albeit that they are vtterlie void therof, yet is their meat and substance right pleasant in the eating. There are of another sort which are longer and greater than either of these, called Horse muskles, to be had in Doe and Done, and in these are the pearles ingendered. Certes they loue to be resident in the deepest and clearest waters that are void of mud and filth, and such is their estimation among the deintiest kinds of food, that they were not vnto this called of old time, widowes luffes. Their shelles also is as it were wrought euen from the verie tops, and thereto full of spots, wherein (as in yeld of gaine) they farre exceed all other. These earlie in the morning, in the gentle, cleere, and calme aire, lift vp their vpper shelles and mouthes a little aboue the water, and there receiue of the fine and pleasant breath or dew of heauen, & after wards according to the measure and quantitie of this vitall force receiued, they first conceiue, then swell, and finally produce the pearle.

They are so sensible and quicke of hearing, that although you standing on the braye or bankie aboue them, doe speake neuer so softly, or throw neuer so small a stone into the water, yet they will deserue you, and settle againe to the bottome, without returne for that time. Doubtlesse they haue as it were a naturall carefulnesse of their owne commoditie, as not ignorant, how great estimation we mortall men make of the same amongst vs, and therefore so soone as the fishermen doe catch them, they bind their shelles together, for otherwise they would open and shed their pearles of purpose, for which they know themselves to be pursued. Their manner of apprehension is this, first foure or fise persons go into the riuer together, vp vnto the shoulders, and there stand in a compasse one by another with poles in their hands whereby they rest more suerlie, sith they fir them in the ground, and staie with one hand vpon them: then casting their eyes downe to the bottome of the water, they espie where they lie by their shining and clerenesse, and with their toes take them vp (for the depth of the water will not suffer them to stape for them) & giue them to such as stand next them.

The perls that are so gotten in Scotland, are not of small value, they are verie orient & bright, light and round, and sometimes of the quantitie of the naille of ones little finger, as I haue had and sene by mine owne experience. Almost such another muskle found on the coast of Spaine, the shels whereof are gathered by such as go in pilgrimage to saint James, and brought into Scotland, but they are without

Cardane de-
meth this,
lib 7. de Sub-
tilitate.

without pearls, because they live in salt water, which is an enemy to the margarite: but Cardane also denyeth it. In all the sea coasts also of Scotland are cockles and muskles of the same forme, but without this commoditie. Many vncomely and strange shapes of fish likewise are seene there, whereof some are armed with shels, some with hard scales, and diuers round as a ball skinned like an ycheon or hedgehog, hauing but one cundit both for purgation of their excrements, and reception of their sustenance. To thew euerie kind of fish that is in Scotland, it were but a vaine trauell, with the same are knowne almost in euerie region.

In like sort we haue such plentie of fish vpon our seuerall coasts, that although milians and infinite numbers of them be taken on the one date, yet on the next their losse will be so supplied with new store, that nothing shall be missing by reason of the pesterfing: so bountifull is God in these his benefits vnto vs. Farthermore, there is another gift bestowed vpon vs by the singular prouidence of God. For the greater dearth & penurie of flesh and corne is seene in Scotland, the greater store of fish is taken vpon our shores. In like sort, in the deserts and wild places of this realme, there groweth an herbe of it selfe called Hadder or Hather verie delicat, as Columella lib. 9. cap. 4. saith, for goats & all kind of cattell to feed vpon, and likewise for diuerse foules, but bees especiallie. This herbe in June yeldeth a purple floure. Sweet as honie, whereof the Picts in time past did make a pleasant drinke, and verie wholesome for the bodie: but so much as the maner of making hereof is perished in the haucke made of the Picts, when the Scots subdued their countrie, it lieth not in me to set downe the order of it, neither thewed they euer the learning hereof to any but to their owne nation. Finalle there is no part of Scotland so barren and vnprofitable, but it produceth either iron or some other kind of mettall, as may be proued easilie throughout all the Isles that are annexed to the same.

Galen. lib. 7. de Antidotis saith that Citharus is no herb but a shrub, and so doth Plinie lib. 12. cap. 3. lib. 13. cap. 24. lib. 16. chap. 38. And Columella in the end of his 5. booke, where he accompteth it among trees.

Of the Isles of Scotland, and such notable things as are to be found in them.

The tenth Chapter.

Being fallen at the last into mention of our Isles, I will addresse my selfe to describe the same, in maner and forme as followeth. In the Irish sea, betwixt Ireland and Scotland are fortie and thre Isles, whereof some are thirtie miles long, diuers twelue, and others more or lesse. These are called by some writers Eubonia, and by other Hebrides. But the principall of them all is that of Man, which lieth ouer against Galloway, & was sometime the principall seat of the Druides, as Cornelius Tacitus, Caesar in his commentaries, and other Romane writers doe testifie at large. North from the Ile of Man lieth Arran, otherwise named Botha after S. Brandons time, who dwelled there in a little cottage, which (as all other the like were in those daies) was called Botha. From Arran we go to Hellaw and Kothelap, which later is so named of the Scot, which brought the Scots first out of Ireland into Britaine. Not far from this Ile is Ailsay, where there is such store of soland geese as they said before to be in Bas. Beyond Ailsay lie manie other distinguished by their se-

uerall names, but full of mines, as of iron, tin, lead, & sundrie other mettals. But the most notable Ile belonging to Scotland is Fla, that lieth beyond the promontorie of Pouant cliffe (in Scottish the towne of Lozne) within sight of Lochquahabze. Certes it is a rich parcell, thirtie miles in length, and full of corne and mettall, if the people were cunning to find and trim the same.

Not farre from thence is Cumbra, and Anula, which lie so large as Fla, both for length and breadth. In Anula is a faire spring two miles from the sea, from whence runneth a little brooke or strippet, whereof you shall read more in the description of Britaine, lib. 1. cap. 8. Neere vnto this is Jona, otherwise called Columkill, in which is an abbe, wherein the kings of Scotland were commonlie buried from the time of Fergus the second, vnto Malcolme Cammof, who created the monasterie of Dunfermelin, where since that time the most part of our kings haue bene of custome interred. Passing forward toward the northnorthwest seas, ouer against Kofe is an Ile named Lewis, 60 miles in length, in this Ile is but one fish riuer, & it is said that if a woman wade through the same at the spring of the yere, there shall no samon be seene there for a twelue month after, whereas otherwise that fish is knowne to abound there in verie great plentie. Beyond Lewis lie the Skye and the Kona, in the later whereof, it is incredible to saie what of scale, of pellocke and porpasse is to be seene, which are nothing abashed at the sight of any man. The last and uttermost Ile is named Hetha, where the elevation of the pole is 63 degrees, and since the latitude of Man, is but 57.

I conclude, that from the Ile of Man the first Ile of Albion, to Hirtha the last Ile hereof are 377 miles, after 62 miles and an halfe to each degree, as Ptolomie hath set downe. It is named Hirtha, which in Irish soundeth so much as a Sheepe in English, for herein that kind of cattell aboundeth, each one being greater than any bucke, their hornes longer and thicker than of the bugle, and thereto they haue fide tiales that reach vnto the earth. It is enuironed on euerie part with rockie or rockie crags, whereby few vessels may land there but at one place, where the working of the sea is oftentimes so terrible & rough, that no man dare aduenture thither without danger of his life. They that go thither therefore, doe watch their times when the sea is calme and still. In the moneth of June also, a priest commeth vnto them out of Leuista, and ministrith the sacrament of baptism to all the children that haue bene borne there since that moneth in the yere precedent: which being done, and a certeine number of masses said, he receiueth tithes of all their commodities, and then returneth home againe.

In the Ile of Lewis are two churches or chapels, whereof one is dedicated to saint Peter, another to saint Clement. The same is, that to some as the fire goeth out in this Ile, the man that is holden of most cleane and innocent life, goeth to the altar with great solemnitie, and there laiech a towpe of straw, which being done they fall all to prayer, in the midst thereof fire commeth downe from heauen and kindleth or setteth the same on fire. Beyond this is yet another Ile, but void of people and all other liuing creatures, sauing a certeine kind of beasts like vnto sheepe, whose nature and forme I haue already touched in the description of Britaine, and therefore omit it here for brieft and breuitie sake. Betwixt these Isles also is a right dangerous passage, with the sea by working of opposite streames hath ingendred a gulle, which sometimes taketh in an incomprehensible deale of water, and sometimes casteth it forth againe, by meanes whereof many ships that

that by rage of winds and weather are enforced to come that waie are either swallowed by by the waues, or thowne against the rocks to their utter danger and ruine. The greatest rage of this confluence is at a place called Corebrycke, where it will either strike, or at the least wise dray any ship vnto it, though it be a full mile distant from the same.

Of the nature of the Claik geese,
and sundrie maners of their pro-
creation, and of the Ile
of Thule.

The eleuenth Chapter.

NOW it is come to hand that I intreat of those geese which are ingendred by the sea, whose procreation hath hitherto been thought to haue bene made vpon trees. But the opinion is false, and yet with their generation is strange indeed, I haue not a little trauelled, and with no small diligence indeuoured to search out the truth hereof, whereby I learne that their ingendure is rather to be referred to the sea, than any thing els, if my coniecture be oughts: for although that they are in sundrie wise produced, yet I find the same to be performed continuallie in the sea, and not elsewhere, as shall appere hereafter. All trees cast into that element in procelle of time become wormeaten, and in the holes thereof are the said wormes to be found, though verie little and small (in comparison to that they be afterward) to be perceived at the first. In the beginning, these wormes do shew their heads and feet, and last of all their plumes & wings. Finally when they are come to the iust measure and quantitie of geese, they lie in the aire as other fowles do.

This was notable proued in the yeare of Grace 1490, in sight of many people, beside the castell of Besslegh, whither the bodie of a great tree was brought by working of the sea. This tree being taken, it was carried to the lord of the soile, who some after caused it to be slit in sunder with a saw: which being done, it is incredible to see, what a multitude at wormes came out of their holes. Of these also some appered as if they had bene but new shapen, diuers had head, foot and wings, but no feathers, the rest were formed into perfect fowles. At last when the people had gazed thereon by the space of an whole daie, they carried it to saint Andrews church beside Aire, where the said blocke remains still to be seene. Within two yeeres after there hapned such another tree to come into the fieth of Tay beside Dundee, wormeaten and full of yong geese after the same maner: the third was seene in the haven of Leith beside Edinburgh: and also within a few yeeres, in like sort a ship named the Christopher, after she had lien thre yeeres at anchor in one of these Isles, was brought to Leith, where because hir timber was found to be rotten she was taken in sunder, and in hir hole were found infinite holes as if they had bene eaten with wormes, or bored with a worme, and each one of them filled with such creatures as I haue said before.

Here if any man will alledge that the Christopher was builded of such timber onelie as grew in these Isles, and that all roots and trees there growing, are of such nature as in their corruption do turne into these fowles, I will disprove his assertion by one notable example shewed before mine eyes. Aflatter A-

lexander Galloway parson of Binkell, was with vs in these Isles, & giuing his mind with attentive diligence to search out a full resolution with vs of these obscure and hidden matters, it hapned on a time that he took vp a branch of Alga, called in Scottish, Scat angle, which hanged full of muske shels from the root euen to the verie top. Being also desirous to see what was in them, he grew to be more astonished than before: for when he had opened one or two of them, he saw no fish but a foule perfectlie shapen, fullie answering to the capacite of the shell.

Finally, knowing that I was verie inquisitiue of these and the like rare nouelties, he came hither with the said hearbe & shewed it vnto me, who found no lesse by experience than I before reported. By these and many other reasons and examples I cannot beleue that these Claiks (or Barnacks as I call them) are produced either by the qualities of the trees or the roots thereof, but onelie by the nature of the sea, which is the verie cause and producer of so manie wonderfull creatures. Furthermore, because the rude and ignorant people saw oftentimes the fruits that fell from trees, which stood neuer in the sea, conuerted within short time into geese, they beleued that these geese grew vpon trees, hanging by their nebs as apples and other fruit do by their stalks, but their opinion is vtterlie to be reieced. For so sone as these apples or fruit fall from the tree into the sea, they grow first to be wormeaten, and in procelle of time to be conuerted into geese.

Thus haue I spoken sufficientlie of the Isles of the Hebrides adiacent vnto the realme of Scotland, and therewithall would shut vp my discourse of the same, were it not that I haue somewhat to say also of Thule, not vnknoome vnto the Romans, as may appere by Tacitus, who telleth how the Romane nauie by the commandement of Agricola, was sent to view the coasts of the whole Island of Brittain, and at their returne reported how they had seene the Thule, with other Islands lieng about the same. Proleme writeth that the Ile of Thule is one of the Shetland Isles, which lie nere vnto Norwey, and beyond the Dyades; but this cannot be proued so by late experience: for Thule is manie miles distant from Shetland. Some say that Thule is the same which we call Island: other write that it is the last Ile of the ocean sea, and so is Island, which lieth in the cold frostie sea, beyond the Arctike circle toward the north pole. The people of Island because no corne groweth among them, liue onelie by fish, which they drie and powder so small as meale both come backe from the mill, afterward they mix it with water, and worke it by for bread.

Of the description of Orkeney, and
Shetland, with sundrie other small Isles,
and of the maners and conditions of the
people dwelling in the same.

The twelfth Chapter.

BEYOND the Isles of Scotland lie those of Orkeney, partlie toward the north west, and partlie toward the Almain seas. The principall Ile of these is called Bomoonia, wherein is a bishops see, and two strong castels. In these groweth no wheat, they are in like sort void of wood, howbeit all other graine groweth there verie plentifullie, they be without all venemous beasts also, neither can such as are brought thither liue anie while.

while, more than in Ireland, which suffeineth no creature that is aduersarie to mankind.ouer and beside this, there are no frogs: as for eeles they are seldome found and to be seene in the Orkades. Having thus fallen into the mention of Ireland, I thinke it good among diuers other rare gifts of nature, to remember one thing that I haue proued by experience to be done there (although the tractation of Ireland and hir commodities aperteine not to this place) which farre passeth all that euer I haue read in booke.

Certes there is a loch, lin, or pole there, nere vnto the which by manie miles, there groweth neither herbe nor tree; howbeit such is the qualitie of this water, that if a stake be pitched in the same, the nature thereof both within one yeeres space alter and change exceedinglie, for that part thereof which standeth in the ground is conuerted into hard stone, the same that is inuironed with water turneth into tough iron, onelie that portion which is aboue the said element reteining hir former wooddie substance, whereby it is often seene hold in one and the same bodie, thre distinct substances are found, that is to say, stone, iron, and wood, which farre exceedeth all credit. But to returne againe to our Orkades, whereof things of little or no lesse importance are to be reherfed, for fith there is great abundance of barlepe whereof they make the strongest ale that is to be found in Albion, and thereto knowne, that they are the greatest drinkers of anie men in the world; yet was there neuer drunken or man disguised with drink seene there, neither anie fole, or person otherwise bereft of his wits through frensie or madness. There is herevnto small vse of physike: for mankind liueth there most commonlie vnto extreme age in sound and perfect health, whose bodie also are of strong constitution and verie white of colour.

The elwes that are to be found in these Islands haue for the most part two or thre lambs a peece at euerie eaning, and therewithall they haue in this countrie such plentie of foules both wild and tame, as the like number againe is not to be found in Britaine. Their houses are litle greter than the French almes, but in their labour they exceed all other. What should I speake of the plentie of fith there to be had, which passeth all credit: among which there is one sort greater than anie horse, of a marvellous and incredible sluggish desire to sleepe. This fith when they prouideth to sleepe, fastneth hir huge teeth vpon some crag that lieth aboue the water, and then slumbreth or falleth into a most sound rest, which the seafaring men espieing, they forthwith cast anchor, and then letting downe their ship-boats, they conuete themselves to the fith, and bore a great hole through hir taile, wherevnto they put one end of a cable, and so make it sure; the other end is fastened to a great anchor, which is let fall of purpose into the sea, and thus is their enterprife attempted per long to be achieved. For after this wound, it is not long per the fith awaketh, who feeling hirselfe to be hurt, leapech at once into the sea, thinking to hide and shroud hir in the depes: but being staid by the weight of the anchor, and inuoluing in vaine to breake the cable, she laboureth so vehementlie, that at the last she windeth hir selfe out of hir skin (for the which she is commonlie taken) and some after also turneth vp hir bellie, yelding hirselfe vnto the waues, and hir bodie to the mariners, who make an excellent oile of hir grease, and passing strong cables of hir hide or skin. Certes such is the force of rope made of the skin of this fith, that they will hold at a plunge no lesse than the Spanishe sparto. Herein also they exceed the same, in that they will continue verie long without fretting asunder.

An hundred miles beyond the Orkades are the

Shetland Isles, whose chiefe commodities stand onelie by fith which is dized in the sun. There are brought also into Scotland out of these Islands great store of shepes selles, ore hides, gotes skinnies, and cases of martines dized in the sunne. And in the same manner the merchants of Holland, Zeland and Germanie, fetch them perelie by barter and exchange for other common and necessarie wares, with the people of that nation, who for maners and conditions resemble much the Orkanois. The same in like sort that is said of the Orkanois, concerning drunkennes and frensie, is verified on them, as is also their length of life, although not in so rare manner: fith these in stead of strong ale, content themselves with water, and verie slender diet. Beyond the Shetlands there are diuerse other Islands of like condition, but without corne and all manner of fith to feed vpon. These dize their fith in the sunne, and when they are through stiff, they grind them to small powder, which they worke vp with water into loaves, and so vse the same in lieu of other bread. Their fithing consisteth of the bones of such fithes as they take, and yet they content themselves in such manner with this their poore kind of liuelode, that they thinke their estate most happie in respect of such as inhabit in the maine.

Certes there is no quarrelling amongst these for wealth or gaine, but each one prouideth such store of fith in summer which he taketh himselfe, as shall find his familie, or keepe his house in winter. They are void of all ambitious mood, and neuer troubled with ciuill or foren warres, as men that deme strine peace and quietnesse, with mutuall lone and amitie, to be the chiefe felicitie to be sought for in this life, and to remaine herein, each one to his power doth shew his whole indour. This finallie is to be added vnto their commendation; that they are simple, plaine, void of craft, and all manner of serpentine subtiltie, which endeth commonlie with mischance, and reigneth in the maine. Once in the yeere there cometh a priest vnto them from Orkeney, (of which diocesse they are) who ministrerth vnto them the sacrament of baptisme, and after a certeine time (hauing taken vp in the meane time his tithes in fith, which is their sole increase, and verie trulie paid) he returneth home againe the same way that he came.

If anie gifts of nature are to be numbred as parcels of worldlie riches and renowne, they are not without these also: for the people of these Isles are lustie, faire, strong of bodie, and high of stature, so that nature hath not failed to indue them with these things, and that in most excellent manner. What should I say of their health, which is and may be preferred aboue all treasure, as they well know that are oppressed with long and grieuous infirmities: For here among these men, you shall very seldome heare of sicknesse to attach anie, vntill extreme age come that killeth them altogether, and this is that exceeding benefit naturallie appropriated vnto their carcases. As for their quietnesse of mind, it is alwaies such as is constant, & vnchangeable, and therefore incomparable vnto any riches or huge masse of worldlie treasure.

Herevnto furthermore, if it be true riches (as it is in deed) for ech one not to couet other mens goods, but to content himselfe with that which is his owne, and not to stand in need of anie thing, can anie man be found in anie other region more rich and fortunate than the Shetland men and these Islanders: finallie, if those be the true honours, and reuerend duties which the obedient sonne with great sinceritie and void of all flatterie, doth shew vnto his god parents, and therewithall the best sort do marvellouslie

See Matthi-
lus vpon the
first booke of
Dioscorides
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lie reioice and delite themselves: and that these are also not wanting in these regions, can we iustlie say that these men doe lacke anie thing, or shall we not rather asseme with great assurance, that they rather stand in need of nothing that anie mortall man can iustlie wish or desire?

But if there be anie man that will accuse me of untruth in the recitall of these things, as one that lieth lous and by authoritie of a people dwelling far off, so far as I my selfe was neuer in those Islands, he shall understand that I learned all these things of the reuerend father Edward bishop of the Orkneys: with whom one of these Islanders dwelled, who not onelie made a like rehearfall of these things with his owne mouth, but also certified the same in his owne person, for his height far passed the common stature of men, thereto he was excellentlie well featured in his lims, so white of skin ouer all, that he might contend in beautie with anie ladie of the land, and finallie so white and strong of bodie, that no man in all those quarters durst run or wrestle with him. Hereby also we may see, how far they are deceiued which iudge them to be barbarous, and miserable creatures, that inhabit far from the tropicall lines, for there are no people more happie than those that dwell in these quarters, as I haue proued already.

Furthermore, among the rocks and crags of these Isles groweth the delectable amber, called *E-lechrum*, *Chrysolechrum*, or (as Dioscorides saith) *Pterygophoron*, indued with so vehement an attractive force, that being chased it draweth straw, flor, and other like light matter vnto it. This gum is ingendred of the sea froth, which is thriuen by by continuall repercussion of crags and rocks against the sea walls, and through perpetuall working of the waues groweth in time to become tough as glue, till it fall at the last from the rocke againe into the sea. Such as haue often viewed and marked the generation of this gum, whilst it hangeth on the rocke, asseme it to be like a froth and bubble of water without all massie sadnesse, because that as yet it is not sufficientlie hardened by the working of the element. Sometimes the Sea-tangle is found inuironed also withall, because it is dauen hither and thither by the working of the waues, and so long as it floats to and fro in this manner, so long is it apt to cleaue to anie thing that it toucheth.

Two yeares before I wrote this booke, there came a great lumpe of amber into Buchquhane, in quantitie so big as anie house, which the heardmen that kept their cattell nere hand caught by, & not knowing in deed what it was, they caried it home, and threw a portion thereof into the fire: finallie, perceiving a sweet and delectable saour to proceed from the same, they ran by & by to the priest of the towne where they dwelled, telling him how they had found a peece of stufte which would serue verie well in stead of frankincense, wherewith to perfume his saints or rather Idols in the church. These men supposed that sir John had bene more cunning than themselves, but contrarie to their expectation, it fell out that he was no lesse unskillfull & void of knowlege than they; and therefore refusing the whole lumpe, he toke but a small portion thereof, and returned the rest vnto them, whereby it came to little profe and lesse gaine among the common sort, who suffered it to perish by reason of their unskillfulnesse. Certes when they brake it in peeces, it resembled in color vnto the purest gold, & shined as if it had bene the laie of flame of a candle. Herein also the proverbe was proued true, that the sow recks not of balme. But so soone as I understood of the matter, I used such diligence, that one portion thereof was brought to

me at Aberdeen. And thus much of the *Hebrides*, *Orkneys*, and *Shetland* Isles subiect vnto the Scottish regent.

It might (no doubt) haue made rehearfall of diuers other strange things: but this the nothing in this behalfe. But I haue made chosse onelie of the most rare and excellent, and so would finishe this description: yet it not that one thing hath staied me right pleasant to be remembred, as an vncomely & strange incident, wherof Master James Ogilbie ambassadour from James our king (among other) vnto the King of France, hath certified me, and wherof he had experience of late, at such time as he was constrained by tempest of weather to get to land in Norwaye. Thus standeth the case, being diuised (as I said) vpon the shore of Norwaye, he and his companie sawe a kind of people ranging vp & downe in the mounteins there, much like vnto those which diuers pictures giue forth for wild men, heaue and ogre to behold. In the end being aduertised that they were sauage and wild beastes; yet neuerthelesse deadlie enemies to mankind: they understood therevnto, that although in the day time they abhorred and feared the sight of man, yet in the night they would by great companies invade the small villages & countrey townes, killing and sleaing so manie as they found, or where no hogs were kept to put by their rage and furie.

Certes such is their nature, that they stand in great feare of dogs, at whose barking and sight they die and run away with no small hast and terror, wherfore the inhabitants are enforced to cherish great numbers of the said beastes, thereby to keepe off those wild men that otherwise would annoy them. They are moreover of such strength, that sometimes they pull by yong trees by the roots to fight withall among themselves. The ambassadours seeing these vncomely creatures, were not a little astonished, and therefore to be sure from all inuasion, procured a strong garrad to watch all night about them, with great fiers to giue light ouer all that quarter, till on the morrow that they toke the sea, and so departed thence. Finallie, the Norwegians shewed them, that there was another people not far off, which liued all the summer time in the sea like fish, & fed of such as they did catch, but in the winter half (because the water is cold) they preyed vpon such wild beastes as fed on the mounteins, which coming downe from the snowe hills to graze in the vallies, they killed with darts and weapons, and caried vnto their caues. In this exercise also they tie little boards to their feet, which beare them by from sinking into the snow, and so with a staffe in their hands they make the better shift to cline vp and come downe from the crags & mounteins, wherof in that region there is verie great plentie and abundance.

Of the maners of the Scots in these daies, and their comparison with the behaviour of the old, and such as liued long since within this Island.

The xiiij. Chapter.

As much as diuers noble men haue desired me to shew apart the old maners of the Scots touched in my historie, to the end it may be knowne how far our nation in these present daies are different in their maners and behavi-

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behaviour from those of our forefathers, and hereunto although I assure my selfe already that the revealing of these things will procure unto me the hatred of sundrie worthy or renowned personages (of which few will yeeld to heare their doings touched or their errors reproved) yet because I owe such dutie and service unto those that have made this request unto me, and least I should seeme ingratitude not to hearken unto them in this behalfe: I have condescended to the performance of their desires, and so much the rather, for that they alledge hereby it will be verie profitable unto all the readers, but especially such as are not immoderately given over unto their owne affections, nor so wholly drowned in their owne sensuality and pleasures, but upon consideration of wholesome admonition will be verie willing to leave whatsoever offendeth in them.

First of all therefore, I will declare what vices have bene among our elders both in time of warre and peace, and by what wisdom and industrie they have prevailed so long time against such and so many mightie adversaries, as first the Britains, then the Saxons, next of all the Danes which have entered into this Island with huge armies to spoile and subdue the same. Furthermore, I will set downe with so much brevity as I can, how the falling by little and little from the frugality and customs of their forefathers, their vertue and force also began in like order to decaye. And finally how in these daies either by the clemencie of our neighbours, or by their delicate negligence rather than by our owne prowllesse, we live in security, and thereby as it were overwhelmed and wrapped up in all avarice and excess, whereinto our want of exercise and martiall prowlesse doth marvellously impell us.

Certes I beleve that by this meanes such as are of the more courageous sort (& yet retaining a savour of the temperance of their elders) will reioice to heare their manhood & great prowlesse commended in this wise, as others of the contrarie sort (in servile manner addicted to gather goods, and spend their times in idle excess and riot) seeing their errors justlie reprehended, and the dishonour gotten thereby openly revealed, will the rather addresse themselves to reformation of their estate, thereby to recover the ancient renowne of their forefathers, in answering to their prowlesse, than prone a reproch unto their successors, through their lewd behaviours never to be forgiven. This I protest before all men, that whatsoever I shall speake of the evill manners of our times, I do not meane it unto all, but those onlie whome blind selfe-love, covetousnes, intemperance, excess and abuse of all Gods good gifts have so touched, that they deserve much more to be reprehended than I will vouchsafe to attempt in this my lateward treatise. Therefore if any man shall thinke himselfe to be rubbed on the gall by me, I counsell him that he conceale not his infirmity, by seeking revenge on other men, but rather endeavour to procure the remedie in first acknowledging his misdemeanors, which is the one and better halfe of his cure.

Our elders although they were right vertuous both in warre abroad, and at home in peace, were yet neverthelesse in conversation & behaviour verie temperate, which is the fountaine & originall of all vertues. In sleepe they were competent, in meate and drinke sober, and contented with such food as was ready at hand and prepared with little cost. Their bread consisted of such stuff as grew most readily on the ground, without all manner of sifting and bolting, whereby to please the palate; but baked up as it came from the mill without any such curiosity, which is a great abasing of the force thereof unto

our daily nourishment. The first whereon they chiefly fed, was either such as they got by hunting, wherein they took great delight, and which increased not a little their strength and nimblenesse, or else such tame cattell as they bred up at home, whereof beefe was accounted the principall, as it is yet in our daies, though after an other manner and far discrepant from the use and custome of other countries. The stirk or young beastes ungelod, we either kill young for beale, or geld, to the end that they may serve after ward for tillage in earthing up of the ground, but the colts and heifers are never killed till they be with calfe, for then are they fattest and most delicious to the mouth. The common great of our elders was fish, howbeit not onlie so much for the plenty thereof, as for that our lands late often wast and untilld, because of the great warres which they commonlie had in hand. They brake also their fast earlie in the morning with some slender repast, and so continued without any other diet, untill supper time, in which they had but one dish, whereby it came to passe, that their stomachs were never overcharged, nor their bodies desirous of rest through the fullnesse of their bellies. At such time as they determined of set purpose to be merie, they used a kind of Aquavite void of all spice, and onlie consisting of such hearbs & roots as grew in their owne gardens, otherwise their common drinke was ale: but in time of warre, when they were enforced to lie in campe, they contented themselves with water as rediest for their turnes. Each souldier also had so much meale as might serve him for a daie which he made up in cakes, and baked on the coles, as the Romans sometimes used to do, and the emperor Caracalla himselfe (as Herodian hath remembred.) Seldome did they eate any flesh in their tents, except they got it from their adversaries; such as they had likewise was eaten halfe raw, because they supposed the juice thereof so used to nourish verie abundantly. But fish was much more plentifull amongst them, especially when they wanted their usuall prices, or could not attaine by to them.

They brought furthermore from their houses to the field with them, a vessell of butter, cheese, meale, milke, and vineger tempered together as a shot-against extreme hunger, on which they would feed and sucke out the moisture, when other provision could not be gotten. In like maner, whensoever they had entred into league and amitie with their enemies, they would not live in such security, that thereby they would suffer their bodies & forces to degenerat, but they did keepe themselves in their former activity and nimblenesse of lims, either with continuall hunting (a game greatlie esteemed amongst our ancestors) or with running from the hilles unto the ballies, or from the ballies unto the hilles, or with wrestling, and such kinds of pastime whereby they were never idle. Their heads were alwaies shaven after the maner of the ancient Spaniards, with a little tuft of haire onlie left on their foreparts, and never covered, except when they were troubled with sicknesse, by which means it came to passe, that few of our nation in old time was sene to be bald and hearelesse. They went also barefooted, or if they had any shooes, they dipped them first in the water yer they did put them on, especially in winter when sharpest weather theywed it selfe, to the end that the soles of their feet (which were well hardened in summer with heat and in winter with cold) might be more strong and able to susteine great labour and daily travell.

Their apparrell was not made for bzaurie and pompe, but as shuld serve to cover their bodies, and

and serue their appointed vles, their hosen were shapen also of linnen or wollen, which neuer came higher than their knees, their breeches were for the most part of hempe, clothes also they had for winter made of course woll, but in the summer time they ware of the finest that could be gotten. They slept mozeouer either vpon the bare floze or pallets of straw, teaching their children euen from their infancie to eschew ease, and practise the like hardnesse; and sith it was a cause of suspicion of the mothers fidelitie toward hir husband, to seeke a strange nurse for hir children (although hir milke failed) each woman would take intolerable paines to bring vp and nourish hir owne children. They thought them furthermore not to be kindlie fostered; except they were so well nourished after their births with the milke of their breasts, as they were before they were borne with the blood of their owne bellies, nay they feared least they should degenerat and grow out of kind, except they gaue them sucke themselves, and eschewed strange milke, therefore in labour and painfulnesse they were equall, & neither for regarded the heat in summer or cold in winter, but travelled barefooted, and in time of warres the men had their cariages and victuals trusted behind them on their horses, or else vpon their owne shoulders without refusal of anie labour inioined vnto them by their capteins.

If it hapened them at anie time to be banquished, they fled with such speed to the mounteins, that no hostile might ouertake them, and verie oft escaped. The violence that was done to anie one of them, was reputed common to all, & such was their deadly fide conceived in these cases, that untill they had requited the like with moze extremitie, they would neuer be quiet nor let go their displeasure. The noblest and most couragious gentleman would tonell desire to be placed in the foreward, where his valourage or seruice & manhood should readiest be scene, and such was the friendship of the nobilitie amongst themselves, that whilst they contended which of them should be most faithfull and friendlie to other, they would oft fall out, and quarell one with another. Sometimes it hapened that their capteine was beset with extreme perill, or peraduenture some other of the nobilitie, in which cases they that were of his band would suddenly rush in through the thickest of their enemies vnto him, and deliuer him, or else if they could not so do, they would altogether lose their liues with him, thinking it a perpetuall note of reproch to ouerlue their leader.

The graues and sepulchers of our noble men had commonlie so manie obelisks and spires pitched about them, as the deceased had killed enemies before time in the field. If anie souldier had bene found in the field without his shirt and tunder boy, or had walked or gone vp and downe with his sword at his side, and not naked in his hand, for then vled they light armour for the most part, he was terrible scourged; but he that sold or morgaged his weapon, was forthwith cut from his companie, and banished as an erle; he that fled or went from the battell without leaue of his capteine, was slaine where soeuer he was met afterward, without anie iudgement or sentence, and all his goods confiscated to the prince. Their light armour in those daies consisted of the lance, the bowe, the long sword which hanged at the side of the owner, and thereto a buckler, but afterward heavier armout came into generall vsage.

In these daies also the women of our countrie were of no lesse courage than the men, for all stout maidens & wines (if they were not with child) marched as well in the field as did the men, and so some

as the armie did set forthward, they slue the first liuing creature that they found, in whose blood they not onelie bathed their swords, but also tasted thereof with their mouthes, with no lesse religion and assurance conceiued, than if they had already bene sure of some notable and fortunate victorie. When they saw their owne blood run from them in the fight, they wared neuer a whit astonished with the matter, but rather doubling their courages, with moze egerneesse they assailed their enemies. This also is to be noted of them, that they neuer sought anie victorie by treason, falshood, or sleight, as thinking it a great reproch to win the field any otherwise than by mere manhood, prowesse and plaine dealing.

When they went forth vnto the wars, each one went with the king of his owne cost (except the hired souldiours) which custome is yet in vse. If any were troubled with the falling euill, or leprosie, or fallen frantike, or otherwise was out of his wits, they were diligentlie sought out: and least those diseases should passe further by infectious generation vnto their issue & posteritie, they gelded the men. But the women were secluded to some od place far off from the companie of men, where if the afterward hapened to be gotten with child, both she and the infant were run through with the lance. Gluttons and raueners, drunkards, and egregious deuourers of victuals were punished also by death, first being permitted to deuour so much as they listed, and then drowned in one fresh riner or other.

Furthermore, as iustice in time of war was commonlie giuen to perke, so in daies of peace our countrymen that offended, were oft seuerelie punished and with inconuenient rigor. For they well considered that after their people should returne & come home againe from the warres, they would be giuen to so many enormities, that the same their excesses should hardlie be restrained but by extreme seueritie: such also was their nature, that so soone as they knew themselves guiltie of any offense committed against the estate or commonwealth, their first attempt was to set discord amongst the peeres and princes of the realme, neuertheless when they are gentlie intreated, and with courteous moderation, they are found to be verie tractable and pliant vnto reason: in priuate bargains & contracts they are so willing to giue euerie man his owin, that they will yeeld the moze. And so farre is it growne into a custome euen in these our daies, that except there be some surpluse about the bare covenant, they will breake off and not go forthwards with the bargain.

They vled at the first the rites and manners of the Egyptians from whence they came, and in all their priuate affaires they vled not to write with common letters, as other nations did; but rather with ciphers and figures of creatures made in maner of letters, as their epitaphes vpon their tombes and sepulchers remanifest amongst vs do hitherto declare. Nevertheless in our times this hieroglyphicall maner of writing (I wot not by what meanes) is perished and lost, and yet they haue certeine letters proper vnto themselves, which were sometime in common vse: but among such as retaine the ancient speech, they haue their aspirations, dipthongs, and pronunciations better than any other. The common sort are not in the withall, but onlie they which inhabit in the higher part of the countrie, and sith they haue their language moze eloquent and apt than others, they are called poets; they make also poets with great solemnitie and honour, being borne out therein by the authoritie of the prince. Besides the skill also of many other arts and sciences, whose rules and methods are

are turned into the said language, are given by tradition from their elders, they chaste excell in physick, wherein they go far beyond manie other, who learning of them the natures and qualities of such hearbs as grow in those quarters, doe heale all manner of diseases euen by their onelie application.

Certes there is no region in the whole world so barren & unfruitfull, through distance from the sun, but by the prouidence of God all manner of necessities for the sustentation of mankind dwelling there are to be had therein, if the inhabitants were such as had any skill how to vse the same in order. Neuer thelesse our elders, which dwelled continuallie vpon the marches of England, learned the Saxon tongue through continuall trade of merchandise and hazard of the wars long since, whereby it came to passe that we neglected our owne language, & our owne manners, and thereto both our ancient order in writing and speaking is vtterlie lost among vs, that inhabit nere vnto them; whereas contrariwise those that dwell in the mounteins reteine still their ancient speech and letters, and almost all their old rites, wherinto in time past their forefathers haue bene accustomed. One thing hereof also may euidentlie be seene (for an example) in their boats which they call carrocks, for being made of osiers and couered with bull hides, they vse to passe and repasse with them ouer their riuers and waters in catching of samons, and when they haue done, they beare them on their backs vnto what place soeuer it pleaseth them.

But we will now leaue the manners of our ancient friends, and intreat of our later countrymen. In proceesse of time therefore, and chaste about the daies of Malcolme Canmore, our manners began greatly to change and alter. For when our neighbors the Britons began, after they were subdued by the Romans, to warre idle and slothfull, and therevpon diuen out of their countrie into Wales by their enemies the Saxons, we began to haue alliance (by proximitye of the Romans) with Englishmen, speciallie after the subuersion of the Britas, and through our daile trades and conuersation with them, to learne also their manners, and therewithall their language, as I haue said already. Whereby shortly after it came also to passe, that the temperance and vertue of our ancestors grew to be iudged worthy of small estimation amongst vs, notwithstanding that a certaine idle desire of our former reuolvement did still remaine within vs.

Furthermore as men not walking in the right path, we began to follow also the vaine shadow of the Germane honor and titles of nobilitie, and boasting of the same after the English manner, it fell out per long, that whereas he in times past was accounted onlie honorable, which excelled other men not in riches and possessions, but in prowesse and manhood, now he would be taken most glorious that went loaden with most titles, wherof it came to passe, that some were named dukes, some earles, some lords, some barons, in which vaine puffes they fired all their felicitie. Before time the noble men of Scotland were of one condition, & called by the name of Chanes, so much in Latine as *Quæstores regij*, gatherers of the kings duties, in English: and this denomination was giuen vnto them after their desert and merit.

But how far we in these present daies are swayed from the vertues and temperance of our elders, I beleue there is no man so eloquent, nor indued with such vtterance, as that he is able sufficientlie to expresse. For whereas they gaue their minds to doctryne, we applie our selues to drunkennes: they had plentie with sufficiencie, we haue inordinate excellen with superfluitie: they were temperate,

we effeminate: and so is the case now altered with vs, that he which can deuoure and drinke most, is the noblest man and most honest companion, and therefore hath no pære if he can once find the veine, though with his great trauell to puruey himselfe of the plentifullest number of new fine and delicate dishes, and best prouoke his stomach to receiue the greatest quantitie of them, though he neuer make due digestion of it.

Being thus drowned in our delicate gluttonie, it is a world to see, how we stuffe our selues both daie and night, neuer ceasing to ingorge & poluze in, till our bellies be so full that we must needs depart. Certes it is not supposed meet that we should now content our selues with breakefast and supper onlie, as our elders haue done before vs, nor inough that we haue added our dinners vnto their aforesaid meales, but we must haue thereto our beuerages and reare suppers, so that small time is spared wherewith to occupie our selues in any godlie exercise, sith almost the whole daie and night doe scarce suffice for the filling of our panches. We haue also our merchants, whose charge is not to looke out, and bring home such things as necessarilie pertaine to the maintenance of our liues, but vnto the furniture of our kitchen, and these search all the secret corners of our forests for venison, of the aire for fowles, and of the sea for fish, for wine also they trauell not only into France, whose wines doe now grow into contempt, but also into Spaine, Italie and Græce: nay Asurie is not void of our factors, no nor Asia, and onelie for fine and delicate wines if they might be had for monie.

In like sort they gad ouer all the world for sweet and pleasant spices, and drugs (prouokers vnto all lust and licentiousnesse of behauiour) as men that aduenture their owne liues to bring home poison and distraction vnto their countrymen, as if the mind were not already sufficientlie bereft of his image of the diuinitie, but must yet more be clogged and ouerladen with such a franked case, therewithall to be extinguished outright, which already dwelleth or is buried rather in such an vglie sepulchre. The bodie likewise being oppressed with such a heape of superfluous food, although otherwise it be indeed with an excellent nature, cannot be able to execute his office, nor keepe him selfe bright, but must needs yeeld as ouercome, and to be torne in peeces and rent with sundrie maladies.

Whereof also it cometh to passe, that our countrymen traueiling into the colder regions are now a daies contrarie to their former vse taken sometime with feuers, whereby their inward parts doe burne and parch as it were with continuall fier, the onelie cause whereof we may ascribe vnto those hot spices and drugs which are brought vnto vs from the hot countries. Others of them are so swollen and growne full of humors, that they are often taken suddenly, and die of vehement apoplexies, and although here and there one or two recover for a little while, yet are they but dead people, reuiuing againe, leading the rest of their liues like shadows, and walking about as if they were buried already.

Our youth also following these vnhappie steps of their parents, giue themselves wholie to lust and licentiousnesse, hauing all vertue and knowledge in contempt, and eschewing the same as a pestilence and subuersion of their pleasures, wherewith they applie themselves as vnto the most excellent trade. But sithens they are now inured, and as it were haunted with these vices, when time doth come of seruice, and that our countrie shall stand in need of manhood, these will become so effeminate, that they must now ride on horsebacke as clad in heauie armor, for on foot they cannot go by reason of their fatnesse,

Certes none of them regarded to weare anie apparel, because they esteemed it a great glozie to haue these paintings seene. In warres they were bold, and desirous to shed blood, contenting themselves (instead of other armor) with a short lance, and narrow target or buckler, their swords were tied to their naked sides with a thong, and as for iacke, shirt of male, or helmet, they made no regard of them, because they would trouble them in swimming, or otherwise at a pinch, when they should be compelled to waite.

Dion writing generallie of the whole countrie, di-
uiderh it with Herodian into the Calidons & Sycats,
saying that the said countrie is verie sauage, their
cities void of walles, and fields without townes:
they liue mozeouer (saith he) by hunting and pzeie,
and oftentimes with the fruit of their trees: and a-
beit that they haue excedding plentie of fish, yet they
eat not of it. They liue naked in tents, and without
shoes on their feet, their twincs are common, and
20 childzen generallie looked vnto: they haue mozeouer
a populous regiment, and are verie readie to steale:
they fight in wagons, and haue little light and swift
horses, which run also verie swiftlie, & stand at their
feet with like stedfastnesse. In the nether end of their
lances they haue hollow bullets of brasse, in each is a
little peece or two of iron, which rathely when they
shake it, and maketh a strange noise when manie of
them are together. They haue also narrow daggers,
30 but chiefe they can susteine hunger and colde best of
all men, and likewise loze labour: and if it happen
them to hunger and haue no meat at hand, they will
sit in the marshes by to the chins by manie daies
together. In the woods they feed on roots or barkes
of trees, and they haue a kind of meat among them,
whereof if they take but so much as a beane, they nei-
ther hunger nor thirst in a long time after. And thus
much of the Sycats (which were the nextest vs) and
the Calidons that dwelled beyond the wall, and both
40 in their prouince called Maxima Cesariensis, where-
of let this suffice.

The number of bishops in
Scotland.

Whitherto haue I translated Heccors description of Scotland out of the Scottish into the English tong, being not a little aided therein by the Latine, from whence sometime the translator swaruerth not a little, as I haue done also from him, now and then following the Latine, and now and then gathering such sense out of both, as most did stand with my purposed breuitie. Now will I set betwene the description of an ancient Pict, as I haue gathered it out of Herodian and other, and then I will giue ouer not onelie to ioyne more at this present, but for euer hereafter of anie historிக்கal matters, with I see that this honest kind of recreation is denied me, and all time spent about the same in these daies utterly condemned, as baine and sauouring of negligence, and beathenish impietie.

The 14 Chapter.

50	B He arch- Bithopprik of S. An- drewes Glasco Dunfalden Dunblanen Aberden Birchen Pozauie Ros Whitherne Cathnes Argadie Athenie Pmoz one of the Isles which are exempt and pertain unto the pope. Vniuersities. S. Andrews Aberden Glasco. Dukedomes, Kothfay	Albanie. Earledomes. Cathnes Sotherland Kosse Pozauie Buchquhan Garnlach Carmozan Par Pernis Angus Coluzi Fiffe Marche Athole Stratherne Penteth Leuenor Wigton Duglasse Carrihe Crawford Annandale Durmmonth Huntley.	Vilcounties. Berwikke ali- as north Ber- wikke Korbozoto Selkirke Tweedale Dunkife Riddisdale Wigton Aire Lanarke Dumbzitten Sterueling Louthian Clakmanan Kimos Fiffe Werth Angus Pernis Aberden Bamph Fozes Innernes. FINIS.
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1585

THE
Historie of Scotland,
containing the beginning, in-
crease, proceedings, continuance,
acts and gouernement of the Scottish
nation, from the originall thereof
vnto the yeere 1571, gathered and
written in English by Raphaell
Hollinhead: and continued
from 1571, to 1585, by
others:

With a table of the principall
particularities herein
conteined.

M. Pal. in Ari.

Historiæ placeant nostrates ac
peregrinæ.

*Cum priuilegio Regiæ
Maiestatis.*



To the Right Honorable the Lord

Robert Dudley, Earle of Leicester, Baron

of Denbigh, Knight of the most noble order

of the Garter, Maister of the Queenes

Maiesties horſſe, and one of

hir Highneſſe priuie

Councell.



I may seeme (Right Honorable) a great presumption in mee, to haue taken in hand the collection of this Scottish historie, and other of diuers regions, considering so many sufficient men as liue in these daies, farre more able to performe the same. But where at the motion of a speciall friend, I vndertooke to deale therein, more vpon trust of his promised aid than of mine owne abilitie, it pleased GOD to call

him to his mercie before the worke could be fullie brought to an end: but yet to answer the expectation of his friends, and trust which he had committed to them and me in this behalfe, I haue doone my good will to accomplish part of that, which in his life time was intended, although not to my wished desire, by reason of such wants as had beene supplied if he had liued to haue seene it published himselfe.

It resteth (right noble Earle) that it may please your Honor to accept my dooings in good part, to whom I offer this parcell of my trauels in this historie of Scotland, in regard of the honor due to your noble father, for his incomparable valure well knowne and approoued, as well within that realme as else where in seruice of two kings of most famous memorie, Henrie the eight & Edward the sixt, sounding so greatlie to his renowne, as the same cannot passe in silence, whilest any remembrance of those two most peerelesse princes shall remaine in written histories. I therefore most humblie beseech your Honor, to beare with my boldnesse in presenting

C.ij.

ting

ting you with someane a gift, proceeding from one, although unknownen to your Lordship, yet not without experience of your bountifull goodnesse extended towards those, to whome I reckon my selfe most beholden. As what is he within this realme almost of anie degree, which findeth not himselfe bounden to your Honor, either in his owne causes or his friends? For such is your inclination to pleasure all men, as the same may seeme a peculiar vertue planted in your noble heart, mouing you so much to delight therein, as no time is thought by your Honor better spent, than that which you employ in dooing good to others.

But least I should enter into so large a discourse, as might be framed of this and other your excellent vertues (a matter far exceeding my simple knowledge) I will ceasse to speake further thereof, sith the same is spread ouer all, as well this as other regions: for no where doo want great numbers of such as haue abundantlie tasted of your exceeding courtesies. In making you owner therefore of this abstract of the Scottish histories, I most humbly beseech your Honor, if anie thing be amisse, to impute the same to the imperfection and defect of better instructions, and with your benigne and favorable interpretation to haue me therein excused. Such as it is, I

addresse it to your good Lordship with so dutifull a mind as may be imagined, beseeching God to preferue your Honor with plentifull increase of wisdom, vertue, and all wishfull prosperitie.

Your Honors most humble to be
commanded *Raphaell Hollinshed.*



Gathelus.

Gathelus gi-
uen to Sould
and pleasure.

Gathelus
went into
Egypt, Anno
mundi 2416.

Gathelus
was intertei-
ned of Pha-
rao.

Gathelus
went against
the enimies.
Moses cap-
taine generall
bader Pha-
rao.
Iof. lib. 2.
cap. 7.

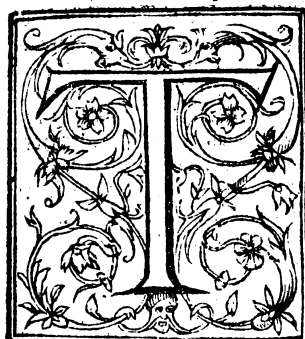
Gathelus, his
doings ad-
vanced.

Moses do-
ings not a-
bowed.

Moses Act.



THE HISTORIE OF Scotland.



The Scottish men, according to the manner of other nations, esteeming it a glozie to fetch their beginning of great ancience, say that their originall descent cam frō the Græks and Egyptians: for there was (as

the old Scottish historiographers haue left in writing) a certeine noble man among the Græks, named Cathelus, the sonne of Cecrops, who builde the citie of Athens: or as some other would, he was the sonne of Argus Pealus, the fourth king of the Argiues. This Cathelus plaing in his youth manie wild and vnciuile parts in the countrie of Macedonia and Achata, was diuers times sharplie rebuked by his father and other of his friends: so that in fine disdainning their correction and wholsome admonitions, he was banished by his father: after which he got together a number of strong and lustie yong men, such as had used the like trade of lining, and with them fled ouer into Aegypt; and coming thither in the 33 yeare of Pharaos Dnus as then king of that countrie, was receiued of him in most glad some wise, for that his seruice (as was thought) might stand in great need in those warres, which the Egyptians held at that time with the Aethiopiens that had inuaded the realme of Aegypt, euen vnto Memphis. This Cathelus, to be short, went forth with his bands against the same Aethiopiens, vnder Moses the capteine generall of the armie, chosen thereto by diuine oracle (as Iosephus writeth) which Moses obtained the victorie, and conquered Saba by force being the chiefest and principall citie which stood in the Ile Heroe.

For such tokens of valiancie and worthie prowesse as Cathelus shewed, both in this countrie, and in other places, he grew also into such estimation with Pharaos, that he gaue him his daughter in marriage. But Moses was rather enuid than honored for his doing, because the Egyptians doubted least the Israelites should increase to such a puissant multitude, that in the end they might vsurpe and challenge the gouernance of the whole realme, and bring it by rebelling into their owne hands: therefore diuers insomations were made to the king against him, so that when he once perceiued himselfe to be in danger of the lawe, and looked for no mercie at their hands, he fled from thence out of the countrie, & gat

him into the land of Adian. Vnto Cathelus and his people there was giuen a citie called Thebes [Aegyptiaca] being taken from the Israelites. Here you must vnderstand, that Pharaos daughter which Cathelus thus married, was called Scota, of whose such as came of the posteritie of that nation were afterwards, and are at this present day called Scott, that is to say Scottishmen, and the land where they inhabit Scotia, that is to say, Scotland.

Cathelus thus being aduanced by such honorable marriage, liued all the daies of his father in last Pharaos Dnus, in great honor. But after his decesse, and in the third generation, an other king named Pharaos Chencres succeeded in his throne, who oppressed the people of Israel then abiding in Aegypt, with more bondage than euer his father or grandfather had done before him. Neither was there hope of anie redresse, till Moses returned by Gods appointment from amongst the Adianites (where he had remained in exile) into Aegypt, and there declared vnto this Pharaos, Gods commandment, touching the deliuerance of his people.

But forsomuch as his words were regarded, neither with the king, nor with his subiects, that land was plagued in most horrible manner; and moreover it was signified vnto such as sought to know what was meant by way of oracles, that sooner and more grieuous plagues should after follow, if remedie were not found the sooner. Cathelus therefore being certified hereof, and giuing credit to the oracles aforesaid, determined out of hand to forsake the countrie, and seeke him a new place of abode in some other parties of the world. Wherefore he caused a number of ships to be rigged, and all necessarie purueiance to be prouided, and when the same was once readie, and all things set in order, he toke with him his wife and children, and a great multitude of people both Grækes and Egyptians, whom he imbarked in those ships, and hoising vp sailles, departed out of the mouth of the riuer Nilas, in the yeare of the worlds creation 2453, when he had dwelled in Aegypt 39 yeares and more. Being thus departed, after some trouble in the voyage, they arrived first on the coast of Numidia, which is one of the regions of Affrike, now called Barbarie: but being put backe from thence by the stout resistance of the inhabitants, they toke the seas againe, and landed in a part of Spaine, which long after was called Lusitania.

There be that haue written how it should be cleped port Cathelus, and certeine yeares after Lusitania, and estones againe in a manner to haue got the former name, being somewhat corruptlie called Portingale. But who is able in a matter of such ancience to auouch anie thing for truth?

C. iiij. Cathelus

The citie of Thebes was giuen vnto Cathelus.

Scota daughter to Pharaos.

The credit of this historie of Cathelus we leane to the authors. Israel oppressed.

Moses called out of Adian into Aegypt.

Moses not regarded. Exodus 5.

Cathelus leauing Aegypt, seeketh other countries.

Cathelus departing was, Anno mundi, 2453. W. H. 3643. H. B. He was repelled from Barbarie.

He landed in Portingale.

Cathelus.

Cathelus giuen to Scilla and pleasure.

Cathelus went into Aegypt, Anno mundi 2416.

Cathelus was interred in the land of Pharaos.

Cathelus went against the enemies. Moses capteine generall vnder Pharaos, loc lib. 2. cap. 7.

Cathelus, his doings aduanced.

Moses doings not allowed.

Moses fled.

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The inhabit-
ants resist
Cathelus.

A commun-
ication.
Cathelus
buildeth the
citie Brigantia.
chara.

A commun-
ication.

Cathelus left
Dozingale,
and went into
Galitia.
He builded a
citie called
Brigantia,
and now
Compostella.

Cathelus.
He maketh
lawes and or-
dinances.

The Spani-
ards fight
with the
Scots in-
fortunatlie.

A peace con-
cluded.

Cathelus mi-
nistred iustice.
A description
of the feat.

Cathelus with his companie being thus come to land, sought abroad in the countrie for victuals, and such other necessarie things as they wanted: for their long being on the seas had wasted all their pueruallance: whose arrivall being once knowen in the countrie, the people assembled together, and fiercely encountering with the strangers, after sharpe and cruel fight, in the end the Spaniards were put to the worst and chased out of the field. This victorie put Cathelus and his folks in hope of good successe to have there a place for them to inhabit in, and so to end their long wandering in strange and uncerteine places. And to the intent they might bring their purpose the more easlie to passe, they found means by way of communication to joine in friendship with the Spaniards, and obtaining of them a plot where they might build a place for to inhabit in: shortly after they began the foundation of a citie nere to the banks of the river called of ancient time Spundus, and afterwards Brigantia.

It chanced after this, that the Spaniards (perceiving these strangers to increase further in puissance than, as they thought, stood well with their securitie) sought diverse occasions to fall at debate with them, and to make warres upon them: but when they understood that Cathelus was as readie to defend, as they were to invade, they offores fell to a communication, & persuaded with Cathelus, that it should be best for him and his people, for the avoiding of variations, to remove unto the northside of Spaine, lying upon the coasts of the Cantabrian seas, now called Galitia (where he should find much void ground, by reason of the small number of inhabitants) adding that if they would so do, they would aid them to the uttermost against all such as should attempt to disquiet their indeuours in anie manner of wise. This offer Cathelus gladly accepted, and causing publike sacrifice to be celebrated in honor of the gods, he departed with all his people into Galitia, and there concluding a league with the inhabitants, builded a citie which he named Brigantia, but after it was named Pontum, and now Compostella.

Here Cathelus being intituled by the name of a king, deuised and ordeined lawes for his people to liue by, that the citie might not onelie be fenced with strong walles, but also with good and holisome statutes and ordinances, the chiefest fortifications that may be for all citiees and countries. And because he would not onelie haue his said people to liue vnder one law, but also to be knowen and called by one name, he gaue commandement that they should be all called Scottishmen (as before is said) of his wife Scota. In continuance of time, this nation grew to a wonderfull multitude, so that the Spaniards doubting the worst, determined to foresee remedie in time, and hereupon purposing utterly to destroye them, got them againe to armour, and with their whole puissance comming upon the Scottishmen, gaue them a sore battell, though in the end they were put to flight, the victorie remaining with the Scottishmen, albeit not without great bloodshed on either part, as the Scottish historie saith. At length a necessarie peace was agreed upon betwixt both parties, the conditions whereof were these: that aswell Scottishmen as Spaniards should liue after their owne lawes, and neither of them to invade other.

Cathelus hauing peace thus with his neighbors, sat upon his marble stone in Brigantia, where he gaue lawes, and ministred iustice vnto his people, thereby to mainteine them in wealth and quietnesse. This stone was in fashion like a seat or chaire, hauing such a fatall destinie, as the Scots say, follow-

ing it, that wheresoever it should be found, there should the Scottishmen reigne and haue the supreme gouernance. Hereof it came to passe, that first in Spaine, after in Ireland, and then in Scotland, the kings which ruled ouer the Scottishmen, received the crowne sitting upon that stone, vntill the time of Robert the first king of Scotland. The inscription also of the stone, though ingrauen long time after, as should appeare, was this:

*Ni fallas fatum, Scoti quocumq; locatum
Inuenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.*

Which may be thus translated:

Except old sawes doo faile,
and wifards wits be blind,
The Scots in place must reigne,
where they this stone shall find.

But to returne where I left touching Cathelus. When he perceived that his people multiplied in such wise, as the countrie which was appointed him by the last agreement, was not able to susteine them, he was loth to breake the peace which he had established with the Spaniards, by seeking to enlarge the bounds of his dominion with breach of covenant: and therefore understanding that there was an Island lying north ouer against Spaine, wherein were but few inhabitants, he caused all such ships as he was able to make, to be brought together into an haven nere vnto Brigantia, and commanding a great armie of his owne people and subjects to be assembled, he appointed his two sonnes whom he had by his wife Scota, the one named Hibernus, and the other Himeneus, to conuete them ouer into that Island, which afterwards they named Hibernia, after Hibernus, but now it is commonlie called Ireland.

At their first arrivall there, they came into the haven of Dundalk, where getting on land, they first incamped themselves nere the shore, and then sent forth certeine of their folks to search if they could learne what people inhabited in the countrie, by whom at their returne, and by such as they had happened upon and brought with them, they understood how there was no great number of inhabitants in that Ile, and that they which dwelled there were verie simple, such I meane as liued onelie by milke and herbs, with other the like things as the earth by nature brought forth of hir owne accord, without mans helpe or vse of anie tillage. Whereupon Hibernus with his brother Himeneus, went not about with force, but by gentlenesse to win those people, minding to joine them in friendship so with their Scottishmen, that both the people might be made as one. Neither was this hard to be done, sithens the inhabitants (perceiving the Scottishmen not to go about to harme them) came flocking in tholie about them, submitting themselves into their hands with gladnesse.

When things were once set here in a stay, and that orders were giuen how the land should be conuerted vnto tillage, and manured for the better bringing forth of such things as serue for mans sustenance, Hibernus (leaving his brother in charge with the gouernance of all those which were appointed to abide there in Ireland) with the most part of the ships and residue of the companie, sailed backe into Spaine, where finding his father Cathelus dead, he succeeded in his place of gouernement, to the great reioicing of all the people there.

This Hibernus was a man of great courage, and more giuen to the wars than his father before him, so that where his father contenting himselfe with the bounds and limits of the countrie assigned him by composition, sought no further (as is said) to enlarge the

Robert a con-
queror.

Spain.

Spaniards
Scots be-
come people.

Himeneus
Himeneus
of Ireland.

Diffusion

The Scots
send an
ambassador
to
Himeneus
Spaine.

Did sent to
assist the
Scots in
land.

Irishmen live
by milke and
bees.

Irishmen are
gentle in-
treated.

Himeneus
returned to
Spain ag-

Simon
Brych.

Brychus
came into
Ireland.

Hiber a con-
quarour.

3 part.

Spaniards &
Scots becom
one people.

Hemecus.
Hemecus R.
of Ireland.

Diffusion.

The Scots
send amb-
assadors unto
Apellus in
Spain.

He sent to
all the
Scots in Ire-
land.

Hermoneus
returned into
Spain againe

Simon
Rech.

Brechus
came into
Ireland.

the same Hiber ceased not to conquer cities and
townes nere adjoining to the borders of his sub-
jects, by reason whereof he same spread over all those
parties: and in the end continued his conquests to
be for peace, which he willingly granted: so that
a league being concluded betwixt the Scots and
Spaniards, the same took such good success: that
within certaine yeeres after, both the nations, which
by marriage and other contracts, which they offered
together, became one: The succession also of kings
continued after Hiber's deceasse in his posteritie a
long season: amongst the which, Apellus, Hermo-
neus, Ptolomeus, Hiberus, and Simon Brechus
were of most worthie fame: as is recorded by such
as have written the histories of that nation more
at large.

In the meane while that these things were, thus a
king in Spaine, Hemecus being left, as is before
remembered, in Ireland, to haue the gouernance
there, ruled both the people of Scottishmen, and the
fourier inhabitants, both as much indifferencie as
was possible: yet could he not ioinie them to in one,
but that after his deceasse either of them would haue
seuerall rulers of their owne nation to gouerne
them: by reason whereof, falling estates at discorde
amongst themselves, there ensued sharpe and cruell
warres betwixt them, which being ended sometime
by truce (when both parties happlie were throughlie
wearyed) they renewed notwithstanding their mali-
cious strife againe, so soon as they had once recou-
ered their decayed strengthes, so that the one seeking
the others destruction, they continued in great dis-
quietnes for a long time. These Scottishmen being
thus troubled in Ireland, finally adressed an ambas-
sage unto Apellus, who as then reigned amongst
the Scottish men in Spaine, requirring him of aid
and succor against their enemies, who went about
with sword and nails to expell all the Scottish nation
out of Ireland, which they were like enough to bring
to passe, if in time there were not speedie remedie
through his aid provided for the contrarie.

Apellus hearing these newes, as a man moued
with a naturall zeale toward all the Scottish lineage,
gave eare to their request, supposing it should be
his part to defend his kinfolke from all wrong and
injuries: immediatlie therefore he sent his three
sons, Hermoneus, Ptolomeus, and Hiberus, with
a chosen power of warriors ouer into Ireland, where
banquishing the enemies with fierce and cruell bat-
tels, they set the Scottishmen in sure and quiet pos-
session of all their lands and liuings. This done Pto-
lomeus and Hiberus remained there to rule and
inhabit the countrie. But Hermoneus, who was
the eldest brother, returned backe againe to Spaine,
there to succed his father when time should serue
thereto.

After this the Scottish estate continued many
yeeres in good quiet in Ireland, the people still in-
creasing in wealth and puissance, till prosperitie the
mother of contention, stirred vp grudge and particu-
larities amongst them, which shortly would haue de-
cayed the force of the Scottish nation, if the ancient
loyds had not provided redresse in time, which was to
persuade the people to haue a king of their owne,
who being partaker with none of them in their facti-
ons, might haue the absolute gouernance of the
whole: so that by common consent they sent into
Spain for one Simon Rech, whose name was
right famous amongst them in that season, both as
well for that he was lineallie descended of the blood
royall, as also for that he had shewed many proofes
of his noble valiance in sundrie affaires and busi-
nesse. This Simon being glad of these tidings, set
led quicklie into Ireland, and brought thither with

him amongst other princelie weapons and regall in-
struments, the fatal stone of marble, wherein he cau-
sed himselfe to be crowned, in token of his full pos-
session and establishment ouer that kingdom.

Brechus being thus crowned, was the first king
that reigned ouer the Scots in Ireland, who
began his reigne there, in the yeere from the creation
of the world 3270, which time by maister Harlons
account is after the flood 1616, from the first bail-
ding of Rome 5; after the entrie of Brutus into
Britaine 870, and before the incarnation of our sa-
uour 697. And hauing ruled his subjects with great
iustice by the space of fortie yeeres or thereabout, he
died, after whose deceasse succeeded Hfandus, who
had three children, and he begat Glaucus, which Glau-
cus begat Postafilus, the father of Rothfay: all of
them reigned successiuelie ouer the Scottishmen in
Ireland, as in the description of that land more
particulerly may appere.

This Rothfay perceiving the Scottish nation in-
creased to a greater multitude in Ireland than the
countrie was well able to susteine: transported o-
uer certeine numbers of them into the Isles ancien-
tly called Ebonides, afterwards Hebrides, but
now by the Scots, the Iwerne Isles, because they
lie on the west halfe of Scotland: and there they pla-
ced them to inhabit. He named also that Ile which
he first began to possesse Rothfay: after his owne
name. Which translation of these Scottishmen into
those Isles was 133 yeeres after the coronation of
Brechus.

This Rothfay had not bene long in those Isles, but
that hearing of his fathers deceasse, he returned in-
to Ireland to succed in his place. Where the Scot-
tishmen perceiving the fertilitie of the Isles; and
how the same serued well for the breeding of cattell,
became so desirous to inhabit there, that they went
ouer thither in great numbers, with their
wives, children, and whole families: so that within a
short time they multiplied in such wise, that the Isles
were not large enough to find them sustentance; by
reason whereof diuers companies of them got them
ouer into the maine land of the north part of this
our Britaine, called as then Albion, where they first
inhabited a waste and desert portion thereof, lieng
toward the west, ouer against the foreremembred
Isles, by them already inhabited, Anno 3383. That
part where they first began to settle themselves, they
named Argathella, after the name of their first cap-
tain and guide Cathelus, but the inhabitants at this
day call it Arguile.

At their first comming, because they perceiued
they could not liue without lawes and ciuill govern-
ment, they seuered themselves into tribes, or as it
were into hundreds, or wapentakes, euerie of the
same hauing a speciall gouernor to see their lawes
ministred, and iustice maintained: which gouernors
were had in such reuerence, that they were as much
afraid to sweare by the name of any one of them, as
they were by the gods. In this state they continued
many a yeere, increasing in proceesse of time vnto a
mightie nation, and liued in good rest without trou-
ble of warres or inuasion made vpon them by any
forein enemy. In this meane time also, the Picts,
which were a certeine people of Germanie, as most
writers doe agree, came and set foot also in another
part of Britaine, which now is comprehended like-
wise within Scotland.

Some saie that they came south of the better part
of Scythia, and other there be which hold opinion,
that they descended of the people named in old time
Agathys, which inhabited in a part of Sarmatia,
and were called Picts, because they used to paint and
colour their faces, or (as some suppose) for that they

Brechus.

4504 H.B.
60 H.B.
696 H.B.
Hfandus.

Rothfay.
The Scots
ferrie ouer in-
to the Iwer-
ne Isles.

They inhabit
the Ile of
Rothfay.

The Scots
inhabit the
maine land of
Scotland.

4617 H.B.
They inhabit
the countrie
called Arguile

They make
lawes and or-
dinances.
Gouernors
had in reue-
rence.

They liue in
peace.
The Picts
came into
Scotland out
of Germanie.

ere
me
in
the
ued
of
al-
as

us.
in
Gallia not
sufficient to
find the
line
Scots.

The Scots
take new
seats.

The Scots
arise in Ire-
land.

Irishmen liue
by milke and
hearbes.

Irishmen are
gentle in-
creased.

Hiber.

Hiber return-
ed into
Spain.

Hiber succe-
ded his father
Cathelus.

The Picts came first into Orkeney, and changing their seats came into the maine land of Scotland, Pictland, Firth.

4867 H. B.
The Picts make strong holds.

The Picts require women of the Scots.

A league made.

The succession of the government.

Their alliance disliked.

Dissention & present destruction.

The Picts god husbandmen.
The Scots given to hunting and fowling.

The Britains send

used gale apparell of divers and sundrie colours; but the same writers generallie confesse, that they first came into Germanie or hither. Scythia (that is: to meane Denmarke) many yeeres before they entred into Britaine. Truth it is that they first came out of Germanie, into the Isles of Orkeney, and there inhabiting for a season, feried over into Caithnesse; whereof it came to passe, that the streit there at this present is called Pictland firth: and so in continuance of time increasing in number, they passed further into the land, and got possession of Kossie, Spurrey land, Sperne, and Anguse, and after that, entering into Ffife and Louthian, they drove such Britains from thence as inhabited there before, which were but a simple kind of people; as those that applied nothing but onelie nourishing and breeding of cattell.

These Picts, as by conference of times may appere, entred first into Scotland, about the yeare after the creation of the world 3633, and being once arrived, they began to erect and build certeine forts, wherein they might defend themselves, if any force of enemies should chauce to put them to such shifts; but perceiving they could not continue any time without wives to mainteine their stocke and progenie by bringing forth issue, they thought it expedient to require of the Scottishmen some number of women to marrie with; that thereby a sure alliance might be had betwixt both nations, & that if need required, they might the better defend them from their common enemies the Britains, whom they knew would be loth to see the increase of either Scots or Picts, as those that were strangers to them, and to surpers upon their confines.

This request was granted, and a full league ratified betwixt the Scottishmen and Picts, with covenants, that neither of them should seeke to invade any peere of that which the other held, but content themselves with their owne marches. And further, he that attempted to wrong the one, should be accounted an enemy to both; and against whom they should be ready to joine their powers in either others defense. Also it was accorded, that if at any time it were doubtfull who ought to succeed in the government of the Pictish kingdome, some one descended of those Scottish women should be admitted to the throne.

This alliance was such at the first disliked of the Britains, who doubted, that if these two nations should once be joined inseparably together, they might in time to come increase to greater puissance than should stand well with the suertie of their estate. Therefore studieng how to prevent that danger, they thought the readiest meane to destroy both those nations was (if they might bring it to passe) to set them first together by the eares amongst themselves, that afterwards when their powers were by such meanes soze abated, they might the more easilie subdue them at their pleasures. This devise the Britains kept secret for a time, till occasion served to worke their intent. In which meane while the animosities betwixt the Scots and Picts increased to the wealth of both nations, and for the sake great love and friendship was maintained among them. The Picts applied themselves to tilling the ground, and building of fortrells: the Scots set all their delight in hunting and fowling, using about the same to go armed in iacks and light iesternes with bow and arrowes, no otherwise than if it had bene in open warre: for in this exercise they placed all the hope of the defense of their possessions, lands and liberties.

At length, the Britains perceiving happlie some grudge or envie to be entred amongst them, they

sent solemne ambassadors unto the Picts, declaring that it were more honorable for them to joine in league with the Britains, than with the Scots; which Britains were knowne to be famous, both in peace and war, and inhabited a countrie most fruitful and replenished with all commodities necessarie having therein rich mines of divers kinds of metall, where the Scots being a rude nation, wild and savage, inhabited a barren countrie, full of rough and fruitlesse mounteins, delighting thereto in nothing but in the slaughter of men and beasts. And hereunto they added that (which most moved the Picts) how it was foretold them by prophetes, that the Scots through treason should utterlie in time to come extinguisht and destroye all the Pictish blood. Which persuasions induced the Picts at the last, to make a league with the Britains, who promised their aid at all times, in whatsoever enterprise the Picts should take in hand against the Scots, and as often as occasion should require.

This league thus being confirmed with the Britains, encouraged the Picts so, that they sought daily how to pick quarrels, and fall out with the Scottishmen: whereupon making proclamation that no Scottishman should enter into their borders, upon paine of death: some such as they took within the same, they cruelly slue; other they ransomed at excessive summes: whereupon the Scots being kindled with iust displeasure, on the other side required them with the like, ever as they caught any of the said Picts by hap or otherwise amongst them, or in their walks.

The one nation seeking thus to be revenged of the other, there ensued open war betwixt them: whereupon the Scottishmen, to the end they might be the better able to mainteine their quarell, sent over their ambassadors unto their kinsmen in Ireland, requiring them of aid in that present danger, as having now not onelie warres with the Picts, but also with the Britains, who minded nothing but the utter destruction of them and their linage, except speedie remedie were found. And for that they saw it needfull to have one onelie head and governour, they made sute also to have some capitaine of honor with them into Albion, unto whom as to their king they would submit themselves. In that season amongst the Irish Scottishmen, there reigned a king named Ferguhardus, who inclining to the petition of the Pictish Scots, caused an huge armie forthwith to be levied, and thereto he appointed his owne sonne Fergusus to be generall of the same, a worthy yong gentleman, and an expert warrior: whom he sent over with his puissant companie, in such speed as was possible. He had also with him the marble stone, that he might conceiue the better hope to reigne there as a king, because he went forth unto such a dangerous warre.

Such also as went with him in this journey, had their wives, their children, and all their substance with them, as the manner of the nation then was. When they went forth into any forein countrie. Now it came to passe that this Fergusus was no sooner come into Albion amongst the Scottishmen there, but that in a parlement called and assembled in Argile for the purpose, they first consulted after what sort they might mainteine themselves against their enemies, and what order for government should be observed amongst them. Where finally for avoiding of such inconveniences, as might rise through manie governours, they decreed to chuse onlie one, whom in all things, as their king & head, they would from thenceforth follow and obey.

But because there was none thought so meet to beare that office, as Fergusus, and that the

ambassadors unto the Picts.

A craftie suggestion.

Prophecies.

The Britains aid against the Scots.

The Picts become enemies to the Scots.

The Scots revenge the injuries done unto them.

Scots send for aid into Ireland.

They require a governour.

Ferguhardus king in Ireland.

Fergusus sent into Scotland.
The marble stone.

Fergusus landed in Albion.
A parliament.

A king is chosen to be obeyed.

Fergusus

The Britains are about to destroy the Picts.

Treason revealed unto Fergusus.

Fergusus sends to the Picts.

A peace to be concluded.

The king of the Picts called his council and commons.

ambassadors
unto the
Picts.

A craftie sug-
gestion.

Prophecies.

The Picts
hains and
against the
Scots.

The Picts
become ene-
mies to the
Scots.

The Scots
revenge the in-
jury done
unto them.

Scots sent
for aid into
Ireland.

They require
a gouernour.

Fergus herbus
king in Ire-
land.

Fergus
sent into
Scotland.
The marble
stone.

Fergus
imbed in
Albion.
A parliament.

king is
obeyed.

Fergus

chasse of hope was also brought with him: they con-
cluded by whole consent to commit that charge vnto
him, and so to the great reioicing of the people, he
was placed vpon his marble stone, and crowned
king, being the first of the Scottish nation that euer
ruled in Albion as absolute gouernour, who began his
reigne in the yeare after the creation of the world
3640, which is (as Harison saith in his chronologie)
before the incarnation of our sauour 327, after the
building of Rome 420, and after the entering of
Christus into Britaine 790.

The kingdome of the Scottishmen being thus be-
gun in Albion, Fergus took vpon him to rule
as king, making provision on all sides to resist his
enemies: who whilst these things were a doing in
Argile, had assembled their powers: vnto whom also
the Britains had joined themselves, and were now
entered into the Scottish borders. Fergus hauing
hercof knowledge, speedilie got together his people,
and came with banners displayed to encounter his
enemies. In king Fergus banner, there was a
red lion portraied rampant, with his taile folded to-
wards his backe, as though he did beat the same,
which is the maner of them when they be moued to
displeasure. Fergus was the first that bare this cog-
nifance in Albion, which euer since hath bene borne
by those kings that haue successiuelie reigned after
him there.

Both the armies were now come within sight of
other, and readie to haue given the onset, when there
went a murmuring amongst the Picts, that their
companions the Britains were gotten to a hill a
little beside them, minding to see the end of the bat-
tell before they did stir, and then if occasion serued
(as their hope was it should) they purposed to fall
vpon both parties, as well Picts as Scots, and so to
destroie them both, the vanquishers together with
the vanquished, as they found them out of arae in
following the chase. The like report was brought vnto
Fergus by one that fled to his side from the ene-
mies campe, touching this treason of the Britains,
conspiring the exterminion of both the people.

By reason whereof, either part being put in feare
of that which might issue through the malicious pur-
pose of the Britains, they kept their tents certeine
daies together, without making any hast to battell.
And in the meane while Fergus sent a messenger
vnto the king of the Picts, requiring him to come to
a communication before they should fight, for that
he had to informe him of such matters as pertai-
ned no lesse to the safeguard and preservation of the
Picts, than of his owne people the Scots. The king
of the Picts willingly gaue care to this message,
and so a little beside both the armies standing in bat-
tell arae, the two kings accompanied with a few of
their nobles met together, where in the end the dan-
ger in which they both stood, being plainelie disclosed
and throughly weighed, they condescended to haue a
further treatie of peace, which the king of the Picts
alleged he might not conclude without the publike
consent of his subiects; and therefore he appointed
on the daie following to returne to the same place a-
gaine, there to giue a resolute answer, after he had
vnderstood the minds of his lordes and commons in
the same.

Wherevpon therefore returning to his campe, he
called his counsell afore him, declaring the sub-
stance of the communication which had bene be-
twixt king Fergus and him, which was in effect ten-
ding to this end. First considering the present dan-
gers of the Britains, there was nothing more expedi-
ent than a peace to be agreed vpon, as well for the
commoditie of the Picts as Scots, if they would
yield with all to avoid the imminent perill of their

utter ruine and common destruction intended by the
Britains.

Wherevpon also he required their aduise what they
thought good to be done, declaring that according as
they counsellled him, he would worke therein: This
matter being thus proposed, as there were diuerse
heads, so were there sundrie opinions. Some indi-
ged that in no case they could enter friendship againe
with the Scots, who had so cruelle slaine and mur-
dered a great number of the Pictish nation; and had
shewed such tokens of a beaustie furious nature,
that there was no hope to continue long in amitie
with such a raging kind of people: and hereto they
held that it was not unknowne how the prophetic
went, that the Scots should in the end destroie all
the Pictish progenie. So that it were wisdome to
keepe their power vnder, so long as was possible,
and not to increase the same by ioining with them
in friendship.

Other were of a contrarie mind, esteeming that
in no wise the Scottish mens friendship ought to be
refused, vntill they would determine to take new
dwelling in some other forraigne parties: sith the
Britains would not faile, but vpon occasion take
what vantage they could to expell them both, as well
Scots as Picts, out of the countries now by them
possessed. And as for that, which was alledged tou-
ching the prophetic, if the gods had so determined,
then might no policie of man preuent it: and if
there were no such thing appointed by the same gods,
what folie then were it to cast such dreadfull doubts
where no cause was? Over and besides this, they
had taken them wiues of the Scottish nation, and
thereby ingrafted their seed (the hope of their posse-
ritie) in that stocke, which is the nearest meane and
fozeablest occasion to nourish friendship amongst
people, that is or may be deuised; therefore it should
not be onelie profitable but necessarie also to haue
peace with the Scots, to renew againe with them
the former league, to the perpetuall strengthening
and aduancement of both the nations.

Whilst the Picts were thus in debating the mat-
ter, their wiues also being present there in the armie,
came in amongst them with their children, and in
most lamentable wise besought their husbands to
haue pitie vpon them, in their so sorrowfull case, and
not to suffer their hands to be defiled with unnatu-
rall murder, sith it were lesse discomfort to them
with their sille little ones to die anie kind of death
whatsoener it were, rather than to behold their hus-
bands with their fathers, their brethren, and their
kinsfolke ioine together in battell, and there to kill
one another without all mercie and compassion. The
nobles and gentlemen of the Picts hearing the cries
of these women, and being now somewhat moued to
pitie, consented at last to haue peace with the Sco-
tish men, and to renew againe the old league that
was heretofore betwene them: and for mutuall
injuries heretofore committed, that there should be
a mutuall recompense, according as might stand
with equitie and reason. So that where the Bri-
tains had bene the chiefe procurers of all that mis-
chiefe and discord betwixt them, in hope thereby to
destroie both the parties, they should now be repu-
ted from henceforth as common enemies to them
both. As for all other articles & conditions of agree-
ment, it was ordeined that their king should do
therein as vnto him might seme good.

In the morning therefore, as was appointed, the
king of Picts meeting with king Fergus, decla-
red what his subiects were agreed vpon: and further
opening his mind touching the establishment of the
peace, thought it conuenient to haue a day of mee-
ting betwixt them to ratifie the same. Wherewith
Fergus

A prophetic.

The Picts
admonished
by their
wiues to
peace.

The Picts
are moued to
pitie.

Britains re-
puted as ene-
mies.

The meeting
of the two
kings.

In other day
taken for the
ratification of
the peace.

The Brit-
tains go hom-
ward disap-
pointed of
their purpose.

The Scots
and Picts re-
turne home in
peace.

This Coillus
by the circum-
stance of the
time, and o-
ther consid-
rations,
should seeme
to be the same
whome the
Britains name Gut-
tine.

Coillus his
subtiltie.

The Britains
rob the Scots
and the Picts
for to stirre
discord.

The Scots
and Picts in-
uade the Brit-
tains.

Coillus entred
into Scot-
land with an
armie.

Fergusse as-
sembled a
great power
of Scottish-
men.

For iuse being well contented & glad that through his motion a peace should thus ensue, a day was appointed betwixt them and kept accordingly, so that comming together, the ancient league was in all points renewed, with some conditions added thereto, available (as was thought) for the stronger confirmation thereof. Before this, and after the first meeting betwixt the Scots and Picts, I meane so soone as the Britains had understanding of this agreement, they had no lust to tarry longer in the field; but raising their power, they departed their waies homewards, doubting least the said agreement might turne smallie to their gaine. The Picts and Scottishmen also after they had thus fullie ratified the peace and league betwixt them, brake up their camps, euerie man repairing to the place of his abode.

The king also of the Britains named Coill (sojourning in that season nere about Forke) bring informed of this sudden renouation of the league betwixt the Scottishmen and Picts, was nothing too full of the newes: for he doubted least in time to come their confederacie might be occasion of their further increasing in puissance; and after that some new occasion of his trouble. Wherefore studying by what waies and means he might best provide remedie for such inconueniences as might insue, he attempted nothing openlie for the space of two years, but onelie watched his time, to the end that if he might in that season chance (thorough the insolent courage of either nation) to espie anie occasion seruicable for his time, he might set vpon and be a plague vnto them both.

At length also he caused his subiects (such I meane as bordered nere to the marches of both the people) to fetch prizes and botties out of the Pictish confines. So that when the Picts sent thither with request to haue restitution made, it was by and by answered, that the Scots had done such trespasses: (being a people inured vnto such feats by nature, and not the Britains, who were nothing guiltie in that kind of matter; and thus would the Britains do in like sort when they had robbed the Scots, so that with such inuicious dissimulation, as well Scots as Picts being not a little offended, they entred some after into the Pictish confines, robbing & spoiling the same, as their custome is, with all manner of crueltie.

When Coill of Britaine had notice of these doings, he took gricuous indignation thereat, and therevpon determined to proue whether he might with open warres attaine his purpose, which he could not bying to passe by his former cloaked practise. And herewith assembling an armie, he entred into the Scottish borders lieng towards the Irish seas, waisting & spoiling with fire and sword whatsoeuer he found in his waies, till he came euen to the riuer of Dune, where incamping himselfe vpon the banks thereof, he sent forth companies of his souldiers to despoile the countrie, and to bring in all such prisoners as they should lay hands vpon.

But in the meane time, and so soone as Fergusse heard of the approach of the Britains, he caused all the people in the countrie to get them with their goods & cattels vnto the mountains, except such as were able to beare armour: whome he appointed to attend vpon him, to defend the countrie as occasion serued. Whereof Coill having knowledge brought by an espiall, he sent forth about five thousand nimble men, and such as had bene used to climate craggie hills, to go before and win the passages, purposing the next day to follow himselfe with the whole armie. But the Scottishmen and Picts being now assembled together, and certified hereof also by their spies, they first fell in consultation what they

were best to do; and in the end agreed that the same night they should set vpon the Britanny campe: Fergusse with his Scottishmen on the one side, and the king of the Picts on the other; so that in the dead of the night the Scottishmen killing the watch, were entered into the Britanny campe, yer Coill had knowledge of anie such thing.

Whereby it came to passe that whilste the Britains (awaked with the noise) drew vnto that part where the alarme rose, to beat backe the Scots; the Picts comming ouer the riuer of Dune, by a certeine blind ford, assailed them on the backs, to the great confusion of the whole armie, by reason whereof the Britains (seeing none other remedie but to saue themselves by flight) turned their backs and fled, in which tumult they were trodden doونه and fell by heaps one vpon an other, and were not able to helpe themselves, nor yet to make shift to auoid the hands of their aduersaries. In this businesse also Coill himselfe chanced to be oppressed amongst the rest, so that he was found dead in the search of such as were slaine, and after solemnie buried according to his estate in Troinouant, leaving the kingdom vnto his sonne Silsellus, who with his mother Peritia gouerned the same together by the space of manie yeares.

Such Britains also as escaped out of their enemies hands, got them together in the next morning, perceiving what losse they had sustained not onlie by the death of their prince, but also in the slaughter of a great part of their whole armie, sent an herald vnto the Scots and Picts to requite a peace: which though the most part of the people were not in will to haue consented vnto, yet perswaded in the end by their princes, they were contented to yield thereto: so that a generall peace was concluded, and speedilie published betwixt them.

Immediatlie herevpon, the Picts with their part of the spoile gotten at this iourne, departed to their homes, and Fergusse returned into Argile; where studying dailie for the quiet aduancement of the Scottish commonwealth, he called a parlement of his nobles, and first declaring to the assemblie how much bound they were to the gods for giuing them this victorie ouer so puissant enemies as the Britains were, he exhorted them to liue in friendlie concord amongst themselves, and to abstaine from violating the leagues now concluded, as well with the Britains as before hand with the Picts.

Also for the auoiding of enuious contention, and for the better assurance of euerie mans estate, he iudged it necessarie to haue a partition made of all the lands belonging vnto the Scottish dominion. For before they occupied the whole as in commune, without knowing to whome this pcece or that did belong. Which politike aduise of Fergusse, the Scottishmen praised most highlie, promising not onelie to follow his counsell herein in all that he should wish, but also in all that he should otherwise command.

Wherevpon shortly after there were chosen by his aduise seuen ancient personages, men of good conscience and great experience, which were appointed to be seruicours of the whole countrie, and to diuide the same as nere as they could into a set number of equall portions (but with this consideration, that according as the fruitfulness or barrenness of the soile required, so they should enlarge or diminish the circuit of their bounds.) When they had diuided the countrie, and according to their commission serued forth the same into parts, they returned into Argile, where Fergusse then sojourned, and there in his presence, the names of all his noble men that were repnted as gouernors were put in lots, euerie of them to haue such part of the realme for his owne,

Coill was
slaine and his
whole armie
discomfited, of
whome as
Hector Boet.
saith, their
countrie of
Coill took
name.

Peace con-
cluded.

A parlement
In exhorta-
tion vnto qui-
etnesse and
peace.

The land is
parted.

Obedient
subiects.

Men diuide
the land into
portions.

The gouerne-
ment is giuen
vnto the no-
bles by lots.

Statutes an
lawes are
made.

Bergerium

A place apoin-
ted for iudice

Fergusse was
into Ireland
and in his
returne was
drowned.

Roche Fer-
gule, other-
wise knoeke
Fergusse.

Edwards.
Cruthens
Camelonus.
This citie th
Scottish for
ers take to b
Camelodu-
nus, of the
which there
is so often
mention mad
in the Roma
writers: but
verlie heret
they do grea
le erre.
Agueda now
called Eden-
burgh.
The castell
of Agueda.

The Scots
consult about
an other ele-
tion of a king

as should fall to him by good lucke and present hap.

By this meanes each of them being placed as his chance fell, they inhabited their quarters with such people as they had the leading of, so that afterwards the countries took their names of those the first gouernors: which names for the more part (being a little changed) remaine amongst them euen unto this day. Fergus having thus without occasion of enuie diuided his countrie amongst his nobles and subiects, studied further more to deuise lawes for the maintenance of common quiet amongst them. And therefore amongst other ordinances he made statutes against murder, robbery, burning of houses, and especially against theft.

Statutes and lawes are made.

Beregonium.

A place appointed for iustice.

Fergus went into Ireland and in his returne was wounded.

Roche Fergus, otherwise knoe as Roche Fergus.

Edadus, Cruthneus, Camelonus. This citie the Scottish writers take to be Camelonus, of the which there is often mention made in the Roman writers: but verilie herein they do greatly erre. Agneda now called Edenbrough. The castell of Agneda.

The Scots consult about an other election of a king.

He builded also the castell of Beregonium in Loughhabaire on the west side of Albion, ouer against the wessterne Isles, where he appointed a court to be kept for the administration of iustice: that both the Albion Scots, and also those of the same Isles might haue their access & resort thither for redresse of wrongs, and ending of all controuersies. The residue of his life he past in rest and peace with his neighbors the Picts and Britains, endeavouring by all meanes to knit and couple the hearts of his subiects in one friendlie bond of inward loue and amitie. Finally, sailing afterward into Ireland to be arbitrator in a matter of variance betwixt the nobles of that land, as he returned homewards by force of tempest, the ship wherein he was imbarshed, was driven vpon a rocke, where he perished, after he had reigned as king amongst the Scottishmen in Albion about 25 yeeres. The rocke where he was thus cast away, hath bene euer since called rocke Fergus, after his name.

In the same season there reigned amongst the Britains one Enanias, named by Hector Boetius Edadus, and amongst the Picts one Cruthneus Camelonus that builded a famous citie vpon the banke of the river called Caron, as the Scottish writers affirme, appointing it to be the chiefe citie of all the Pictish kingdome, where in times past there was a faire commodious haven apt to harbour ships in at all seasons, but now it is dammed vp in such sort, that beneath there appeareth anie token where that haven was: and the citie it selfe was finally subuerted by Kenneth king of Scotland, as after shall appeare. The forenamed Cruthneus builded also the towne of Agneda, afterwards called Edenbrough, of Ethus king of the Picts, the castell was named the castell of Agneda, for that the daughters of the Pictish kings were there kept under strait custodie, appointed to learne to sow & weake, till they came to yeeres of marriage.

But now to returne to the Scottishmen. After the death of Fergus, the nobles of the realme assembled together, to take counsell whome they might chuse to succeed in his place. Anie of them, in respect of the high benefits which their nation had receiued by the politike gouernement of king Fergus, would not in anie wise that his sonnes, though young of yeeres, should be forgotten; but that according to reason and equitie, the eldest of them should be elected, with they might not otherwise deliuer them selves of the note of ingratitude towards his father, vnto whome they were more bound than with long can be well exprest.

Other hauing a speciall regard to the quiet of their commonwealth, doubted least if they crowned a child to their king, during his minority, it could not be but that there should follow strife, enuie, and contention for the gouernance of his person and realme amongst the nobles: and that in such wise, as the people being diuided into sundrie factions, the due administration of iustice should be neglected,

the nobles bearing and bolstering vp all kinds of iniuries done or committed by anie of their partakers.

And though it might so happen that they agreed vpon one speciall gouernor, as reason was they should; yet should he seeke to aduance his kindreds more than reason happilie required, and peraduenture do things otherwaies much displeasing to no small number of them by that his private authoritie. And againe, the king should no longer come to yeeres of anie discretion, but one or other would put him in mind to take vpon him to rule the whole him selfe, before he understood what charge he had in hand: and by reason of his fragile youth he lightlie would not follow the counsell of anie, but such as consented vnto him in his sensuall lusts and inordinate fancies, which commonlie reigne in such princes as take vpon them gouernance of realmes, before they know (through want of sufficient yeeres) how to gouerne themselves.

For these and the like considerations, alledged by some of no small authoritie amongst them, it was agreed in the end, that one Feritharis the brother of the late deceased Fergus should be crowned king, and haue the gouernance of the realme during his life: and herewith in the meane time to see his nephues king Fergus his sons brought vp in princelie nurture and discipline, as appertained to the sons of a king: that after his deceasse, if he liued till anie of them were come to ripe yeeres, they might succeed him in the estate and kingdome.

Feritharis chosen king.

This ordinance also they decreed to be obserued as a law from thenceforth euer after, that if the king died leauing no issue, but such as were vnder age to succeed him, then should one of his nearest kinsins, such as was thought meetest to occupie the roome, be chosen to reigne as king during his life, and after his deceasse the crowne to reuert vnto his predecessors issue without controuersie, if the same were once growne vp to lawfull age.

By this meanes then were children excluded from obtaining the crowne, least the publike libertie of the realme might chance to be put in danger. But yet was it afterwards perceiued that this deuise for choosing of kings, ministred occasion sometimes to the vncle to seeke the destruction of the nephue, and likewise to the nephue to procure the dispatch of the vncle and vncles sonnes, with the committing of manie heinous murders of right worthy princes, to the no small danger of ouerthrowing the whole state of the commonwealth, so that finally that ordinance was clearely abrogated, as you shall heare hereafter.

The choosing of kings was not allowed.

But now to my purpose. After Feritharis with the full consent of all the people was thus elected king, he was inthronized with all solemnitie in receiuing his kinglie ornaments, as his two edged sword, his scepter of fall, and his crowne of gold fashioned in forme of a rampire made for defense of a towne or fortresse, signifieng that he took vpon him to preserve the libertie of his countrie, to see offenders duly punished, and the execution of lawes with equal punishment trulie ministred.

Feritharis

A two edged sword.

These ornaments of inuesture remained vnto the Scottish kings, without being in anie point changed, till the daies of Achatus king of Scotland, who establishing a perpetuall league with Charles the great, emperor and king of France, to inuere for euer betwixt the Scots and Frenchmen, added vnto the crowne four flower de lices, together with four croffets, diuided in sunder with equal spaces, rising somewhat higher than the flower de lices: that thereby the obseruing of the christian religion and sincere faith, maintained by the Scottish nation, might

The crowne changed.

Coill was slain and his whole armie discomfited, of whom as Hector Boet. saith, their countrie of Coill took name.

Peace concluded.

A parliament

An exhortation vnto quietnesse and peace.

The land is parted.

Obedient subiects.

When diuise the land into portions.

The gouernment is giuen vnto the nobles by lots.

The league
with the
Picts con-
firmed.

might be the more evident to all men that beheld it. But now as touching Feritharis, shortly after he was thus invested king, he came to an interview with the king of the Picts, where manie things being communed of touching the wealth of both nations, the league was in solempne wise confirmed, and such punished as had done anie thing sounding to the breach of the same.

After this, being returned home, he ordered himselfe in the administration of his charge verie uprightly, without giving iust occasion unto anie to find himselfe grieved: and thus continued he certaine yeeres in such love of all the estates of the realme, that afterwards when his nephue Ferlegus the eldest sonne of king Fergus, being now come to full age, through instigation of some insolent persons, and such as by alteration hoped for advancement, required (contrarie to the ordinance before established) to have of him the crowne: the matter was taken in such ill part, that where before the same Ferlegus was highly beloved and honored of all the people, they were now ready (if Feritharis had not with authoritie and gentle persuasions staied them) to have toke him all in peces: but although their rage was somewhat appeased by Feritharis, as is said, yet would they not be pacified throughly, till that all such as had bene of counsell with him in that practice, had suffered death, and new gouernours appointed to haue the oversight of him.

Feritharis liued not passing thre moneths after this businesse, but died suddenly in the night, the truth not being knowne whether by naturall death, or through treason of Ferlegus and certaine of his complices (whereof there was no small suspicion) for that he together with them found meanes to flee first to the Picts, and after to the Britains, where he passed the residue of his life in great shame and ignominy. Feritharis being thus dead in the 15 yeere of his reigne, the nobles assembled together for the election of a new king, and in the end they agreed upon Mainus the younger sonne of king Fergus, as then being about 24 yeeres of age.

Mainus.

This Mainus being of contrarie conditions to his brother Ferlegus, was thus advanced to the crowne by the whole consent of the nobles and commons, who yet kept in fresh memorie the noble gouernement of his father Fergus. He therefore studiously to answer the peoples expectation in following his said fathers worthy acts, maintained iustice in all points, without suffering anie bearing or bolstering of wrong. If there were anie controuersie risen betwixt neighbour and neighbour within one hundred or cantred, he willed that the same might be taken up and ended amongst them at home by order of some authorized court there. But if the matter were of such importance, as that it could not well be decided without authoritie of some higher court, he would then haue the hearing thereof, at such time as he used euerie yeere once to haue a publicke out of all parts of his realme, to conferre together for such purposes; at what time also such as were notorious offenders were arraigned and punished by death or otherwise, according to the fault which they earst had committed.

Mainus confirmed the league with the Picts.

Mainus a devout man in his religion.

Also for the more quiet of his subiects, he confirmed the ancient league with the Picts, their king named Chpinus requiring the same by his ambassadors sent unto him. Moreover this Mainus vpon a religious deuotion toward the gods, hauing an assured belicfe, that without their fauours all worldly policies were but vaine, deuised sundrie new ceremonies to be added vnto the old: and also caused certaine places in sundrie parts of his dominion to be appointed out, and compassed about with great huge

stones round like a ring; but towards the south was one mightie stone farre greater than all the rest, pitched up in manner of an altar, whereon their priests might make their sacrifices in hono^r of their gods.

In witness of the thing, there remaineth vnto this day certaine of those great stones standing round ringwise, which places are called by the common people, The old chapels of the gods. A man would maruell by what shift, policie, or strength such mightie stones were raised in that manner. Amongst other the gods also, which the Scottishmen had in most reuerence, Diana was chiefe, whome they accounted as their peculiar patronesse, for that she was taken to be the goddesse of hunting, wherein consisted their chiefest exercise, pastime and delite. Vnto her therefore he instituted monethlie sacrifice by reason whereof this vse was taken up; that so some as anie of them got sight of the new moone next after her change, he saluted her with certaine prayers or salutations most reuerentlie. Which custome indured amongst them manie hundred yeeres after. Mainus did also appoint forth livinges for the priests to be taken of such sacrifice as was offered up to the gods. Finally, when he had thus instructed his people in lawes and ordinances, as well touching the religious seruice of the gods, as also for politike gouernment of his countrie, he ended his life, after he had reigned about 29 yeeres, leauing the estate to his sonne Dornadille, Elidurus reigning at the same time in Britaine, and Maara amongst the Picts.

Dornadille being crowned king of the Scots, established a new league with the Britains, by sending his ambassadors vnto them: and with the Picts he renewed & confirmed the ancient alliance. He serual his pleasure on hunting and keeping of hounds & greyhounds; ordeining that euerie holder should find him two hounds and one greyhound. If a hunter chanced in following the game to lose an eye or a lim, so that he were not able to helpe himselfe after that time, he made a statute that he should be found of the common treasure. He that killed a wolfe should haue an ore for his paines. This beast in deed the Scottishmen, euen from the beginning, used to pursue in all they might deuise, because the same is such an enimie to cattell, wherein consisted the chiefest portion of all their wealth and substance.

Thus the Scottishmen in this season, setting all their delite on hunting, began also to vse lawes and statutes in proces of time concerning the same. And first it was ordeined, that he whose dog did teile and go through to the end of the course with the deare, so that he were seene to be at the fall, should haue the skin; the head & hoznes to remaine to him whose dog did best next. The body being drest & broken up, should be distributed at the pleasure & discretion of the master of the game. The bowels and panch were cast to the dogs as the case required. And if there rose anie doubt in anie of these points, they should chose by common consent, a iudge to determine of the matter. But whether these deuises were lawes made by the king as then for the further advancement of his pleasure, or rather customes growne and ratified by long continuall vse, I cannot tell, but certaine it is, they were obserued through all the Scottish regions, as hauing the force of lawes, and so are vse euen vnto these daies.

Beside these ordinances for hunting, Dornadille commanded also, that all such statutes as Fergus had made, should be kept and obserued: wherevnto he added certaine new, namelie diuerse sorts of punishments for sundrie kinds of transgressions, according to the qualitties of the same: which he caused to be ingrossed in books of record, and committed to the

Diana honored of the Scots. Diana goddesse of hunting.

The new moone is worshipped.

A living provided for the priests.

Sothar

Notba

Dornadille.

Dornadille a lover of peace. Dornadille had pleasure in hunting.

Eligant now call the Scot say Galk

The reward for killing of a wolfe.

Sothar murderer

Lawes made for hunting.

Reuth Reuthened king Diuers offended

The dogs rewarded.

Donant A consy of Fergus against iudges. Fergus led into

Old lawes allowed, and new estate shed.

Fergus turneth Scotian to reueniur.

the custodie of a graue counsellor, who by a common consent should haue the interpretation of those lawes if anie doubt arose, and that when anie offender should come before the iudge, and heare the sentence read by him, the same offender might understand that he receiued nothing but right at the iudges hands: by reason whereof it came to passe, that such offenders without repining willingly were contented to suffer anie punishment whatsoever it was that the law did so appoint them. This custome grew into such force, that it neuer might yet be abrogated amongst them of the westerne Isles, but that euen vnto this day they haue their lawiers amongst them, without whose denuntiation or decrees taken out of the register, no iudgement is reputed lawfull.

These were the acts and doings of king Dozualle, who in the 28 yere of his reigne departed this world at Beregontum, now called Dunstaffe, leaving behind him a sonne called Keuther as yet not of sufficient age to succede in the estate. By reason whereof Nothatus the brother of Dozualle, a man of comelie personage and wit, apt (as was thought) to haue a realme in gouernance, was crowned king by force of law aboute remembred, debarring children vnder age to inherit the succession of the crowne.

This Nothatus had beneath reigned two yeres, when all the people began to crie out vpon him, for such tyrannicall parts as he practised as well against the meane estates as the high. And for so much as he being admonished of his due tie, and required to reforme certaine dishonorable vsages by him exercised, he would giue no care thereto: therefore one Doualus gouernor of Brigantia, conspiring with other nobles of the realme to depose him, intised Keuther king Dozualles sonne, to take part with them, and to claime the crowne as due to him by descent from his father. And so assembling a companie of their faction sufficient for their enterprise, they entered the palace where Nothatus lay, and after reasoning with him of certaine points touching his misgouernment in the estate, diuers of their companie not taring till they were commanded, rashlie fell vpon him, and murdered him together with diuers of such nobles and gentlemen, as they knew to be enemies to Doualus and his friends.

After this they proclaimed Keuther king, and crowned him with all due solemnities, diuers of the nobles of the realme being highlie displeased therewith, for that they iudged it not onelie a great offense to haue the king thus traitorously murdered, but also saw hereby the ancient ordinance of choosing their king through consent of the people, to be broken by the wicked attempt of a priuat person, & an vnskillfull young man aduanced to the crowne, contrarie to the decree of an autentike law. Among other one Ferquhard the sonne in law of Nothatus gouernor of Lozne and Cantire, called an assemblee of the people, and began to declare what enormities were like to issue through this tyrannicall attempt of Doualus. Doualus hearing whereabout Ferquhard went, hastily came to the place where this assemblee was made, and there sleaing diuers of the chiefe, he did put Ferquhard also in great hazard of his life, who by sleing yet escaped his hands, and got him ouer into the Ile of Ila, whither resorted vnto him diuers of the nobles (that fauored not Douale) with a great number of the commons.

In the end, Ferquhard perswaded his companions to set all feare apart, and to returne with him into Scotland to take reuenge of Douale and his complices, being traitors and enemies to the realme and common-wealth, so that first joining hands, which they did wet in mans blood (according to the

custome then vsed) they promised one to another to liue and die in the quarell, and after imbarcking themselves in certeine vessels, they entred the sea, and passed ouer into Scotland, where gathering together no small number of such as willingly resorted vnto them to their aid, they encountered with Douale in battell, whose host twice in one daie was put to flight nere to the citie Beregontum with the losse of eight thousand men.

The night parted the fraie, but in the next morning, Douale and his partakers through great indignation conceiued, for that they were so beaten backe by Ferquhard (hauing in all his host not past 10000 persons) fiercelie came forth of their tents to giue battell afresh, and finding their enemies ready to receiue them, there was fought so cruell a battell betwixt them, that in the end either part being sore trauelled with slaughter and long fight, was glad to giue place to the other, not passing an eight hundred of all those that were present that daie in the field as then being left aliue. Vpon Douales part there was slaine Gethus king of Picts, whose daughter king Keuther had married, with a great number of his people: also Douale himselfe with diuers of the nobles of Scotland, beside gentlemen & commons that took part with him. On the contrarie side there died also Ferquhard himselfe with diuers gouernors of tribes, beside the residue of the nobles, gentlemen & commons of Rolfe, Cathenesse, Sparne, Argile, Cantire, and Lozne, with them of the westerne Isles which were there with him.

Keuther escaping with life from this bloudie encounter, in the night following departed his waies with such of his people as were left aliue. Whereof his enemies being aduertised in the next morning, pursued after him with such diligence, that in the end they took him within a castell in Cathenesse whither he was fled for succor: he was pardoned of his life, partly in respect of his fathers merits, and partly againe for that it was knowne how his tender youth was such as had not deserued death by any fact, otherwile than in that he had followed the counsel of malicious persons. By this cruell murder and huge slaughter thus committed betwixt these two nations of Scottisshmen and Picts, both their forces were so greatlie infiebled, that they became an easie prey to their ancient and common enemies the Britains, who in such oportunitie of occasion thought not to sit still till the same might happlie be past and gone.

First therefore with a mightie armie the Britains invaded the Picts: the nobles of which nation perceiving themselves not able to make resistance, fled with their wiues, their children, and the most part of their goods, ouer into the Isles of Orkenie, and there assembling together, they created them a new king to haue the gouernance ouer them, who was also named Gethus, and brother to the other Gethus a little before mentioned. Here also they remained certeine yeres after, liuing in peaceable manner with the former inhabitants, whom they found there, wronging them by no iniurious dealing at all (if the Scottissh historie be true.) Hereof moreouer as some suppose it came to passe, that these Islands of Orkenie are named by diuers writers the ancient kingdome of the Picts.

In the meane while the Britains seising vpon such countries as these Picts had forsaken, that is to saie, the Piers, Louthian, and others, they left in diuers places where they thought expedient, garisons of men of war, to keepe the same in due subiection: and after entred into the confines of the Scottissh kingdome, burning & waisting all afoze them, where with such Scots as yet remained aliue, being high-

Douales slaine.

Ferquhard is slaine.

Keuther the king fled.

Keuther pursued & taken. He is pardoned of his life.

Gethus king.

why Orkenie was called Pictland as some suppose, but the truth should seme to be that they were so called because the Picts inhabited there before they set foot in Brittain.

hana hano. d of the cots. tana gob. le of yun. ig.

he reso. one is wo. pped.

living pzo. ed for the est.

Nothatus.

Nothatus

Brigantia, now called as the Scots say Galloway.

Donadille. quatille a. er of peace. quatille pleasure ing.

re reward. killing of. colfe.

Nothatus murdered.

Keuther. Keuther crowned king. Diuers lordes offended.

was made. hunting.

Donantia.

A conspiracie of Ferquhard against Doualus. Ferquhard fled into Ila.

2 dogs. arded.

lawes. sed, and. establie

Ferquhard returned into Scotland for to reuenge his iniurie.

The Scots
overthwone.

lie moved to indignation, came stoutlie into the field to defend their countrie, and incounting with their enemies nere to Kalendar wood, they lost two thousand of their companie: the residue also being sore chafed, fled into sundrie parties for safegard of their liues.

Scots belie-
ged deuoure
one another.

This discomfiture put the Scottish nation into such feare and terror, that they bitterlie despaired of all reuerie, where contrariwise the Britains were so aduanced (in hope bitterlie to expell all aliens out of their Ile) that pursuing the victorie in most earnest wise, they forced Keuther and all the nobilitie of the Scottish nation that was yet left aliue, to flee for safegard of their liues into the castell of Berregonium, where they held themselves as in the surest hold. The Britains being certified of the repaire of their enemies to Berregonium, enuironed the castell with a strong and belement siege, untill that the Scots within were constrained through want of vittels to eat each other, according as the lots fell by a common agreement made amongst them.

The Scots
come forth
and fight.

But when it came to passe, that euen those that were reputed as heads and gouernors, and in whom consisted the hope of their whole defense, did now and then come to the shambles as well as other of lesse reputation, they thought it best to trie by issuing forth, if any of their hays might be so good as to escape the danger present, whereas by tarrying still within the fortreffe, they should but deuoure one another without any reuenge for losse of their liues had vpon their fierce and cruell enemies. Wherevpon by common consent there issued forth, first one Colane lord of Cantire with an hundred of his owne souldiours, and fiercelie skirmishing with the Britains, defended himselfe a good space right manfully, though in the end both he and his whole band were bozne downe and slaine with prease and multitude of his enemies that assailed him on each side. In the meane season, whilest he thus occupied the Britains in fight on one side, Keuther with the residue of his people brake forth by another waie, and escaping to the sea side, got ships and fled ouer into the westerne Isles, where he found a great number of other Scottishmen that were gotten thither, being compelled by Venus king of the Britains to auoid forth of the countries, which they before inhabited.

Keuther pas-
sed into Ire-
land.

They inhabit
the mount-
eins.

Keuther remained not long in the Isles, but passed ouer into Ireland. The Britains not a little moued for his escape with the other of the Scottish lords, reuenged their displeasure on such commons and other meane people as fell into their hands, so that such as might escape, got them into the mounteins, and liued there by roots, berries, & other wild fruits in summer, and in winter by such venison and flesh of wild beastes as they killed in the wildernesse: and sometimes they came downe and made raikes vpon the Britains that occupied their houses and lands, fetching great booties verie often from amongst them.

Keuther is
sent for out
of Ireland.

This cruell warre lasted twelue yeeres, untill in manner all such Scots and Picts as remained in Albion were brought vnder seruitude to the Britains. In which meane while, Cethus king of the Picts kept his siege roiall in Domonia the cheefest Ile of the Orkenies. Keuther also begot of his wife a sonne named Thereus, and shortly after being procured by letters and messengers sent vnto him from the foresaid Cethus and such Scots as were yet remaining in Albion, he assembled a number of ships together, and first with a chosen power of warriors sailed to the westerne Isles, where increasing his numbers, he passed ouer into Albion, landing on the west halfe of Rosse at Lough Bruum, and there

comming on land, the first person that they met with (according to a custome vsed amongst them in those daies) they slue, and wetting the points of their weapons in his blood, they first tasted thereof after their manner, then holding vp their weapons into the aire, they desired of the gods that they might reuenge the blood of their eldres with happie battell against the Britains their enemies. After this, hearing that Cethus king of the Picts was also entered the land with a mightie power of Germans, which were come to his aid, and was not past thirtie miles off, he staied there abiding for his comming, to the intent that joining their powers together, they might be the better able to furnish their enterprize.

The third daie after they met together with great joy and congratulations, vnto whom with all speed a great number also of those Scottishmen and Picts that had still continued in the countrie (during the time of the persecution by the Britains) dallie resorted and came flocking in from each side vnto them. Scillus king of the Britains, who succeeded after Venus, as then latelie deceased, hauing knowlege hereof, assembled a great armie of his subiects, and hearing that the Scots and Picts were entered into the borders of his realme, he hastied forth to encounter with their powers, and so joining with them in battell, after long and cruell fight, in the end the victorie remained with the Scottishmen and Picts, by the great valiancie and manfull prowesse of Keuther: wherevpon the place where that battell was fought hath bene euer since called Keuthirdale, as he would say Keuthers ballie.

This victorie was not very pleasant to any of the parties, by reason of the great numbers of men slaine on both sides, insomuch that they were glad to fall to agreement immediatlie after, and concluded a peace, with conditions that the Scottishmen and Picts should be restored againe vnto their ancient possessions and lands in Albion. This peace continued a long time after inuolate betwixt these nations. The yeare that Keuther returned thus into Albion, was before the birth of Christ 216, after the building of Rome 529, and from the creation of the worlde 3750. Keuther by Beda in his ecclesiasticall historie of England is named Kenda, who also supposeth him to be the first of all the Scottish princes, that set any foot in Britaine there to inhabit: his comming thither was (as seemeth to some) long after the supposed time here before alleged. And verelie there is great cause to moue a doubt of the truth of that which Hector Boetius hath writtten, in following (as he saith) other authors, touching the first comming into Britaine, as well of the Scots and Picts. For if it were true, that so long before the comming of the Romans into this Ile, they were here planted and growne to such puissance; it is strange that no mention is made of them in any of their writings, till about the yeare 360 after Christ; as in place convenient it shall more plainelie appere. Keuther passed the residue of his daies without any further warres, forren and ciuill, and so departed this worlde at Berregonium, in the 26 yeare of his reigne.

After Keuther his decesse, his vnckles son called Keutha succeeded in the kingdome, chosen thereto by the common agreement of all the states, because that Thereus sonne to Keuther vnderneath come to the age of ten yeeres, was thought vnable to take the charge vpon him. Keutha therfore being thus elected to reigne as king ouer the Scottishmen, ordeined that such noblemen as had achieved anie notable exploit in defense of their countrie, should be had in perpetuall memorie, and buried in solemne wise in sepulchres aloft vpon hills or mounteins, from

Costone.

Craftsmen
brought into
Scotland to
instruct the
people.

Things of
pointed from
vnto those
craftsmen.

Is also for
scians and
surgians.

The Brit-
tains are
discomfited
by the Scots
and Picts.

Whereof Keu-
thir dale take
the name.

A peace con-
cluded.

240 H.B.
4995 H.B.
Keuther by
Beda is na-
med Kenda.

Keuthi re-
sted the esta-
blishment
Thereus.

Justice ne-
glected and
unpacted.

4997 H.B.

Keutha.

An ordinance
for buriall of
their prince.
Whelike of
pointed from

The nobles
conspire a-
gainst the
king.

upon the which were set so manie obelisks or long pointed stones, as they had slaine enemies in the wars: whereof some remaine there to be seene even to this daie.

This Keutha also understanding of the lacke of all maner of craftsmen in his realme, and of such as were expert in the liberall sciences, caused a great number of most perfect artificers to be sent for, to inhabit amongst his people, the better to instruct them in their occupations. Unto these also as unto other professing anie liberall art, were appointed honest livings, by way of fees, assigned to be receiued of such oxen and beestes as were killed, to euery man of science and artifice his part. And further, each of them had certaine measures of otes and barlie in stead of yearelie annuities. For as yet the vse of coine was not known amongst the Scottishmen: The which custome of distributing their beafts, which they killed in this wise, is still vsed in the westerne Isles even to these our daies.

Keutha perceiuing furthermore that through vnskilfull surgians and physicians manie wounded and diseased persons were oftentimes cast awaie, ordeined by the aduise and consent of his counsell, that none should take vpon them as a surgion or physician, vntlesse they were by long experience well practised aforehand in those sciences. For before that time they vsed to carie forth such persons as were sicke or otherwile hurt, and to lay them in some open place in the streets or market sted, that all such as came by, might according to their knowiedge declare their aduise, and shew (if they had bene vexed with the like disease) by what means they had escaped the danger, and recouered againe their health. For no man might without the note of high reproch passe by, keeping silence in this behalfe. And this was according to the custome of the old Egyptians.

Keutha thus studieng for the advancement of the commonwealth of his subiects, continued in the estate with great prosperitie, till finally perceiuing himselfe farre growen in age, and not so able to traueil in the affaires of the realme as he was before, he caused a parlement to be assembled, and there in presence of all the estates, required to be discharged of the gouernement: and that the same might be committed vnto his cousin Thereus, who as then was not onelie of sufficient age to take it vpon him, but also of such towardnesse, as that in each mans opinion he was thought likelie to attaine vnto the prowesse of anie of his noble progenitoys. Thus Keutha, after he had reigned 17 yeares, returned to a priuat life, resigning the whole rule of his realme vnto the aforesaid Thereus, being through his persuasion receiued as king of all estates by common consent there in that present assemble.

This Thereus for the first six yeares was equall in all points of princelie gouernement to anie of his predecessors, but afterward he changed his copie in such maner, that iustice and all other kinds of vertue being set apart, he neither regarded the lawes of the gods, nor yet of men; but gaue himselfe to all sorts of filthinesse and most detestable vices, so farre forth, that his subiects (as their custome is in following the maners and visages of their princes) became so outrageous in their licentious livings, and namelie the nobles and gentlemen, that thereof ensued theft, murder, rape, spoiling, and all kinds of oppression of those illie soules that had no meanes to resist, so as in fine, diuers gouernours of the tribes perceiuing no hope of amendment while Thereus should reigne, conspired together, deuising meanes how to depose him of all kinglie authoritie. But he hauing notice of their purposed intentions, and doubting the sequele thereof, conueied himselfe

out of the way in most secret wise, seeking for succour vnto the Britains, vnto whom though he made earnest sute for aid to be resiozed home againe, yet could he purchase no such fauour amongst them: so that leauing a miserable life a long time after within the citie of Forke, he finally there ended his daies. He reigned in Scotland about 12 yeares or more.

Immediatlie after this his auoiding the realme, the Nobles and peeres chose one Conanus lord of Calolway to rule the estate as gouernour, whose authoritie had bene euer great amongst the people. His studie was chieflie imploted how to reduce the lords and nobles of the realme into concord and friendlie amitie, where before through the negligence of Thereus each sought others destructions. Also he caused due punishment to be executed vpon all such as liued by robbing and reuing, of whom in the beginning of his gouernement there was no small number: but he wedded them forth, in such wise that yet he left off, there was not one of them to be found. At length, after it was vnderstood that Thereus was dead, this Conanus renounced the administration in presence of all the estates assembled in parlement at Berregonium, where by common consent Iosina brother of Thereus was chosen to reigne as king, for that Thereus had left no issue behind him to succede.

This Iosina being proclaimed king, renewed the ancient leagues with the Brits and Britains: He had physicians in great estimation; for that during his abode in Ireland, he was nourished of a child amongst them, and by reason thereof had some knowiedge in the facultie, speciallie he vnderstood the vertues and properties of herbes, where-with in those daies the Scots vsed to heale and remedie all maner of sores and diseases, which as then were few in number, in respect of the sundrie kinds which are now knowen amongst vs; and all by reason of the superfluous feeding and exesse of meates and drinks vsed in our time, whereas our elders sufficed with a little, liued without surfeiting, the chieffest breeder of such strange and manifold sicknesses. In this Iosina his daies it chanced that a Portugale ship was driuen and drowned by force of a streinable tempest nere vnto the shore of one of the Scottish Isles, where diuerse of those that were within the same ship, mariners and other escaped to land, amongst whom were two ancient and fatherlie old men of right reuerend aspect and countenance.

These two in companie with some of the inhabitants of that Ile came ouer into Berregonium, where the king as then sojourned. They were Spanissh priests of the pagane religion, whose purpose was to haue gone vnto Athens in Grecia (as some write) but thence soeuer they were, and what purpose soeuer they had, certeine it is they were philosophers; and therefore the king receiued them most iouallie, doing them all the honoz he could deuise, and commanding that they should be lodged within his owne palace, where they had all things needfull, and accordingly ministred vnto them.

These philosophers, after they had restrethed themselves at their ease for the space of 14 daies, the king caused them to come before him, requiring them to shew their opinion what they thought by the nature of the soile, the maners and customs of his people, so far forth as they had seene and heard. They without pausing for answer declared, that as yet they had not had time to learne those things, but onelie thus far by coniecture they supposed, that the ground was more like to be fruitfull of mettall mines, than of coine and graine, as containing far more riches vnderneath the earth than aboue: this they said that

D. y.

Thereus fled to the Britains.

Conanus.

Conanus is chosen king.

Conanus persecuteth offenders.

He renounceth the estate.

Iosina elected king.

Iosina.

Surfeiting the cause of strange diseases, which so commonlie now reigne.

Two ancient philosophers through shipwreck arrive in Scotland, and are iouallie receiued of the king.

Craftsmen brought into Scotland to instruct the people.

Livings appointed vnto those craftsmen.

Law for physicians and surgians.

Keutha resigned the estate vnto his cousin Thereus.

Justice neglected and vice embraced.

The nobles conspire against Thereus.

astone,

Wer- in aid & Dicks,

ther and bus met some powers her.

Whe are mited & Scots Dicks,

of Kene- ale tolie and.

ice con-

H. B. 5 H. B. her by is na- Keutha.

7 H. B.

tha.

distance tall of zinco- has of 1000000

The Scottish
religion re-
proued.

Upright li-
ving well re-
warded at
Gods hands.

Josina depar-
ted this life.

Finna-
nus.

Druides orde-
red in reli-
gion.
Druides in
the old Sco-
tish tong cal-
led Durceglis.

The Scots
mistake Man
for Anglesea.

The authori-
tie of the
Druides in-
creased.

they gathered by the influence of the heauens under the which it late. And as for the rites and blages of the people, in one point they could in no wise commend them, for that in religion they followed the superstitious rites of the Egyptians, worshipping the immortall gods in the shape of beasts and fowls, whereas God was enen the same that did comprehend both heauen and earth, with the waters and all things in them contained, whome they named nature, and as it were the primordiall cause of beginning of all things, vnto whome it was not possible to deuise anie similitude of living thing that might in anie wise represent him. Therefore (said they) men ought to worship the liuing God with fire and deuout praier, building him a temple for that purpose, and onelie vnto him to burne incense, and to performe vowes: at whose hands such as liued chastlie, byrightlie, and according to the rules of iustice, ought euer to looke for some high benefit, where other that liued contrarie might euer stand in doubt of contrarie reward.

With these their sensible instructions they persuaded manie of the Scottish nation vnto their opinion, though the greatest part would by no means follow anie other kind of religion, than that which they had receiued from their elders: neither could anie of them be brought to thinke otherwise of the sun, the mone, and stars, but that there was a certaine diuine power or godhead in euerie one of them. And thus much of these strangers brieftie and by the way, who came into Scotland at this present: but now to proceed with our purpose. When Josina had reigned 24 yeares, he departed out of this world at Berregonium, being a man of verie great age. He left behind him a sonne named Finnanus, who a little before his fathers deceasse was by consent of the people proclaimed king of Scotland.

This Finnanus had the nobles of his realme in such estimation, that he ordeined that nothing should be decreed or practised touching the publike affaires of the realme, except they were first made priue and of counsell in the same. He sought also to win the fauour of his people by mekenesse and gentle intreating of them, insomuch that though he went about to restore the old religion somewhat defaced by his father through information (as is said) of the two aboue mentioned sage philosophers, yet did he not confreine anie man to worship the gods, otherwise than his fantasie serued him. He was the first that instituted those prelates, which gouerned after the manner of bishops, in all matters pertaining to religion, and were called in the Scottish tong Durceglis in Latine Druides. These Druides were appointed to be resident within the Ile of Man, as the Scottishmen hold opinion: but other thinke rather that they were resident in Anglesea, in the British tong called Mon. Vnto these also hauing great liuings assigned them, were the inferiour priests subiect, as receiuing at their hands all intunitions and orders for the vse of their sacrifices and other ceremonies.

These Druides afterwards applied themselves so earnestlie to the studie of philosophie, as well naturall as morall, that they were had in no small reuerence of the people, as they that were both accounted and knowne to be men of most perfect life and innocencie: by meanes whereof their authoritie dailie so far forth increased, that finallie iudgements in most doubtfull matters were committed vnto their determinations, offenders by their discretion punished, and such as had well deserved accordinglie by their appointments rewarded. Moreouer such as refused to obeye their decrees and ordinances, were by them excommunicated, so that no

creature durst once keepe companie with such, till they were reconciled againe, and clerelie by the same Druides absolved.

Plinie, Cornelius Tacitus, Strabo, and Iulius Caesar, with diuers other approued authors, make mention of these Druides, signifieng how the first beginning of their religion was in Britaine (which some comprehend all wholie under the name of Albion) and from thence was the same religion brought ouer into France. Finnanus was not onelie praised for his setting forth of that heathen religion, but also for his politike gouernement of the estate in full rest and quietnesse. Neither was his fame a little aduanced for the marriage concluded and made betwixt his sonne Durstus and Agasia daughter to the king of Britains, for by that alliance he was diuers of the British nation vnto his friendship. Finallie, this Finnanus died at Camelon, being come thither to visit the king of Pictas then there discaised, after he had reigned about the space of thirtie yeares. His bodie was conueied vnto Berregonium, and there buried amongst his predecessors.

After him succeeded his sonne the forenamed Durstus, farre differing from his noble father in all vertuous demeanour, as he that was altogether giuen to banquetting and excessive drunkennesse. Such of the nobles as his father had in high reuerence he made light account of; accepting onelie those that of their wicked deuises could find out new kinds of voluptuous pleasures, through whose persuasions some of his yeeres he consumed, some he spoiled of all their substance & inheritance, other he put to death without iust cause or anie kind of lawfull means. Furthermore he forsooke the companie of his lawfull wife Agasia, causing hir to be forced and abused by diuers vile persons in most villanous manner.

With these and the semblable inordinat practises he procured the indignation of his people so far forth against him, that those of the western Isles with them of Cantire, Morne, Argile, and Koller, conspired together in the reformation of such disorders as were dailie vsed in the administration of iustice, by the wicked suggestion of euill disposed counsellors, against whome they pretended to make their war, and not against their king. There were also so manie that fauoured them in this quarell, and so few that leaned to the king to aid him against them, that he was constrained to dissemble with them for a time, in promising not onelie to remoue from him such as they would appoint, but also to be ordered in all things according as they should thinke good. And to put them in belêse that he ment as he spake, he committed some such counsellors as he had about him vnto ward, and other some (of whome he little passed) he sent vnto them as prisoners, to receiue such punishment by death or otherwise, as they should thinke conuenient.

He further also in presence of Dozo the gouernour of Cantire, sent to him for that purpose, sware in solemne wise afore the image of Diana, to performe all such promises and couenants as he was agreed vpon, and had made vnto the conspirators. With which cloyed dissimulation they being deceived, came without suspect of further guile vnto Berregonium, where at their first comming he was ready to receiue them (as seemed by his feined countenance) with gladfull hart and most friendly meaning; but they were no sooner entred the castell, but that a number of armed men appointed for the purpose fell vpon them, and slue them all without mercie.

This heinous act being once signified abroad in their countries amongst their friends and kinfolke,

caused

A new tax-
mult.
King Dur-
stus belisged

Durstus is
slaine.

Ewin is cho-
sen king.

Ewin.

Durstus.

Wicked coun-
sellors.

A conspirac.

A craftie and
cloyed dissim-
ulation.

A craftie dissim-
ulation.

A cruel man-
ner.

Humble reue-
rence.

The dutie of
a good prince.

A notable op-
binance.

A new tax
mult.
King Dur-
sus besieged.

Durcius is
slain.

Durcius.

Ewin is cho-
sen king.

Wicked coun-
sellors.

Ewin.

A conspiracie.

Hearing of
the first be-
gins.

A craftie and
cloaked dissi-
mulation.

Humble reue-
rence.

Craftie dissi-
mulation.

The dutie of
a good prince.

A notable op-
portunity.

A cruel mur-
der.

caused a new commotion, so that within a few daies
after, manie thousands of men in furious rage
came before the castell, and besieged the king most
straightlie therein. Who perceiving himselfe in such
danger as he knew not well how to escape, came
forth with such companie as he had about him, and
incountring with his enemies, was straightwaies
beaten downe among them, and so at once lost there
both kingdome and life in the ninth yeare of his
reigne. Durcius being thus dispatched, his children
doubting the indignation of the people conceived a-
gainst them for their fathers fault, to avoid the
perill fled ouer into Ireland, and immediatlie the
nobles of the realme assembled themselves together
for the choosing of a new king, in no wise minding
to haue anie of Durcius his race to reigne ouer
them, least they would seeke by some means to re-
venge his death: howbeit at length when they were
at point to haue fallen at variance in sustaining of
contrarie opinions about the election of their prince,
through a wittie oration made by Cozanus gouer-
nour of Argile, who alledged manie weightie rea-
sons for the avoiding of sedition, they all agreed to
commit the free election vnto the same Cozanus,
promising firmelie to accept whome soeuer he should
name. Hereupon Cozanus consulting a little with
the peeres of the realme, named one Ewin the vnc-
les sonne of Durcius, who as then remained in
Ireland, whither he had withdrawn himselfe in
Durcius his daies, being banished the realme by
him, for that he could not awaie with his corrupt
maners. This election was acceptable to all estates,
for that thereby the administration of the kingdome
continued in the line of their former kings.

As Ewin shortly after was brought forth of
Ireland with all regall solemnitie, and at Be-
regonium placed vpon the stone of marble, to the
great reioysing of the people there assembled. Here-
with also the nobles of the realme, putting their
hands in his, bound themselves by oth to be loiall
and faithfull subiects vnto him in all points, which
custome of swearing fealtie then first by Ewins
commandement, begun and continued manie hun-
dred yeares after amongst his and their posteritie;
in so much that the capitaine of the tribes also requi-
red the same kind of oth of them that inhabited with-
in their liberties, which in part remaineth yet vnto
this day amongst those of the westerne Isles, and
such as inhabit in the mounteins. For at the crea-
tion of a new gouernour, whome they name their
capitaine, they vse the like ceremonies; which being
ended, at the next saire kept within that countrie,
proclamation is made, that no man inhabiting with-
in his iurisdiction, shall name this new gouernour
by anie other name from thenceforth, than by the
ancient & accustomed name as such rulers aforesaid
haue bene called by. And that so oft as they heare
him named, they shall put off their caps or hats, and
make a certeine courtesie in signe of honour due to
him, in such manner as we vse in hearing diuine ser-
uice, when anie holie myserie is in doing, or anie
sacred name of the almightie creator recited.

But now touching king Ewin, his chiefest stu-
die was to mainteine iustice throughout his domi-
nion, and to weed out such transgressours as went
about to trouble the quiet estate of his subiects. Fur-
thermore, considering what inconueniencies proce-
ded through the vse of voluptuous pleasures & wanton
delites, he ordeined that the youth of his realme
should be trained to endure hardnesse, paine, and
travell, as to lie vpon hard boards without anie fea-
therbeds or pillows vnder them. Also to exercise
themselves to throw the dart, to shot, to wrestle,
and to beare armour aswell in time of peace as of

warre; that when need required, trauell and such
kind of exercises should be no paine but pleasure
vnto them; where otherwaies lacke of vse might
make the same intollerable. Whilste Ewin is thus
occupied about the setting forth of necessarie ordi-
nances for the wealth of his realme, the king of the
Picts did send vnto him ambassadours to require
his aid against the Britains, who were entred his
countrie in robbing and spoiling the same.

Ewin consenting quicklie to that request, lent
an armie forthwith, and with all speed passed for-
ward to ioine with the Picts, in purpose to reuenge the
old iniuries done to his nation by the Britains, who
likewise were as readie to receive battell, as the
Scots and Picts were desirous to giue it, so that
both the armies incountring together (the Scots
and Picts on the one side, and the Britains on the o-
ther) there ensued a sore conflict betwixt them; con-
tinued with vnnmercifull slaughter till night parted
them in sunder; no man as then able to iudge who
had the better, but either part being prouide to their
owne losses, withdrew themselves further off from
the place of the battell, so that the Scots and Picts
the same night got them into the mounteins of Pic-
land, and the Britains so lone as it was day made
homewards with all speed towards their countrie,
leaving no small preie and bootie behind them, which
the Scottishmen and the Picts recovered, comming
downe with all speed from the mounteins, when
they once heard that their enemies were departed.

King Ewin being returned from this iourne,
determined to passe the residue of his life in rest and
quietnesse, appointing iudges in euerie part of his
realme, for the ministring of iustice and executing of
lawes, according to the due forme and ordinance of
the same. He appointed also such as should watch for
the apprehension of theues and robbers by the high
waies, assigning them liuings of the common trea-
surie to lue by. And there be euen vnto this day that
hold still such liuings, though the office be wome out
of vse and forgotten.

After this, he builded a castell not farre distant
from Berregonium, which he named after his owne
name Ewinium: but afterwards it was called
Dunstaffage, which is as much to say, as Steuens
castell, which name it beareth at this present. Final-
lie, this Ewin, after he had resigned to the great
weale of the realme, about 19 yeeres, he departed
this life, leaving behind him a son base begotten, na-
med Gillus, who causing his fathers funerals to be
executed with all solemn pompe and ceremonies,
raised by some after sundry obelisks about his graue
nere vnto Dunstaffage, where he was buried.

There were present also at the buriall, two of
Durcius his sones, whome Ewin in his life time
had reuoked home out of Ireland, where they were
in exile. Both these, as well the one as the other, be-
cause they were twins, and not knowne whether of
them came first into the world, looked to be king af-
ter Ewin: their names were Doshan and Dogall.
And such malicious emulation and enuious spite
rose betwixt the two brethren, for the attaining of
their purpose, that greater could not be desired; which
Gillus, like a craftie & subtil fox, by couert means
sought still to augment; and in the end causing them
to come together for some conclusion of agreement,
at length when he had set them further at odds than
they were before, he procured a number of souldiers
appointed for the purpose to raise a tumult (as
though it had bene in taking of contrarie parts) and
there to slea them both.

Thus Gillus hauing brought to purpose that he
came for, shewed in countenance as though he had
bene much offended therewith, and done what hee
could

A doubtfull
battell.

Dunstaffage
is builded.

The craftie
sophing of
Gillus.

Durcius two
sonnes are
slaine.

could to haue appeased the matter, and herewith he cometh running forth with a high voice, declaring to his companie, that if he had not made good this for himselfe, he had bene slaine by the hands of Dothan and Doggall, who fell into such mischance themselves, as they had prepared for other. Whereupon also he required his friends and seruants most earnestlie to conueie him into some sure place, where he might be out of danger, and in better securitie: in so much that manie of those that heard him, giuing credit to his words, went with him with all speed vnto Dunstaffage, where being receiued into the castle with diuers of the nobles that followed him, he got him into a gallerie, and there making an inuention against the sonnes of Durstus, and touching by the way what perill might insue to the commonwealth by ciuill diuision, he perswaded them to commit the rule into his hands, vntill it might be certeinlie knowen, vnto whome the same of right appertained.

The nobles
thorough feare
consented to
create Gyllus
king.

Those that were present, perceiuing to what issue his painted processe tended, and doubting lest if they should seeme to stand against him at that instant in this his demand, they might haplie be the first that should repent the bargaine, consented to proclaim him king: whereupon he required all such as were present, to sweare vnto him fealtie, and to do him homage according to the custome. And herewith agreeable as he had before promised, and according to his fathers will (as he alledge) he distributed among them all such cattell as belonged to his said father. Whereby he won the greater fauour of manie, but yet not iudging himselfe altogether in suertie, by reason that Dothan had left behind him three sonnes, as then remaining in the Ile of Man, in the bringing vp of the Orvides, he purposed therefore to dispatch them also for the better assurance of his estate, and thereupon he made a iournie thither himselfe, feigning as though he meant nothing but alloue and frendlie affection towards the children, by which means he gat two of them into his hands, the one named Alimozus, being about twelue yeeres of age, and the other Comacus that was two yeeres younger. The youngest of the three named Ederus, being about seuen yeeres old, as his better hap was, chanced to be sicke at that time, by reason whereof he escaped his hands: Gyllus feigning as though he wished to haue the other two brought vp like the children of a prince, he led them away with him into Scotland, leauing certeine of his seruants behind him, to rid Ederus the youngest out of the way at leisure; and as for the other twaine, the night following after his comming home to Dunstaffage, he caused them to be murdered, even in their tutors armes, whose aid most pitifullie they besought and requited. But the woman that had the keeping of Ederus now in his sicknesse, prouided more warlike for his safeguard, for the smelling out what was the kings purpose, in the dead of the night got hir selfe together with Ederus into a ship, and passed ouer into Argile, where being set on land, she carried him on hir shoulders vp into the mounteins, and there within a secret den sustained his languishing life for certeine moneths in great care and miserie.

Gyllus goeth
about to mar-
ther Dothans
sonnes also.

A detestable
murther.

Ederus
escapeth.

Gyllus coun-
terfeitheth a
zeale to iustice.

Gyllus notwithstanding these his cruell acts, shewed yet in outward apurance that no man was more desirous of the quiet state and prosperous successe of the commonwealth than he: ever reasoning among his nobles, and that in the presence of his commons touching the maintenance of iustice, & punishment of misdoers, whereas he himselfe thirled continuallie, and most of all after the blood of those whom he doubted anie thing likelie to attempt the reuenge of his wicked misgouernance: in so much that he can-

sed in one place and other, all such to be murdered and slaine as bare anie good will toward the lawfull line of Durstus.

Now the people seeing the daile slaughter of the nobilitie, and at the last growing to be verie foremoued against him, namelie those of Galloway, Aile, Carrick, and Coningham, with them of Cantire, Lozne, and Argile, they assembled their powers together, and with all speed marched forth towards the place where they thought to find the tyrant: who hearing of this their conspiracie, assembled such assistance as he could make, & hauing no other refuge but to trie the matter by battell, made towards his enimies with more speed than good successe: for per the two armies came to joining, a great number of Gyllus his friends fled to the contrarie part, so that hereupon doubting the issue if he were constrained to fight, he stole priuilie from amongst the residue of his folks, and getting into a fishers bote, conueied himselfe ouer into Ireland: whose departure being once knowen, his souldiours yielded themselves vnto Cadall gouernor of Galloway, who was capteine generall of all the conspirators, and now by the consent of all the estates created gouernor of the realme till they had chosen a king.

This Cadall, immediatlie vpon the great authoritie given him, gat first all the best fortresses into his hands, as Berregonium, Dunstaffage, and other: then he passed ouer into the Ile of Fla, to prouide the better for the resisting of Gyllus, if he should attempt anie thing by purchasing aid amongst them of the westerne Isles. Whither was brought vnhim also, the young Ederus (by such of Durstus his friends as had escaped the cruell hands of Gyllus) whome Cadall caused to be honozable conueied vnto Episke the chiefest citie of Galloway, there to be brought vp in princelie nurture, that comming to full age, he might the better be able to take vpon him the gouernance.

In which meane while Gyllus made all the friends in Ireland that he could, in so much that vpon such golden promises as he made vnto the chiefest gouernors there, they consented to aid him with all their forces. Whereof Cadall being aduertised, he thought it best that a king should be chosen, and thereby an vnitie to be framed amongst all the estates of the realme, whereupon causing a counsell to be assembled for the same intent, by common agreement, one Ewin, a man of worthie fame, nephew to king Finnan by his brother Douall, was in the end proclaimed king: who was latelie come from the Ile of Cotwere into Albion, in companie with Cadall, and kept himselfe close hitherto within the said Ile, for doubt of Gyllus that sought amongst other to haue destroyed him also.

This Ewin, being the second of that name, made great prouision in the beginning of his reigne to resist the said Gyllus his enimie. And hearing that he had bene in the Ile of Fla, and put the same to fire and sword, he prepared an armie and ships also, to transport therewith ouer into Ireland, there to reuenge that iniurie vpon such as had aided Gyllus therein to the hinderance of his countrie. The forenamed Cadall gouernor of Galloway, was appointed also to haue the leading of this armie: who taking the sea at Dunstaffage, directed his course straight ouer vnto the coasts of Ireland, where taking land and encountering with his enimies, he put them to the worse, in so much that Gyllus fearing to fall into his aduersaries hands, fled out of the field into the next wood, where he thought to haue saued himselfe. His souldiours also perceiuing him to be fled, gaue ouer the field, and yielded themselves vnto Cadall, who toke them to grace, and forthwith sent

Gyllus taken.

Gyllus be-
headed.

A shipwre-
ck by a tempest

Cadall for
good faith
service is r-
warded.

Gyllus departeth
secretlie
and getteth aid
ouer into Ire-
land.
Cadall of Ga-
loway is cho-
sen gouernor
of the realme.

In interuall
betwixt the
kings of
Scots and
Irish.
The people
Dyke in
uade Cath-
mole.

Ireland and
other take E-
piske not to
be so farre
noy.

Gyllus pur-
chaseth aid in
Ireland.

Bladus is
of Dykene
slayeth him

Ewin the se-
cond of that
name chosen
king.

Emerio-
chrey is bu-
den.

Emmett
budded.

Cadall with
an armie is
sent into Ire-
land.

red
fullThe Scots
rise against
Gillus.in
the
of
at
ed
ofGillus departs
secretly
and getteth o-
uer into Ire-
land.
Cadall of Ca-
loway is cho-
sen gouernor
of the realme.to
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Leland and
other take Ca-
piake not to
be so farre
nozt.Gillus pur-
cheth aid in
Ireland.it
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Ewin the se-
cond of that
name chosen
king.

Ewin.

Cadall with
an armie is
sent into Ire-
land.Gillus ta-
ken.Gillus be-
headed.A shipwreck
by a tempest.Cadall for his
good & faithfull
service is re-
warded.An intervieu
betwixt the
kings of
Scots and
Wids.
The people of
Dykney in-
uade Cath-
ness.Bladus king
of Dykeney
slayeth himself.Emmerio-
chitey is built.
den.Emmerneffe
built.

sent out certeine companions to seeke Gillus, who found him in a den closed about with thicke woods and bushes, where he had lien hys certeine daies, and was almost starued for hunger. Those that found him immediatlie stroke off his head, and presented the same vnto Cadall, to the great reioysing of all the companie.

Thus after that Cadall had atchieued his enterprize with good successe, he toke the sea againe to re-
turne into Scotland, but by meanes of a greuous tempest, he lost the greatest part of his armie, with all the spoile and riches that they had gotten in that voyage. Which mischance soe blemished the glorie of so famous a victorie, so that the reioysing of manie was turned into dolefull mourning for the losse of their friends and kinnsfolke, but namelie Cadall toke it so grieuousslie, that nothing could be moze of-
fensue vnto him. Notobest, after he was come on land, the king and other of the nobles recomforted him in all that they might, and the king gaue him also much faire lands, with diuers castles in Galloway, in recompense of his good faithfull seruice at sundrie times shewed in defense of his countrie, and made him gouernor of Galloway also, which he berie thankfullie accepted.

After this king Ewin came to an intervieu with the king of Wids in the borders of Galloway, and there renewed th ancient leage betwixt the Scottish men and the Wids. For moze corroboration wherof Shyza the daughter of Cethus the thirde king of the Wids, was ioined in marriage with Ederus, the solemniszation being kept at Cpiake. These things thus accomplished, Ewin returned to Dussafage, where being certified by letters from the lieutenant of Rolles, that the Islanders of Dykeney had passed Widdland firch, and were entred into Cathness, robbing and spoiling that countrie with a great part of Rolles, he leuied an armie with all speed, and hasted towards the enimies, constraining them by his sudden comming to fight whether they would or not, hauing no lesseure to get awaie, so that with small resistance they were vanquished and chased, some into the mounteins, and other to the sea side: of whom part escaped by botes ouer into their countries, the residue of them in this their sudden ouerthrow being either slaine, drowned, or taken. But Bladus the king of Dykeney, for that he would not come into his enimies hands, slue himselfe. And thus ended this enterprize against the enimies of Dykeney: greatlie to the increase of Ewins fame amongst the Scottish nation.

After this he visited the west parts of his realme, and at the mouth of the riuer of Lochtey he builded a citie which he named Enuerlochtey, in franchising the same with a sanctuarie for the refuge of offenders. This citie afterwards was much frequented with merchants of France and Spaine, by reason of the great abundance of samons, herrings, and other fish which was taken there. The old ruines of this citie in part remaine to be seene in that place where it stood, euen to this day. He likewise built an other citie in the east part of the realme nere to the water called Lochness, which he named Enuerneffe, after the name of the water. Whither in times past there resorted manie merchants of Germanie, with such merchandize as the inhabitants of the countrie there stood in need of, exchanging the same with them for marterne skins, and other such fures, wherewith they made their returne. This citie is as yet remaining, and beareth the old name, rich and well storied with diuers kinds of merchandize, so that this Ewin proued a most famous prince for his worthie exploits right fortunatellie atchieued both in peace and warre. And finallye understan-

ding the death of his berie deere and intirelle beloued friend Cadall, he repaired vnto Cpiake, as well to giue order for the pacifieng of his sonnes being at variance for their fathers inheritance, as also to do the moze honoz to his friend now deceased, by erecting some monument nere vnto his sepulchre. Comming therefore to Cpiake, and setting an accord betwixt the young men, he caused an image to be made in all points resembling the personage of Cadall, as nere as might be: which he placed in the midst of the market stee, commanding the same to be honozed with burning of incense and other diuine ceremonies. Within a few daies also, through inward sorrow, as was thought, for the losse of so deere a friend, he began to wax sicke himselfe, and at length perceiuing he should not escape present death, he caused Ederus (of whom before mention is made) to be brought vnto him, into whose hands with manie wholsome aduertisements how to vse himselfe in gouernement of his subiects, he wholie resigned the estate, the which after his decesse he knew to be due vnto him without all question and controuersie: and afterward departed this world, when he had reigned seuentene yeares continuallie for the most part in high wealth and felicitie.

After the decesse of Ewin, Ederus was, in a manner before exprest, receiued for king by the whole assent of all the Scottishmen. Whose chiefe delight was altogether in hunting and keeping of hounds and greihounds, to chase and pursue wild beasts, and namelie the wolfe the heardmans fo, by meanes wherof his aduancement was much moze acceptable amongst the nobles, who in those daies were wholy giuen to that kind of pleasure and pastime. In the beginning of his reigne there was no trouble towards the publike state of the realme being maintained by vpright iustice, and all transgressions through terro: of due punishment politike lie repressed.

The first that went about to put him to any notable trouble, was one Wredus of the Isles, nere of kin to Gillus that usurper and murderer, who with a powder of Irishmen, and other of the westerne Isles landed in Argile, waisting & spoiling the countrie with fire & sword, wherof Ederus being aduertised (who was at the same time in those parts hunting amongst the mounteins) gathered an armie with all speed, and hasting to the place where his enimies ships laie at anchoz, he first burned the same, to take awaie all meanes from them to escape by flight. The morning next following he did set vpon them also at vnwares: of whom some he slue, and the residue being taken, either in the fight or chase by his commandement were hanged, and cruellie executed to the example of all others.

After this, he passed ouer into the westerne Isles, where he did execution vpon such as had aided Wredus, putting some to death, and causing other to sine at his pleasure, and depriuing some vtterlie of all that euer they had. At his returne againe into Scotland, there met him ambassadoz sent from Cassibilane kings of the Britains, requiring him of aid against Julius Cesar, who (as the same king had perfect understanding) was appointed berie hostlie to passe the seas from France, ouer into this Ile, with a mightie power of Romans, to subdue the inhabitants vnto the seigniozie and iurisdiction of Rome.

Ederus receiued these ambassadoz berie courteously: and forsomuch as their maisters request required counsell, he caused his lordz which were then present, to assemble together the next daie, afoze whom he willed that Androgenus, chiefe of the British ambassadoz, should declare the effect of his message,

Cadall de-
ceased.Ewin relig-
neth the estate.Ewins de-
ceased.

Ederus.

Wredus im-
natheth the
Scots.Ederus bur-
neth his eni-
mies ships.Cassibilane
king of the
Britains re-
quireth of the
Scottishmen
aid against
the Romans.Androgenus
chefe ambas-
sadoz of the
Britains de-
clareth the
effect of his
message.

The Scots
grant to aid
the Britains
against the
Romans.

Cadallane &
Douald with
ten thousand
Scottishmen
send to aid
the Britains.

1129 H.B.
60 H. B.

The Brit-
tains refuse
aid being of-
fered them.

Julius Cesar
invadeth this
land the se-
cond time.

The Brit-
tains are over-
throwne.

Julius Cesar
his message
to the Scots
and Picts.

The answer
of the Scots
and Picts un-
to Cesar his
ambassadors.

sage, which he did so eloquentlie, and uttering such sensible matter, how it stood the Scottishmen upon to aid the Britains against such common enemies to all nations as the Romans were, that in the end it was concluded by the king, with the aduise of his nobles, that he should not onlie send a power to aid the Britains against the Romans, but also send some of his lords with Androgeus and his associates unto Gethus king of the Picts, to moue him to do the like: who hearing how reasonable their demands were, promised further to accomplish the same.

Thus the British ambassadors hauing sped accord-
ding to their desires, repaired homewards: imme-
diatlie vpon whose departure, both the kings Ede-
rus & Gethus leued their armies, & sent them forth
towards London, whereas then Cassibilane sojour-
ned. And that the Scots were ten thousand men
under the leading of Cadallane gouernor of Gallo-
way, the sonne of Cadall before remembred, and
one Douald gouernor of Argile. But what successe
followed of this first iourne which Cesar made into
Britaine, ye shall find the same in the historie of
England more at length exprest. The yere that
Julius Cesar came to invade Britaine, was the
fourth of Ederus his reigne, from the creation of
the world 3912 complet, which is after Haffier Ha-
rison account 74 before the coming of our Sau-
our, and 692 after the building of Rome.

The Scottishmen and Picts hauing their part of
the spoile which the Romans at their departure left
behind them, were sent home to their countries with
great thanks and rewards for their pains, but the
Britains were so exalted in pride by the departure
of the Romans, that they beleued verelie they should
haue no more to do with those enemies, or if they had
they thought themselves strong enough to repell
them without aid of other. By meanes wherof when
king Ederus was informed how the Romans pre-
pared to invade them afresh, and had sent them word
thereof, offering to them his aid: they made no ac-
count of that offer, but answered that it was not
necessary, for euerie light invasion of forren eni-
mies, to seeke helpe at other mens hands, being of
puissance sufficient of themselves to resist the same
well enough.

But of this refusal of so friendly an offer, it was
not long yer the Britains soze repented them. For
shortlie after Julius Cesar with a farre greater po-
wer than that which he brought with him at the first
time, landed here in this Ile amongst them againe:
and being at thre sundrie times fiercelie incoun-
tered by king Cassibilane, at length he put the same Cas-
sibilane with his Britains to flight, slaying and tak-
ing a great number of them. Amongst other of the
prisoners were thre of their chiefe captiues, An-
drogeus, Cilentoziges, and Tenantius. By reason
of which overthrow Cassibilane was so discouraged,
that doubting further mischefe, he yelded himselfe
vnto Cesar, accepting such conditions of peace as
were appointed him, and for performance of con-
nants, deliuered sufficient pledges.

Cesar hauing thus conquered the Britains, sent
his ambassadors vnto the kings of the Scottishmen
and Picts, requiring them to submit themselves as
Cassibilane had done, or else he bad them loke for o-
pen warres at the Romans hands, which they might
assure themselves they should in no wise be able to
suffeine, considering their mightie and huge pus-
sance, hauing the most part of the whole world at
their commandement already. Wherevnto aswell
the one king as the other made this or much what
the like answer, that they were bent sooner to lose
their liues than their libertie. Which their resolution,
if they were put to the trial, should be euidentlie

proued by the deed it selfe.

Cesar hauing receiued this answer from these
two nations, he sendeth new messengers vnto them
with a more rough message, who not onlie by threats
but also by great reasons went about to persuade
them vnto submission. But they persisting in their
former opinion for defense of their liberties, and vt-
terlie refusing all manner of bondage, would incline
by no meanes to come in any bond of frendship
with the Romans. After the returne of these last
messengers, Cesar was fullie resolved to enter into
their countries, to force them vnto that by dint of
sword, wherevnto by treatie he might not induce
them: and had set forward on that iourne shortlie
after in deed, if he had not bene called backe into
France, to pacifie sundrie commotions there raised
by the reuolting of the people inhabiting in those
countries, where the Picards and Romans, with
other the inhabitants nere about Chartres do now
dwel.

The common Scottish chronicles record, how Ju-
lius Cesar came as far as Kalender wood, and there
was by force the citie of Camelon, where the British
kings vsed most to sojourne. Herevnto the same
chronicles adde, that Cesar builded a great stone-
house of 24 cubits in heighth, & of 12 cubits in bredth,
of square hewen stones, right workmanlike framed,
which house they saie Cesar caused to be vied in speed
of a iudgement hall, and here placed it nere the ri-
uer of Caron, ouer against the forenamed citie of
Camelon, as a witnesse that the Romans armie
had bene so far forward within that countrie. Such
an house there remaineth to be seene even vnto this
daie, and is called Julius holl, that is Julius hall,
or Julius court. Whobbeit, other more agreeable to
the likelihood of a truth, write that this house was
sometimes a temple builded to the honor of Claudi-
us Cesar, and of the goddess Victoria, by the Romane
capitaine Vespasian, at such time as he made wars
in that countrie, before his advancement to the
empire.

But to returne vnto Ederus. About the same
time, in which he looked to be invadeth by Julius Ce-
sar and the Romans, and for that purpose had sent
for them of the westerne Isles to reinforce his host, for
there was one Murketus, nephew vnto the aboue
remembred Gillus, that came with a nauie out of
Ireland to rob and spoile those Isles, being destitute
as then of men to resist him. But Ederus hearing
thereof, dispatched Cadallanus with an armie into
those parties for defense of his subiects: which Ca-
dallanus behaued himselfe so politikelie in this ex-
ploite, that setting vpon the enemies as they lay at
anchor, he took them in the night season, without
making any great defense, and after hanged them
by along the thore side within the Ile of Galloway:
Murket himself being honored with an higher place
to hang in than all the rest, as due to him that was
their chiefe head and leader in that volage. The rem-
nant of Ederus his reigne passed without anie o-
ther notable trouble: and so after he had reigned 38
yeres, he deceased a verie old man, about the 23
yere of the empire of Augustus Cesar. He was
buried also at Dunstaffage with all due pompe & so-
lemnitie, hauing diuers obelisks (as the custome
then was) erected and set by about the place where
he was so intumulate.

After him reigned his sonne Ewin, the third of
that name, nothing like in any princelie quali-
tie vnto his noble progenitors, but contrariwise
infamed by all kind of vices. In the first yeres of
his reigne he was wholly drownd in lasciuious ledge-
rie, abandoning himselfe altogether to lie weltering
amongst

Cesar sendeth
new messen-
gers vnto the
Scots and
Picts, but
they sped
much like to
the former.

Kalender of
Caledon wood
Cesar cannot
be true, for
Cesar came
not near Scot-
land, as in the
historie of
England it
appeareth.

Julius holl

Murketus
nephew vnto
Gillus inva-
deth the we-
sterne Isles.

Murket is
hanged with
manie more.
48 H.B.
26 H.B.

Ederus de-
parteth this
life.

Ewin.

A licentious
king.

subtle

Ewin is
said and
falsely
subiects.

Ewin is
denied
actual

Ewin is
strangled

32 H

Metel-
lus.

Kimball
king of the
Britains

Metellan
becometh
friend to the
Romans.

amongst a sort of vile strumpets, his lust being neuer throughlie satisfied, though neuer so often wearied. The nobles of the realme he had in no regard at all, of whom some he confined, and some he caused to be murdered, onlie because he might the more freely without gainfaieng hurt his vile trade of liuing with their wiues and cozens. Such delight he had also in his filthy and abominable ribaldrie, that he made lawes for maintenance of the like amongst his subiects, as thus: That it might be lawful for enerie man to make diuers & sundrie wiues, some six, some ten, according to their substance and qualitties. And as for poore mens wiues, they were appointed to be common unto the lords of the soile: and further, that the same lords should first deflower the vyde after hir marriage: which last ordinance took such effect, that of manie hundreth yeres after it could by no meanes be abrogated, though the two former liberties were by authority of the kinge succeeding, shortly after this Ewins decess, taken awaie and reuoked.

for sendeth
o mellen-
s vnto the
ots and
its, but
o sped
h like to
former.

But now to conclude touching the doings of this Ewin, ye shall vnderstand, that at length such lords as greatlie abhorred his vile conditions & blages, conspired against him, and raising a multitude of their friends and partakers, incountred with him in the field, and there took him prisoner; being destitute of all aid and succours: for such as he brought with him, not once offered to strike one stroke in his quarrell. Ewin being thus taken, was by and by condemned to perpetuall prison; and Cadallan, of whom ye haue heard before, immediatlie proclaimed gouernor of the realme. Whobett the night following, after that Ewin (according to the iudgement pronounced against him) was committed vnto ward, a presumptuous young man, in hope to haue thanks of Cadallan, entred into the chamber where he was inclosed, and there strangled him. But in stead of thanks he was recompensed with death: for Cadallan detesting such a wicked deed, caused him to be hanged in open sight of all men. Such was the end of Ewin, being thus dispatched in prison, in the seuenth yere after he began his reigne ouer the Scottis men, being the 9 yere of Augustus Cesar his gouernment of the Romane empire.

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After Ewin succeeded Metellanus, son to one Carren, the brother of Ederus a prince of most gentle behaviour. This Metellanus maintained his subiects in great quietnesse and rest, without anie manner of wars, either foreyn or ciuill. Such wicked lawes as his predecessor had established, he did what he could to abolish. But such young gentlemen as delighted in sensuall lust, and licentious libertie, stood so stiffelie therein against him, that in the end he was glad to leaue off his purpose. About the same time also there came vnto Rimbaline king of the Britains an ambassadoz from Augustus the emperor, with thanks, for that entring into the gouernment of the British state, he had kept his allegiance toward the Romane empire: exhorting him to keepe his subiects in peace with all their neighbors, with the whole world, through means of the same Augustus, was now in quiet, without all warres or troublesome tumults.

These ambassadozs went also vnto Metellanus the k. of the Scottis men, exhorting him to acknowledge a superiortie in the Romane emperor, vnto whome the people inhabiting in the furthest parts of the east, had sent their ambassadozs with rich iewels to present his person withall. Wherewith Metellanus being partly moued to haue a frendlie amitie with the Romans, he sent vnto Rome certeine rich presents to the emperor, and to the gods in the capitoll, in signe of honour, by which means he obtained an

amitie with the Romans, which continued betwixt them and his kingdome for a long time after.

This a generall peace as then reigning throughout the whole world, it pleased the giuer and author of all peace to be borne at the same time, of that blessed virgin Marie, in the citie of Bethlem in the tribe of Iuda. Which most blessed and saluiferous birth did come to passe in the 12 yere of Metellanus reigne, and in the 42 of Augustus his empire: from the first establishing of the Scottish kingdome by Fergusius 324 yeres, and after the creation of the world 3966, as Clarion in his chronologie both manifestlie concludeth.

After this, Metellanus reigned certeine yeres in continuall peace and quietnesse, euermore ready to doe the thing that might be to the contentment and the weale of his people. Finally, hapless death of this life in the 33 yere of his reigne, which was the 8 after the birth of our Saviour, and 17 of Tiberius the emperor. Whobett he left no issue alme behauour inducted in the yonger minde of the kingdome, vnto those children which he had begotten, he leaved in his life time, by meanes whereof, one Caratake, sonne to Cadallan, and nephew to king Metellan by his sister Europela, was proclaimed king: as he that excelled in riches and puissant authoritie aboue all other the yeres and high estates of the realme, and had not a litle to do in the administration of publike affaires in the latter daies of his vncle Metellane.

The first thing he did after he was established in the estate, he sailed into the Westerne Isles, to appease a rebellion moued by the gouernour there. Which done, and the authors punished, he returned into Albion, and came into Cartholom, which was sometimes a famous citie, and metropolitane of Scotland, situate within the countrie cleped Carrike, as it appeareth by the ruins there remaining euen vnto this day. In this citie was Caratake borne, & therefore fauouring it the more, he lay there most commonlie, and did what he could to aduance the wealth and state thereof. Whilst these things were a doing in Scotland, Rimbaline king of the Britains died, who for that he had bene brought vp in Rome, obserued his promised obedience towards the empire; but Guderius succeding him, obtained to see the libertie of his countrie oppressed by the Romans, and therefore procuring the Britains to assist him, assembled a power, and invaded the Romans with such violence, that none escaped with life, but such as saued themselves within castles & fortrells.

The emperor Claudius that then gouerned the Romane empire, aduertised hereof, sent two capteins, Aulus Plautius, and Cneus Sertius to appease that rebellion. They landing in Britaine with their armie, banquished Guderius in battell, so that he was constrained to send to Caratake king of Scots for aid against the common enemies of both nations. Caratake hauing considered the effect of this message, gaue counsell to the Britains to send into France then called Gallia, to pacifie with the people there to moue some rebellion against the Romans, in hope of helpe, which they were assured to haue by the Britains. This counsell was followed, for immediatlie vpon the ambassadozs returne, there were sent ouer into France certeine intelligenciaries to moue some conspiracie which had taken effect (by reason of the generall hate of seruitude, wherein the Romans kept the people subiect to them in those daies) if Guderius had not bene constrained to giue battell, and chanced to be slaine in the same, yet the Calls could be resolved vpon anie determinat purpose.

This ouerthrow being reported in France, caused the Calls to state their intended rebellion. Shortly

metellanus departed this world.

10 H.B.
320 H.B.
3109 H.B.

Metellanus departed this world.

14 H.B.
Caratake is proclaimed k.

Caratake is proclaimed k.

Caratake is proclaimed k.

Caratake is proclaimed k.

Caratake is proclaimed k.

Caratake is proclaimed k.

Caratake is proclaimed k.

Caratake is proclaimed k.

Caratake is proclaimed k.

Caratake is proclaimed k.

Caratake is proclaimed k.

Caratake is proclaimed k.

Caratake is proclaimed k.

The birth of our Saviour Christ.

10 H.B.
320 H.B.
3109 H.B.

Metellanus departed this world.

14 H.B.

Caratake is proclaimed k.

Caratake is proclaimed k.

Caratake is proclaimed k.

Caratake is proclaimed k.

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Caratake is proclaimed k.

Caratake is proclaimed k.

Caratake is proclaimed k.

Caratake is proclaimed k.

The emperour Claudius cometh into Brittain.

Claudius saileth into the Orkenies.

How Hircanus saile.

Claudius taketh the king of the Orkenies.

The doubt of Claudius going into the Orkenies. Dion Cassius.

Arutragus forsaketh his lawfull wife.

Moada imprisoned.

Moada is deliuered out of prison, and conuied into Wales.

Arutragus giueth his enemies an overthrow.

lie after Claudius himselfe came ouer into Brittain, and receiuing the Britains vnder his obedience, ordered things among them at his pleasure. And after preparing his nauie and armie with all purueiance conuenient, he set forward towards the Isles of Orkenie, purposing to conquire the same, for that they had aided the Britains in their last warres against the Romans. But approaching nere to those Isles, he was in danger to haue bene cast awaie by a tempest rising by chance, euen as he was entered the streit betwixt the Orkenies and Dungsie head in Cathness callid Wicland frith; yet at length getting to land, he found in that Ile where he first arrived, no bodie at home; all the people through feare vpon the first sight of the great multitude of ships being fled to hide themselves in caues and dens amongst the rocks & mounntains.

Claudius therefore leauing this Ile, passed into Pomonia the chiefeest of all the Orkenies; where discomfiting such as appeared abroad to make resistance, he beseged the king of those Isles named Canus, within a castell where he was withdrawen, and finally causing him to yeld himselfe prisoner, led him with other nobles of Brittain (whome he had for pledges) vnto Rome: the more to set forth the glorie of his triumph at his returne vnto the citie.

But whatsoeuer Hector Boetius and others write of this passage of Claudius into the Orkenies, it is not like that he came there at all, for if he staied not past 16 daies in Brittain, as by Dion Cassius it appeareth that he did not in deed; how should we imagine that he could both pacifie the south parts of Brittain, and after go into Orkenie and conquire the same within so small a time, being readie to returne towards Rome at the end of those 16 daies, as the said Dion affirmeth? But this discourse haue I made according to their owne histories, least I should seme to despayd them of whatsoeuer glorie is to be gotten by errors, as the maner is of them as well as of other nations, which to aduance their antiquities and glorie of their ancestors, take the advantage oftentimes of writers scant worthy of credit.

But now againe to our purpose. Arutragus being established in the kingdome of Brittain, vpon some priuat displeasure forsoke his wife named Moada, the sister of Caratake king of the Scottishmen, and married Genissa a Romane ladie, which act manie of the Britains disallowed; the more in deed, because he had faire issue already by Moada, as a son and two daughters. But this was done, as all men iudged, by the counsell of Aulus Plandius, thereby to breake all friendship and alliance betwixt the Britains and the Scots, to the end that in no case of rebellion they should ioine their powers together. Neither did he onelie refuse Moada, whome all men knew to be his lawfull wife, but also caused hir to be kept in prison, till that the Britains (hauing indignation thereat) got hir out of the place where she was kept, and conuied hir into Wales together with hir children.

With which dealing Arutragus being highly moued, determined with force of armes to punish them that had thus misused him: but perceiuing that not onelie those people which inhabited the countrie, now called Wales, and other that adioined on the north marches thereof were readie to defend the queene against his malice, he was faine to require aid of the Romans, who with their capitaine Aulus Plandius assembling together with such of the Britains as toke part with Arutragus, set forward toward the enemies, and ioining with them in battell, did giue them the ouerthrow. The next day after this victorie thus gotten, word was brought that

the people inhabiting in the countries which we now call Lancashire, Dorsetshire, and Warburshire, were by in armour against the king and the Romans, by reason whereof Arutragus and Aulus Plandius withdrew towards London, that defending the sea coasts towards France, they might yet haue the sea open at all times whatsoeuer chanced. And to re enforce their power, Aulus Plandius sent ouer for two legions of souldiers into France, to come with all speed to his aid.

The Britains, who had gone so farre in the matter that they could not well withdraw themselves, now being certified of all their enemies doings, thought best to make themselves so strong as was possible.

And to the end that they might proceed in some orderlie maner, all the greatest lords and estates assembled together at Shrewsburie, in those daies called Coniunium, where they concluded vpon a league to aid one another with all their might and maine against the Romans & Arutragus, who went about to bring them wholie vnder seruaile subiection and thraldome of the same Romans.

They being thus agreed to make warres in this quarrell, and for the same purpose to ioine their whole puissance together, there rose a doubt whome they might chuse for their generall capitaine, for that it was feared least there might grow some secret enuie amongst the nobles being of equall power, if one should be in this case preferred before an other.

For the auoiding of which mischiefe, by the graue admonition of one Comus a noble man of the parties of Wales, they accorded to send messengers vnto Caratake the king of Scotland, requiting him to aid them in their right and iust quarrell against Arutragus and the Romans, whereby he might reuenge the iniurie done to his sister queene Moada and hir issue, whome the father through counsell of the Romans purposed to disherit to the end, such children as he had by Genissa (for that they were of the Romane blood) might inioy the kingdome.

They further declared, that all the British lords which were confederat in this enterprize, had chosen him by common assent to be their generall and chiefe leader, if it might so please him to take it vpon him, as their trust was he would: considering the iust causes of their warre, and the suertie which by victorie gotten might inue vnto all the inhabitants of the whole Ile of Albion.

Caratake hauing heard the summe of their request, and throughlie weighing the same, promised them to be readie with his whole puissance in the beginning of the next spring, to come to their aid, vnto what place soeuer they should thinke expedient: and thereof he told them they might be most assured, willing them in the meane time so to prouide for themselves, as their enemies might haue no aduantage at their hands. With this agreeable answer the British messengers returned to Shrewsburie to the confederats, who reioicing at the news, made prouision against the next spring to go against the Romans, in hope of good successe, speciallie through aid of the Scots and Picts, who also with their king called Conkist were willing to helpe towards the deliuering of the land from bondage of the Romans, whose nestling so nere their noses they were loth to see or heare of. So some therefore as the spring approached, all those three people, Britains, Scots, and Picts, gathered their powers together, and met in Dorsetshire, in purpose to incounter with their enemies in battell, wheresoeuer they found them.

Arutragus and Aulus Plandius hauing knowledge of all the doings of the confederats, likewise assembled their power, & comming towards them,

A commotion against Arutragus.

The Britains make themselves strong.

The Britains assemble themselves at Shrewsburie.

They confederat themselves together.

Caratake chosen to be capitaine of the Britains.

Arutragus should disherit his own children which he had by Moada.

Caratake promised aid to the Britains.

The Picts ioine with Scots and Britains against the Romans.

cominon
gaint Aru-
agus.

The Bri-
tains make
emblems
rong.

The Bri-
tains assem-
ble them-
selves at
Shrewsburie.

They confe-
derat them-
selves togie-
ther.

Caratake
often to be
princie of the
Britains.

Arutragus
could dic-
tate his own
dozen
rich he had
Gloads.

Caratake
misled aid
he Bri-
tains.

The Brit-
tains
with
the Ro-
mans.

The Bri-
tains was
not through
small.

The Romans
gave battell
to the Britains.

Right par-
ty the fray.

Caratake re-
turneth home
to Caridoc-
mum.
Ambassadors
are sent unto
Caratake
from Julius
Cesar.

Caratake his
sister comes
to Caridoc-
mum.

Arutragus
conquers.

for a while forbare to joine in battell, through coun-
sell of Plautius, who perceiving the most part of
the Britains and Scots to be but new souldiers,
taken up of late to fill the numbers, knew that by
protracting time they would be sowne out of heart,
through watching and euill harborough; in such sort
that in the end they should be easie enough to deale
with; and even so it came to passe. For the Romans
refusing to fight a generall battell, yet scoured to the
fields on eith side abroad, that neither the Britains
nor Scots could go forth anie wayes for forage or
vittells, but they were still snatched by, so that what
through hunger, lacke of sleepe, and other diseases,
manie of the Britains began to conceiue themselves
from the campe home to their houses, of whome some
being taken by the enemies, declared that the whole
armie of the confederats was in great distresse, and
soe infabled by such vnaccustomed trauell and dis-
eases as they were enforced vnto in the campe.
Whereupon Arutragus and Aulus Plautius deter-
mined the next day to giue battell. And so in the
morning they arrayed their people; & marched forth
betimes towards the campe of the confederats.

Caratake, who (as ye haue heard) was generall of
all the confederates, vnderstanding the enemies in-
tent, was as ready to receiue battell as they were
to offer it; whereupon there ensued right great and
vnmmercifull slaughter betwixt them on both parts,
without sparing any at all, till such time as the night
parted the fiae, with such losse on either side, that af-
ter they were once got in sunder, neither part had a-
nie hast afterwards to ioine againe: so that in the
morning there appeared none in the field but onelie
the dead bodies, those that were left aliue as well on
the one part as the other being fled and scattered in
to the woods and mounteins. Arutragus and Plau-
tius got them vnto London: and Caratake com-
manding his people home each man into his coun-
trie, he himselfe with few first towards Powke, and
after vnto the citie of Carrike; whither shortly af-
ter there came vnto him ambassadors from Aulus
Plautius, sent to know vpon what occasion he did
aid the British rebels against the Romane empire,
declaring that if he would not be conformable to
make a iustitie amends for so presumptuous an en-
terprize, he should be sure to haue the Romans his
enemies; and that in such wise, as he should perceiue
it were much better for him to seke their friendship,
than to abide their enimitie.

Wherevnto Caratake answered, that he had iust
cause to doe that which he did, considering the in-
juries which his sister Gloads with hir sonne Gude-
rius had and were like to receiue by their counsell
and meanes: and therefore he was so little minded
to make anie amends for that was done, that hee
thought it more reason that the Romans should
clearlie auoid out of the whole possession of Bri-
taine, either else they might assure themselves to
haue aswell the Britains, as also the Scots & Picts
to be their perpetuall enemies, and that onelie for
the chalenge of their ancient liberties and freedom.
The Romane ambassadors being returned with this
answer, Plautius toke no small indignation there-
at, soe menacing to be reuenged of so high and con-
tumelious words pronounced against the maiestie
of the Romane empire.

About the same time Arutragus, vpon trust con-
fused by ioining his power with the other confede-
rate Britains, to expell the Romans quite out of the
realme, and so to recouer the intire estate, reuolting
from them, fled into Shrewsburie, where, at the same
time such British lords as were enemies to the Ro-
mans, were assembled againe in counsell, by whom
Arutragus was receiued with great gladnesse (ye

maie be sure) of those lords, trusting by his meanes
to haue their force in maner doubled. His wife Ge-
nilla being at the same season great with child, toke
such thought for this reuolting of hir husband, that
travelling before hir time, she immediatly died ther-
ewith. But Aulus Plautius, perceiving now the
roughlie how little trust there was to be put in the
Britains, dispatched a messenger in all hast with
letters vnto Claudius the emperor, who as then so-
journd at Rome, signifying vnto him in what dan-
ger the state of Britaine stood, if timelie prouision
were not the soner made.

Claudius weighing the matter by good aduise of
counsell, ordeined by decree of the senate, that Cle-
pasian (of whome ye haue heard before) should be sent
hither with an armie, to tame the proud and losie
stomachs of the Britains, with their confederats
the Scots & Picts. Clepasian hereupon departing
from Rome, came into France, & increasing his le-
gions, with a supplie of such souldiers as he found
there, passed ouer into this our Britaine, where con-
trarie to the report which he had heard afore his com-
ming, he found euerie fortresse so well furnished af-
ter the warlike order of the Romane vsage, and
moreouer all such companies of men of warre as
kept the field so well appointed and ordered, that he
could not but much praise the great diligence and
politike gouernement of Plautius.

Now when Clepasian had a little refreshed his
men, and taken order how to proceed in the reducing
of the Britains to their former obedience, he set for-
ward toward Arutragus & other the enemies, whom
he vnderstood as then to be at Powke, making their
assemblee, not generallie of all that were able to
beare a club, as they did the yere before; but out of
all parties a chosen number of piket men were sent
for, as out of Devonshire & Cornewall there came
6000, forth of Wales and the marches 12000,
and the like number out of Kendall, Westmerland,
and Cumberland. Out of Dorsetshire and other the
parties of Britaine subiect vnto Arutragus, there
came 35000. All which numbers assembled nere vnto
Powke, euerie man bringing his prouision with
him to serue him for two moneths space. Vnto the
same place came also Caratake with 30000 Scotish
men: and Illithara otherwise called Tharan, king
of the Picts, with almost as manie of his subiects.

Clephasian being certified still from time to time
of all the doings of his enemies, hastned with all speed
towards them; and by the leading of trustie guides
comming to the place where they were incamped
within a marshy ground not passing 12 miles from
Powke, he fiercelie vpon a sudden setteth vpon them
within their campe, yer they thought he had bene
nere them. But yet notwithstanding they manful-
lie stood to their defense: insomuch that those in the
right wing of the Romans armie were like to haue
bene iddistressed, if Clephasian perceluting the dan-
ger, had not sent a legion to their aid in time, wherby
the battell was newlie in that part restored. The cap-
teins on either side did what they could to encourage
their folkes to stick to their tackle, without giuing
ouer by anie meanes, considering what gaine came
by victorie, and what losse ensued by receiuing the o-
uerthrow.

The Britains, Scots, and Picts, like intraged li-
ons, ran vpon the Romans, with such cruell desire
of reuenge, that euen when they were thrust through
vpon the point of any weapon, they would run still
vpon the same, to come vnto him that held it, that
they might requite him with the like againe. But
yet would not all that their fierce and desperate har-
dinesse preuaile, for fortune by fatall appointment
being bent to aduance the Romans vnto the domi-
nion

Genilla the
wife of Aru-
ragus dieth.

A messenger
sent vnto
Claudius the
emperor from
Plautius.

Clephasian
cometh into
Britaine.

The Bri-
tains gather
an armie.

Acet.

The Scots &
Picts come
to aid the
Britains.
Illithara or
Tharan king
of Picts.

Clephasian
assaileth the
Britains in
their campe.

The desperat
hardinesse of
the Britains
and Scotish
men.

Fortune fa-
uoureth the
Romans.

The Britains receive the overthrow

Caratake escapeth, Charan king of the Picts is slain.

Messengers sent by Arutragus unto Vespasian with submission.

Arutragus cometh in unto Vespasian. Arutragus is restored again to his former dignitie. The Britains are pardoned, but yet deliver new hostages. Their lawes abrogated. New lawes.

Camelon besieged by Vespasian.

Camelon surrendered. The kings regall ornaments taken.

Camelon peopled with Romans.

nion of the whole world, shewed hit selfe so favourable unto them in this battell, that in the end, though the Britains with the confederats did what lay in men to do for attaining of victorie, yet were they beaten downe and slaine euerie mothers sonne, a few onelie excepted, which escaped by flight.

Arutragus seeing the slaughter of his people, would haue slaine himselfe, but that some of his seruants carried him by force out of the field; that he might be rescued yet vnto some better fortune. Caratake escaping by flight, fled into his countrie, but Charan king of the Picts, not coueting to liue after such losse of his people, threw away his armour with all his kingle ornaments, and sitting downe vpon a stone, as a man past himselfe, was there slaine by such as followed in the chase. Arutragus being conueied out of danger, and gotten into Forke, considered how by treason of this great discomfiture, it was impossible to resist the Romane puissance, and therefore with consent of the residue of his nobles that were escaped from the battell, he sent an herald vnto Vespasian, offering to submit himselfe in most humble wise vnto anie reasonable conditions of peace and agreement. Whereupon Vespasian commanded that Arutragus should in private apparell come in vnto him, for he would not talke of anie peace, except he had Arutragus present, and therefore he sent vnto him his safe conduct to assure him safetie both to come and go.

Arutragus seeing no other remedie, came in vnto Vespasian, according to his appointment, and vpon his submission was pardoned of all his trespasses, and placed againe in the kingdome. The cities and good townes also that were partakers in the rebellion, were in semblable wise forgiven without fining or other indemnitie, and so likewise were all the nobles of the countrie. Howbeit, for the better assurance of their loialtie in time to come, they delivered new hostages. Their ancient lawes also were abrogated, and the Romane lawes in their place established. For the administration of the which, in euerie prouince was appointed a Romane iudge to see good orders obserued according to the forme thereof. By which meanes the British nation estones returned vnto hit former obedience of the Romane empire. All the winter following, Vespasian laie at Forke, making his apperils against the next spring to go against the Scots and Picts. So lone therefore as the summer was come, Vespasian set forth vnto his armie, and entering into the marches of his enemies, he did put them in such feare that the Picts were glad to yeld themselves vnto him, a few of the nobles & some other excepted, which were withdrawne into Camelon, in hope through strength of that towne to defend themselves from all assaults. Vespasian being certified therof, came & besieged them within the same citie, not minding to depart till he had them at his pleasure. This siege continued till they within, being in danger to famish through want of vittels, surrendered themselves with the towne into Vespasians hands. In this towne were found all the regall ornaments, as the crowne & sword, with other iewels belonging to the kings of the Picts. The sword hauing the hilt of gold, & a purple scabbard very finely wrought & trimmed, Vespasian bled to weare in all the warres wherein he afterwards chanced to be, in hope (I wot not) of what good successe and lucke to follow therof. The Pictish lords which were within Camelon, were commanded to deliver pledges: and after licenced to depart with out anie other damage. Vespasian himselfe remaining at Camelon, take order for the peopling of the towne with Romans, granting them the vse of the libertie and priuileges which the Romans inhabi-

ting in Rome intoid. Also ouer against the towne vpon the banke of the riuer of Caron, he builded a temple in honor of the emperor Claudius, wherein he set by two images, the one representing Claudius, and the other the goddesse Victoria.

Whilest he was thus occupied, tidings came to him, that Caratake king of the Scottishmen had assembled in Galloway a great army of Scots, Picts and Britains, in purpose against the Romans, to reuenge the last overthrow. Whereupon Vespasian with all speed sent forth a strong power vnder the leading of Aulus Plautius to encounter the enemies. Plautius being approached within foure miles of them, incamped himselfe in a strong place, as though he minded not to passe further, till Vespasian with the rest of his whole puissance were come to his aid. Neuerthelesse, night was no soher come on, but that he gaue generall commandement through his host, that euerie man should make him readie to depart at a certeine houre vnder the standards of their captains in order of battell.

Then in the second watch of the night he set forth, following certeine guides (which knew all the straits and passages of the countrie) till he came to the place where Caratake with his armie was lodged: and first killing the watch which stood to defend his entrance, till the armie was raised, he set vpon the whole campe, and though he found such resistance that the battell continued right fierce & cruell from the dawning of the day, till it was hie none, yet in the end the victorie remained with the Romans; and the Scots with the Picts, & such Britains as were on their part, put to flight and chased. Caratake escaping out of the battell, fled into Argile, and got him to the castell of Dunstaffage. Diuerse of the Britains & Picts, which as yet had not submitted themselves, were put in such dread through feare of this overthrow, that immediatlie thereupon they came in and yelded themselves vnto Vespasian. And in semblable wise the people of Galloway utterlie despairing any longer to defend their countrie against Plautius (who was now entred into their confines, and had taken the citie of Carrike) offered to become subiects vnto the Romans, which they might neuer be brought vnto before that time.

These newes being certified vnto Vespasian by a pueruant, he rode straightwaies vnto Carrike, & there receiued the oths of the nobles, and other the inhabitants of the countrie. That done, he sent ambassadors vnto Caratake, to trie if he might by anie meanes to become friend vnto the Romane empire, in acknowledging some manner of subiection therevnto: but this deuise was to small purpose, for Caratake was determined rather to end his life as a free Scottishman in defense of libertie, than to become thrall vnto anie forreine nation, in hope to liue long time in seruitude, doubting least if he came anie waies forth into danger of the Romans, they would vsurpe the whole dominion vnto themselves. Whose mind when Vespasian vnderstood by his answer made to the ambassadors which were sent vnto him, he was minded to haue gone with an armie vnto Dunstaffage where Caratake lay, but that he was informed what dangerous passages he must march thorough, all full of desert mounteins, bogs, and quagmires, without anie prouision of vittels or forrage to bee found by all the way as the armie should passe.

Leauing therefore this enterprize, he caused so manie vessels to be assembled, as could be provided on all parts, purposing to haue passed ouer into the Ile of Man, into the which there were gotten together a great sort of Britains and Picts, that had escaped the Romans hands. But this iourne also was bro-

Julius Had. This was at Colchester, as the British English writers doe write.

Caratake assembled an armie.

Plautius sent forth with an armie against Caratake.

Plautius sent forth upon the Scottish campe.

Caratake fled vnto Dunstaffage.

The people of Galloway submit themselves to the Romans.

Ambassadors sent vnto Caratake.

Caratake deterred himselfe to become a subiect.

The Ile of Man might be better.

Vespasian appeareth the rebels.

Vespasian returneth to Rome.

Plautius left as gouernor. Plautius preparerth to meet the Scots.

The Romans through politick haughtie the Scottishmen.

Plautius taketh notice.

Dionys Scapula is sent into Britaine.

Julius Plautius dieth.

The blage amongst the Scots to burne the dead bodie.

he ne the an so en en ri p of ri S no pu re ri te th sk an do ch fo on lol of hu tra sh di th m re th li to Al ne ne th ed (a by fa thi ke 15 fr tu of wh to ca Al te q m to fo bu to th

Julius Hoff.
This was at
Colchester, as
the British
English
writers doe tell.

Caratake as
sembleth an
armie.

Plautius
sent forth with
an armie a-
gainst Ca-
ratake.

Plautius
letterth upon
the Scottish
campe.

Caratake fly-
eth vnto
Dunstaffage.

The people of
Galloway
submit them
selues to the
Romans.

Embassadors
sent vnto
Caratake.

Caratake be-
terlie refuseth
to become a
subiect.

The Isle of
Wight re-
belleth.

Vespasian
appeareth the
rebels.

Vespasian
returneth to
Rome.

Plautius left
as gouernor.
Plautius
prepareth to
meet the
Scots.

The Romans
through poli-
cie banquish
the Scottish
men.

Plautius fal-
lith sicke.

Moxius
Scapula is
sent into
Britaine.

Julius Plau-
tius dieth.

The blage as
mongst the
Scots to
burne the
dead bodie.

ken by another incident, for euen at the same time, newes were brought that the Britains of the Isle of Wight, with the Bentishmen, and diuerse others the inhabitants vpon the south coast, were revolted, and had slaine diuerse Romans, which lay in garri- sons in those parts. Vespasian therefore minding to cure this wound per it should throughlie fester, ha- sted thither with all speed, and with little a do pacifi- ing the rebels, caused the chiefe offenders to be pu- nished according to their deserts.

Shortlie after being sent for by the emperor Claudius, he returned vnto Rome with great glorie for his noble and high atchiued victories. Aulus Plautius was left in charge with the gouernement of Britaine after Vespasians departure: who bearing that Caratake had assembled a great armie of Scots, and other such Britains and Picts as had not yet submitted themselves vnto the Romans, in purpose to recouer againe those countries which Vespasian had latelie conquered, he likewise prepa- red to meet them, so that both the armies encounte- ring together, there was fought a right terrible bat- tell with great slaughter on both parties, till finallie the victorie inclining to the Romans, more through skillfull policie than puissant force, the Scots, Picts, and Britains were discomfited and chased into the bogs and marishes, the common refuge in those daies for the Scots, when by anie aduenture they chanced to be put to flight.

After this ouerthrow the warre was continued for two yers space, by rodes and incursions made one vpon another in the confines of Isle and Gal- loway. In which meane while Plautius fell sicke of the flux, which still continuing with him, brought him at length in such case, that he was not able to trauell at all in the publike affaires of his office. So that he wrote his letters vnto the emperor Clau- dius, signifieng vnto him in what case he stood, and thereupon required that some sufficient personage might be sent to occupie his roome. Claudius hauing receiued his letters, and vnderstanding the effect of the same, sent one Moxius Scapula, a man of high linage, and of good experience both in peace and war, to haue the gouernance in Britaine.

About the time of whose arriual into Britaine, Aulus Plautius departed out of this world at Ca- melon, where he then sojourned. His bodie was bur- ned, and according to the vse of the Romans in those daies, the ashes were closed in a chest, and buried within the church of Claudius and Victoria, which (as is said) Vespasian builded nere vnto Camelon, vpon the riuers side there. Hereof was a custome taken by amongst both Scots and Picts (as some thinke) to burne the bodie of the dead, and to burie the ashes: whereof there haue bene found diuerse to- kens and monuments in this our age. As in the yere 1521 at Findox a village in Perne, fise miles distant from Aberdine, there were found in an old graue two chests of a strange making full of ashes, either of them being ingrauen with Romane letters, which so sone as they were brought into the aire, fell to dust. Likewise in the fields of another towne called Kenbacten in Perne, ten miles distant from Aberdine, about the same time were found by cer- teine plowmen two sepulchres made of cut and squared stones, wherein were foure chests, of worke- manship, bignesse and inscription like to the other two. Spante the semblable monuments haue bene found in diuerse places in Scotland in times past: but it is to be thought, that in these sepulchres there were Romans buried, and neither Scots nor Picts.

But now to our purpose. Immediatelie vpon the coming of Moxius into Britaine, the people

of the west countries rebelled, perscuring the no- therne men with the Scots of Galloway, and all the Picts to do the like. They sent also vnto Caratake, requiring him in this common quarell against the Romans to put to his helping hand for recouerie of the ancient libertie of the whole land of Albion, considering it was like they should match well enough with this new Romane capteine Moxius Scapula, that vnderstood little of the maners and vsages of the Britains. But this notwithstanding, Moxius being informed of all these practises, and remembryng what furtherance it were for a cap- teine in the begining to win a name by some praise- worthy enterpryse, he made first towards the we- sterne Britains, whom he thought to surpise per they should assemble with the other rebels, and so meeting with them, he chased and toke a great num- ber of them, as they fled here and there out of all order.

After this, he went against the people called Ice- ni, which (as some thinke) inhabited the countrie now called Mfordschire, but other take them to be North- folke men, who being gathered together, were gotten into a strong place, inclosed about with a great ditch as they vse to fence pasture grounds, that no hostie men should breake in vpon them: yet this notwith- standing, Moxius assailed them within their strength, and in the end breaking doune the rampire, with such aid as he had, burst in at length amongst them, sleaing and taking the most part of them: for few or none escaped, they were so kept in on ech side. But of this battell, and likewise of other enterpri- ses, which Moxius and other of the Romane lieute- nants atchiued here in Britaine, ye shall find more thereof in the historie of England according to the true report of the Romane writers, the which verelie make no mention either of Scots or Picts till the yere of our Lord 320, at the soonest. And as for the Silures and Brigants removed by Hector Boetius so farre northward, it is euidentlie proued by Hum- frey Llhoide, and others, that they inhabited coun- tries contained now within the limits of England. The like ye haue to vnderstand of the Moudices where Caratake gouerned as king, and not in Car- rike, as to the well aduised reader I doubt not but it may sufficientlie appeare, as well in the descrip- tion as in the historie of England aforesaid.

But now to returne where we left: the brute of this late victorie quieted the busie minds of such o- ther of the Britains, as were readie to haue reuol- ted. But they of Galloway would not at the first giue ouer, but in trust of aid at the hands of Cara- take continued in their rebellion, till Moxius came thither, and beate doune such as made resistance, whereby the other were sone pacified. After this he entred into the confines of Isle and Cantire, spoi- ling and waisting those countries, and brought from thence a great number of captiues. With which in- surie Caratake being not a little kindled, he assem- bled a mightie armie, wherein he had at the least 40 thousand men, what of his owne subiects and other such as came to his aid. For after he was entred in- to Pictland, there came vnto him out of all parties no small number, of such as desired either to be re- uenged on the Romans, either else to lose life and libertie both at once, for the sake of bondage was so bitter vnto all the inhabitants of Albion in this sea- son, that they in maner were wholie conspired toge- ther to remoue that poke of thraldome from their shoulders which so painefullie pinched them.

Caratake thus furnished with an armie, chose forth a strong place to lodge in, fenced on the one side with the course of a deepe wodlesse riuer, and on the other sides it might not be approached vnto for the

The Bri-
tains yet este-
somes rebell.
The Bri-
tains require
aid of Cara-
take.

The Bri-
tains of the
west part are
chased.

Ice-
ni, Mfordschire
is assailed.
Some take
the Ice-
ni to be the North-
folke men.

They of Gal-
loway are bea-
ten and paci-
fied.

Isle and Can-
tire wasted
and spoiled.
Caratake as-
sembleth an
armie.

The strength
of the place
where Cara-
take was in-
camped.

Of this matter ye may read more in England. Women inscaped.

Women placed in order of battell.

Caratake and his captains exhort their men to fight.

Mozius incourageth his Romans.

Caratake overthrown by the Romans. His quene taken.

Caratake betrayed by his stepmother.

Caratake is sent to Rome.

He is shewed to the people in triumph.

Caratake departeth this life.

54
Strange sights seen.

steepnesse of the crags and such sending as they had made with great stones, in places where there was any waie to enter. All such women as were some what steep in age, and came thither with them, in great numbers, were by Caratake placed on either side his battels, both as well to incourage the men to do valiantlie with shouting and hallowing unto them, as also to assaile the Romans with stones as they should approach. Other such as were young and lustie, were appointed to keepe araie amongst the men to fight in the battell.

Caratake having thus ordered his field, and hearing that Mozius was come to giue battell, exhorted his people to stick to it like men, and so in semblable wise did all his captains and sergeants of the bands, going from ranke to ranke to incourage their souldiours, declaring how that this was the armie that must either bring libertie or thraldome to them and their posteritie for ever. On the other part Mozius minding to trie the matter by battell, set his people in araie after the ancient maner of the Romans, willing them to consider that they were descended of those parents and ancestors which had subdued the whole world: and againe, that those with whom they should now match, were but naked people, fighting more with a certaine maner of a furious rage and disordered violence, than with any politike discretion or constancie.

Herewith vpon commandement giuen on both parts, the battell began right hot, & for a good space verie doubtfull, till the practised knowledge of the Romans vanquished the furious violence of the Scots, Picts, and Britains: who being put to flight fled into the mounteins to escape the enemies hands who pursued them most egerlie. Amongst other of the prisoners there was taken Caratakes wife, with his daughter & brethren. He himselfe fled for succor unto his stepmother Cartimandua: but as aduersitie findeth few friends, she caused him to be taken and deliuered unto Mozius. This was in the ninth year after the beginning of the warres. Mozius used him verie honorablie, according to the degree of a king: finally he sent him vnto Rome, together with his wife, his daughter, and brethren. His name was such through all places, that where he passed by, the people came flocking in on each side to see him, of whom they had heard so much report for his stout resistance made so long a time against the Romane puissance.

At his coming to Rome he was shewed in triumph, all the people being called to the sight: for the victorie and apprehension of him was iudged equal with any other atchieued enterprise against whatsoeuer the most puissant enemies of former time. The Emperour Claudius vpon respect as was thought of his princelie behauior and notified valiancie, restored him to libertie, and reteining his daughter and eldest brother at Rome as pledges, vpon his oath resealed to be a true subiect vnto the empire, he sent him home into his countrie againe, assigning vnto him the gouernance of Galloway, with Kile, Carrike, and Coningham. He liued not passing two yeeres after his returne into Scotland, studieng most cheeflie (during that time) how to preserve his people in peace and quietnesse. He departed this world one and twentie yeeres after the decess of his uncle Metellan, in the yeere of our Lord 54.

A little before his falling into the hands of the Romans, there were sundrie strange sights seen in Albion, as fighting of hostes abroad in the fields, with great slaughter, as seemed on both parts: and forthwith the same so banished awaie, that no appearance of them could any where be perceiued. Also a sort of wolues in the night season set vpon such as

were keeping of cattell abroad in the fields, and carted awaie one of them to the woods, and in the morning suffred him to escape from amongst them againe. Moreover, at Carrike there was a child borne, perfect in all his lims sauing the head, which was like vnto a rauens. These vnketh signes and monstres put the people in no small feare: but after that Caratake was restored to his libertie & countrie, all was interpreted to the best.

10 After Caratakes decess, his yongest brother Corbreid was chosen to succed in his place, in the fiftie and eighth yeere after Christ, for his elder brother was departed at Rome through change of aire not agreeable to his nature. This Corbreid was a stout man of stomach, much resembling his brother Caratake. In the first beginning of his reigne, he did his indeuor to purge his dominion of such as troubled the quiet state thereof, by robbing and spoiling the husbandmen and other the meaner people of the countrie, of the which robbers there was no small number in those daies, speciallie in the Westerne Isles, also in Kille & Cathnes. In the meane time the Picts hauing created there a now king called Conkist, gouernour of Pers and Louthian, they set vpon the Romans being about to make fortresses in those parties. And but that succours came in time from the next towncs and castles adioining, they had slaine all the whole number of them, & yet aided as they were, the maister of the campe, and eight other of the captains, with diuers officers of bands, besides common souldiours, lost their liues there.

30 Shortly after also, the same Picts ouerthrew a number of foragers, with such companies of horsemen as came to defend them. Herewith Mozius being not a little moued, made readie his bands, and sterclie incountred with the Picts, who defended themselves so vigorouslie, that the fore ward of the Romans was nere hand discomfited. Which danger Mozius perceiuing, speedilie came to relieue the same, but pressing too farre amongst his enemies, he was sore wounded, and in great danger to haue bene slaine. The night coming vpon parted the fraie, not without huge slaughter on both parts. After this, the warre continued still betwixt them with often incursions and skirmishes. At the length the Picts with such other Britains as were come vnto them out of the Ile of Man and other parties, incountred with the Romans in battell, and vpon the first joining, of purpose gaue backe, training some of the Romans to pursue them vnto such places, where they had laid their ambushes, and so compassing them about, slue a great number of them, and chased the residue into the streits of the mounteins, where they were also surprisid by such of the Picts as returned from the battell.

60 Mozius vnderstanding how the matter went, withdrew with the rest of his people to his campe, and shortly after sent a pursuant vnto Rome, to informe the emperour in what state things stood in Britaine, by reason of this rebellion of the Picts, who neither by force nor gentile persuasions could be pacified. The emperour determining to prouide remedie therefore, sent word againe that he would not that the Picts should be oftens receiued vpon their submission, if they were giuen to make lute for pardon, but utterlie to be destroyed and exterminated. For the accomplishment whereof he appointed two legions of such men of warre, as sojourned in France to passe ouer into Britaine. But in the meane while Mozius departed this world, whether of his hurts (as the Scottish chronicles make mention) or through sicknesse (as should rather seeme by Cornelius Tacitus) it forceth not. After whose

Corbreid

The Picts more war against the Romans.

The Picts ouerthrew the Romans foragers.

Mozius is wounded.

The Romans trained some into ambushes and so discomfited.

Adrianus Valens inuaded the Picts.

The Romans are discomfited by the Picts.

Julius Didius commeth into Britaine.

The Picts sent to the Scots for aid.

Carinus placed an armie in to Galloway.

Adrianus the husband of Cartimandua.

Adrianus reuolued.

Cartimandua is buried quick.

Paulinus
Valens inua-
eth the
Picts.

The Ro-
mans are dis-
comfited by
the Picts.

Aulus Did-
us cometh
into Britaine.

The Picts
sent to the
Scotts for
aid.

Carinus Ma-
ximus en-
tered
with an armie
into Gallo-
way.

Genadius the
husband of
Cartiman-
dua.

Genadius re-
sisteth.

Cartiman-
dua is buried
quicke.

whose deceasse Paulinus Valens had the chiefest charge, who bringing his armie south to encounter the Picts that came to seek battell, was fiercelie fought withall, notwithstanding the victorie had a- bidden on his side, if at the verie point there had not come succours to the Picts (that is to wit) 400 horsemen out of the countrie of Kendall, by whose fresh onset the Romans were discomfited and cha- sed unto their campe, there being slain about 3000 of them at that overthrow, and on the Picts side there wanted 2000 of their number at the least.

About the same time there arrived in Britaine an other Romane capitaine to be generall in place of Maffius now deceased, his name was Aulus Di- dius, with him came the two legions afore remem- bered. At his first coming over he mustered the old crewes of the Romane souldiers first, much blaming them for their negligence, in suffering the enimies so to increase upon them, to the great dan- ger of losing all that (through sloth and faintnesse of courage) which latelie before in Britaine had been wonne and conquered by high prowes and valiant conduct of his predecessours. In the end he exhorted them to put away all feare, and fullie to determine with themselves to recouer againe the honor which they had latelie lost, which he said would easilie be brought to passe, if they would take unto them man- full stomachs, and obeie him and such other as had the gouernance and leading of them. The Picts being informed that this Aulus Didius was arrived with this new supplie of men, & prepared to come against them, they thought good to send unto Corbreid king of Scotland, to require his aid against the Romans, reputed as common enimies to all such as loved li- bertie, and hated to live in servile bondage. For which respect Corbreid was the sooner moved to con- descend unto the request of the Picts; and thereupon assembling an armie entered into Galloway. Where of Aulus Didius being certified, sent an herald un- to him with all speed, commanding that he should depart out of those quarters, sith he had no right there, considering that Galloway was assigned unto Caratake but for feare of his owne life, by force of the emperours grant, and now by the death of the same Caratake was reuerfed againe unto the empire.

The herald had binneath done his message, when word came unto Corbreid how an armie of the Ro- mans under the guiding of Cassius Pastica was entered into the marches of Galloway, to the great terroze of all the inhabitants, doubting to be spoiled and robbed on eich hand. These newes put the herald in danger of his life, had not Corbreid upon regard to the law of armes licenced him to depart. The host which Corbreid brought with him into Gallo- way, he bestowed in castles and fortresses abroad in the countrie for more safegard, but he himselfe rode in all hast unto Epiake, to haue the aduise and aid of one Genadius that had married the forenamed Car- timandua that unkind stepmother of Caratake, as ye haue heard before. This Genadius was of coun- sell with his wife Cartimandua in the betraying of king Caratake, and therefore was growne into much hatred of the people for that fact, but through support of the Romans he was for a time defended from all their malices. Notwithstanding in the end being wearied of the proud gouernment of the Ro- mans, he reuolted from them unto Corbreid. Where with his wife being offended, found means to ap- prehend both him and his brethren with certeine of his kindred, and laied them fast in prison.

But now Corbreid at his coming thither, did not onelie set them at libertie, but also toke & cari- ed Cartimandua to be buried quicke. In the meane

while a certeine number of Scots distressed a few foragers of the Romans, but following the chase somewhat rashlie, they were inclosed by the enimies and slain. This mishance put the Scots in great feare, and the Romans in good successe, so that Pa- stica was in purpose to haue assailed a certeine strong place, wherein a number of the Scottishmen were gotten, and had fortified the entrics, had not other newes altered his purpose, for hearing how an other armie of the Scots was joined with the Picts, and were approached within three miles of him, he brought his host south into a plaine where he ordered his battels readie to receive them. Whereof the Scottishmen hauing knowledge, hastied south to- wards him, and were no sooner come in sight of the Romans, but that with great violence they gaue the onset, most fiercelie beginning the battell, which continued till sun-setting with great slaughter on both sides; at what time the Romans were at the point to haue discomfited their enimies, had not those Scottishmen which were left in fortresses (as is said) abroad in the countrie, come at that selfe instant to the aid of their fellowes, by whose means the battell was renewed againe, which lasted till the mirke night parted them in sunder. The Romans withdrew to their campe, and the Scots and Picts got by into the mountains.

Shortlie after a peace was concluded betwixt the parties, with these conditions; that the Romans should content themselves with that which they had in possession before the beginning of these last wars, and suffer Corbreid to inioy all such countries as his brother Caratake held. And likewise the Picts pay- ing their former tribut for the finding of such garri- sons of Romans as late at Camelon, they should be no further charged with anie other exactions. Whereover it was agreed, that neither the Scots nor Picts from thenceforth should receiue or succour a- nie rebels of Frenchmen or Britains, nor should aid by anie manner of means the inhabitants of the Ile of Man, who had done manie notable displea- sures to the Romans during the last warres. This peace continued a six peares during the life of Aulus Didius, who at the end of those six peares, depar- ted this life at London, leauing behind him all things in good quiet.

After his deceasse the emperor Nero, who succe- ded Claudius, appointed one Vespasianus to be lieutenant of Britaine, a man verie ambitious and much desirous of honor, by means whereof, in hope to aduance his name, he sought occasions to haue warres with the Scottishmen; and at length hearing that certeine of them being borderers had fetched booties out of Pictland, he did send a great power of Romans to make a rode into the next marches of the Scots, from whence they brought a great spoile, both of men and of goods. With which injuries the Scots being moued, fought daillie in semblable sort to be reuenged, so that by such means the warre was renewed. But before anie notable encounter chanced betwixt them, Vespasianus died. His last wordes were full of ambitious boasts, wishing to haue liued but two peares longer, that he might haue subdued the whole Ile of Albion unto the Ro- mane empire; as if he might haue had so much time he doubted not to haue done.

Paulinus Suetonius succeeded in his place, a man of an excellent wit, and verie desirous of peace. He first confirmed the ancient league with Cor- breid king of Scotland: a recompense being made in euerie behalfe for all wrongs & injuries done on euerie part. After this (as Hector Boecius hath ga- thered) he conquered the Ile of Man; but for so much as by probable reasons it is apatant inough, that

The darke
night parted
the fraie.

A peace con-
cluded.

Aulus Did-
us departeth
this life at
London.

Vespasianus
is made lieut-
enant of Brit-
taine.

Vespasianus
departeth this
life.

Paulinus
Suetonius.

Angleseie and
not Man
was thus in-
uaded by
Suetonius.

C. g. if

it was not Span, but the Ile of Angleseic which the Britains name Môn, and at this time was subdued by Suetonius, we haue here omitted to make report thereof, referring you to the place in the English chronicle, where we haue spoken sufficientlie after what sort Suetonius both attempted & atchieued this enterprize, which being brought to end, he was sent for into Gallia, to repress certain tumults raised among the people there. In whose absence the Britains thinking to haue a meet time for their purpose, moued a new rebellion. But by the relation of Cornelius Tacitus, this chanced whilest Suetonius was busie in requiring the Ile of Angleseic, as in the English chronicle it likewise appeareth, with the strange sights and wonders which happened about the same time, whereupon the Southsaiers (as Hector Boetius saith) declared that the Romans should receiue a great ouerthrow. Upon trust of whose words the Picts and other Britains inhabiting Camclon and in the marches thereabouts, set upon such Romans as inhabited there, and slue a great manie of them per they were in doubt of a new rebellion. The residue which escaped, got them into an old church, where they were slaine ech mothers sonne.

The Scots and Picts kill the Romans.

Petilius Cerealis comming with a legion of footmen and a troope of horsemen to their succours, was incountried by the Picts, & being put to flight, lost all his footmen, hardlie escaping himselfe with the horsemen to the campe. Shortly after he took by his tents and returned towards Kent, where Catus the procurator receiued (as I may call him) of Britaine as then shourned, who vnderstanding how the whole Ile was on ech side in an vprore, fled ouer into France then called Gallia. This meane while

Catus the procurator of Britaine fled into France.

Quene Moada desired aid of hir brother Corbreid.

Quene Moada sent vnto hir brother Corbreid king of Scotland, requiring his aid against the Romans, who had so villie vied hir and hir daughters, to the great dishonour of hir and all hir linage, and now was the time to be reuenged of such iniuries, the whole nation of the Britains through the courteous dealing of the procurator Catus, being risen in armes to recouer their ancient liberties.

Charanach king of the Picts.

The Romans slaine.

Dutchmen arrive in Scotland.

Corbreid being highlie displeased towards the Romans for the euill intreating of his sister, determined either to see hir satisfied by worthy recompense, or else to be reuenged on them that had misblessed hir: and hereof gaue signification vnto Catus the procurator that was as then returned into Britaine with a power of men of warre. Corbreid receiving but a scornfull answer from him, found meanes to ioin in league with Charanach king of the Picts, and gathering together a mightie armie of one or other, pursued the Romans and their associates, slaying downe a wonderfull number of them. He also burned and destroyed diuers townes, such as in keeping their allegiance to the Romans stood earnestlie to their defense, as Berwick and Carleill with others. About the same season there arrived in the frith a number of Dutch ships, fraught with people of Herberne or Friesland, a region in Germanie situate betwixt Boheme and Hungarie. They were diuised out of their owne countrie by the Romans, and assembling together vnder a famous capteine named Koderike, came downe to the mouth of the Rhene, where making shift for vessels, they took the seas to seeke them some new habitations; and thus arriving in Ideland, were iustlie receiued of the Picts and Scots, for that they were reputed right valiant men, and glad to reuenge their owne iniuries against the Romans. Paucitie with the Picts they were much esteemed, for that they came forth of the same countrie from whence their ancestors were descended.

Their huge bodies and mightie limbs did greatly commend them in the sight of all men before whom they mustered, so that comming to the place where the kings of Scots and Picts were incamped with their people ready to march forth towards the enemies, they were highlie welcomed, and upon their offer receiued into companie, and appointed to go forth in that iournie, in aid of quene Moada against the Romans. With this Moada was assembled a mightie host of the Britains, amongst whom were five thousand women, whole bent to reuenge the villanies done to their persons by the Romans, or to die in the paine. And for this purpose were they come well appointed with armour and weapons, to be the first that should giue the onset. Moada hearing of hir brothers approach with the king of Picts and their armies, met them on the waie accompanied with a great number of the nobles of Britaine, and brought them to hir campe with great joy and triumph.

Welshmen were in of public nature.

Women come with the quene in armour.

Welshmen.

Hum. Lloid doubteth of this historie of the Romans.

Corbreid dead Anno Christi, 71. H. B.

Dardan.

After taking aduise how to behaue themselves in their enterprize, they thought it good to make hast to fight with the procurator Catus, yet a new power of men of warre might come to his aid forth of Gallia now called France. Whereupon marching towards him, they met together in the field, where betwixt them was striken a right fierce and cruell battell; but in the end the horsemen of the Romans part being put to flight, the footmen were beaten downe on ech side; Catus himselfe being wounded, escaped verie hardlie by flight, and shortly after got him ouer into France. The Scots and Picts with other the Britains, hauing atchieued this victorie, pursued their enemies from place to place, so that there died by the sword, what in the battell and elsewhere in the chase, senentie thousand Romans and other strangers, which serued amongst them; and of Scots, Picts, and other Britains, were slaine thirtie thousand.

The Romans are put to flight and ouerthrowen.

Catus was wounded.

70000 Romans slaine, and 30000 Britains.

Corbreid his three sonnes.

The gouernour Suetonius being then in Gallia, hearing of this ouerthrow, & in what danger things stood in Britaine, by reason of the same, came ouer with two legions of souldiers, and ten thousand of other Brigants as aiders to those legions. Moada the quene vnderstanding of his arrivall, assembled againe hir people, and sent vnto the Scots and Picts to come to hir aid: who together with the Friesians came with all speed vnto hir. When they were thus assembled, Britains, Scots, Picts, & Friesians on one part, and Romans with their aids on the other, they marched forth to incounter together with deliberat minds to trie the matter by dint of sword, being earnestlie exhorted thereto by their gouernours on either side. So that ioining puillance against puillance, they fought a right cruell battell, manie in the beginning being slaine and borne downe on both sides. But in the end the victorie abode with the Romans, the Britains with other the Albans were chased out of the field. There were slaine of them at the point of foure score thousand persons, as Tacitus writeth. The more part of the Friesians, together with their capteine Koderike, were in that number. Moada the quene, doubting to come into the hands of hir enemies, slue hir selfe. Two of hir daughters were taken prisoners, and brought ariued, even as they were found fighting in the battell, vnto Suetonius.

Moada assembled an armie against the Romans.

The Romans ouerthrew the Scots and Picts. The Friesians all slaine. Moada slue hir selfe.

Dardan fallen into all kind of vices.

His cousin Catus and others.

The common rebell.

The eldest of them within a few moneths after, was married vnto a noble Romane named Marius, who had before hir time. He was also created king of Britaine by the emperours authority, that thereby the state of the countrie might be reduced vnto a better quiet. He vied to lie most an in the parties of Fendale, and named a part thereof

Marius was made king.

Dardan is beheaded. 71. H. B. 6 of Vespasian. H. B.

Corbreid Gald.

Galdus other wise called Gylgacus, not a Scot but a Britaine as other thins.

Wherbyne
Sovereyn of
goodlie sta-
ture.

Women come
with the
Queen in ar-
mour.

The Romans
are put to
flight and o-
uerthrowne.

Catus was
wounded.

70000 Ro-
mans slain,
and 30000
Britains.

Moada assem-
bled an armie
against the
Romans.

The Romans
ouerthrowe the
Scots and
Brits.
The Moza-
rians all
slaine.
Moada due
hir selfe.

Marinus was
made king.

Westmerland.

Ham. Lloid
doubteth of
this historie
of the Moza-
rians.
Marcey land.

Corbreid dead
Anno Christi,
71. H. B.

Dardan.

Corbreid his
type looses.

Dardan sat-
tely into all
kind of vices.

His cousin Ca-
tus and o-
ther.

The com-
mons rebell.

Dardan is
beheaded.
71. H. B.
6 of Velpa-
rian. H. B.

Corbreid

Gald.

Galdus other
wise called
Galgacus, not
a Scot but a
Britaine as
the thymie

(where he passed the most part of his time altogether in hunting) Westmerland, after his owne name, though afterwards, when the Romans were expelled, a portion of the same adjoining next unto the Scots was called Cumberland. The Mozarians which escaped from the discomfiture, had that portion of Scotland assigned forth unto them to inhabit in, that lieth betwixt the riuers of Torne and Speie, called euen vnto this day Marcey land.

Corbreid being thus ouerthrowne, and hauing his power greatlie infeebled thereby, passed the residue of his life in quietnesse. For the Romans being troubled with ciuill warres, medled neither with the Scots nor Brits, but onlie studied to keepe the south parts of Britaine in due obedience. Finally Corbreid departed this world, after he had reigned 34 yeares, and was buried amongst his elders nere vnto Dunstaffage, with manie obelisks set vp about him.

After Corbreid succeeded one Dardan, which for his huge stature was afterward surnamed the great. He was lineally descended fro Sperellane, who was his great grandfather. The nobles and commons of the realme chose him to be their king, onlie for the good opinion they had conceived of him in his predecessors daies, by whome he was had in great estimation, and had atchiued vnder him manie worthie enterprises, so that he was thought most meetest for the roine, considering the sonnes of Corbreid were not as yet come vnto ripe yeares to intoy the same. For the said Corbreid had three sons in all, Corbreid, Tulcane, and Wæke. The eldest had bene brought vp with Moada, queene of the Britains, whereby he had learned the manners and vriages of the British nation, and therevpon was surnamed Gald; for so do the Scottishmen vse euen vnto this day to name anie of their owne countrymen that hath learned the courtelie and manners of strange countries.

But to returne to Dardan, in the beginning of his reigne he gouerned the estate by good indifferent iustice, but after he had continued therein by the space of two yeares, he began to fall into all kinds of vices, remouing from offices such as were by right bearers of themselves in the same, and aduancing to their places byibers and extortioners. The nobles he had in suspect, fauoring onelie such as thorough flatterie were by him preferred. And where he was bounden beyond all the terms of honestie in fleshlie and sinfull lust, yet was his couetousnesse so great, that all was to little which he might lay hands vpon. He also put to death diuers honorable personages, such as he perceived to grudge at his doings. He likewise purposed to haue made away the sonnes of his predecessor Corbreid, but his traitorous practise being disclosed, the most part of the nobles and commons of the realme rebelled against him, and sending for Corbreid Gald the eldest sonne of the former Corbreid, remaining as then in the Ile of Man (where he should haue bene murdered) they chose him to their king. And at length beating downe all such as made resistance, they got that cruell tyrant Dardan into their hands, & bringing him forth before the multitude, they caused his head to be openlie stricken off. This was the 81 yeare after the birth of our Sauour, being the first of the emperour Domitian, & the fourth compleat of his owne reigne ouer the Scottishmen.

Corbreid Gald being thus chosen (as I haue said) to succeed in the gouernment of Scotland after Dardan, is called by Cornelius Tacitus Galgacus, a prince of comelie personage, and of right noble port. In the first beginning of his reigne he punished such as had bene furtherers of his predecessors mis-

gouernement, and afterwards he passed ouer into the Iuesterne Isles, where he appeared certaine rebels, which went about to disquiet the state of the common-wealth there. From thence he sailed vnto the Isles of Lewis and Skie, and put to death certaine offenders that would not be obedient vnto their gouernors and iudges. After this he returned by Rolle, and set a stay also in that countrie, touching certaine misdoers of the people there. To be short, he purged the whole realme of all such robbers, theues, and other the like offenders against the quiet peace of his subiects, as were hugelie increased by the licentious rule of his predecessor Dardan, and herevnto he was mightlie aided by the Mozarians, who pursued such offenders most earnestlie, and brought in vnto him no small number of them, euer as they caught them.

By this meanes was the state of the common-wealth brought into better quiet, and the yere next ensuing, being the third of Gald his reigne, he called a councill at Dunstaffage, wherein he laboured much for the abrogating of the wicked lawes instituted by king Elwin, as before is partly specified: but he could not obtaine more, than that poxe men from thenceforth should haue their wiues free vnto themselves, without being abused from time to time indifferently by their landlords, as here tofore they had bene. Whilest he was thus buised about the establishing of holsonie orders & statutes for the welth of his subiects, word was brought him that Petilius Cerealis a Romane capteine, being sent from Westpasia the emperour to haue the gouernment of Britaine, was landed with a puissant armie in the countrie, and minded shortly to invade the borders of his realme, as Annandale and Galloway.

With these newes Gald being somewhat astonished, thought good to vnderstand the certaintie of the enemies doings, before he made anie stirre for the leuieng of his people, and therefore appointed certaine light horsemen to ride forth, and to bring certaine newes of that which they might heare or see: who at their returne declared that the enemies armie was abroad in the fields, vpon the borders of Westland, and had giuen the Brits already a great ouerthrow; and further, how they were turned westward on the left hand, in purpose to enter into Galloway. Gald being thus certified of the Romans approach towards his countrie, determined to giue them battell, before they entered into the inner parts of his realme, and therefore with all speed he assembled his people, to the number of fiftie thousand men, all such as were able to beare armor, being ready to repaire vnto him in such present necessitie for defense of their countrie.

It hath bene reported, that as he marched forth towards his enemies, sundrie strange sights appeared by the way. An eagle was seene almost all a whole day, flying vp and downe ouer the Scottish armie, euen as though he had laboured hir selfe wearie. Also an armed man was seene flying round about the armie, and suddenlie vanished away. There fell in like maner out of a darke cloud in the fields, through the which the armie should passe, diuerse kinds of birds that were spotted with bloud. These monstrous sights troubled mens minds diuerslie, some construing the same to signifie god successe, and some otherwise. Also the chiefest capitains amongst the Scots were not all of one opinion, for some of them weicng the great force of the Romane armie, being the greatest that euer had bene brought into their countrie before that day, counselled that they shuld in no wise be fought with, all, but rather to suffer them to wearie themselves, till vittels and other provision should faile them, and

See more of
him in Eng-
land.

Gald puni-
sheth such as
disturbe the
quiet state of
his subiects.

The Moza-
rians
and helpe to
apprehend
theues and
offenders.

Gald laboureth
to abrogate
wicked lawes

Petilius Ce-
realis a Ro-
mane capteine
sent by West-
pasia into
Britaine.

The Ordon-
ces and Brit-
gants mis-
taken by the
Scottish
souldiers.

The pits o-
uerthrowne
by the Ro-
mans.

The Romans
purpose to
enter into
Galloway.
Gald deter-
mineth to
fight with the
Romans.

Strange
sights appere
to the Scottish
armie.

The Scots
not all of one
mind.

C. lii.

then

then to take the aduantage of them, as occasion serued.

Other were of a contrarie mind, iudging it best (sith the puissance of the whole realme was assembled) to giue battell, least by deferring time, the courage and great desire, which the people had to fight, should war faint and decaye: so that all things considered, it was generallie in the end agreed vpon to giue battell, and so comming within sight of the enemies host, they made readie to incounter them. At the first the Scots were somewhat amazed with the great multitude of their aduersaries, but through the cheerefull exhortations of their king, and other their capteins, their stomachs began to reuiue, so that they boldie set vpon the Romans, whereof ensued betwixt them a right fierce and cruell battell, howbeit in the end the victorie inclined to the Romans, and the Scots were chased out of the field. Gald himselfe was wounded in the face, yet escaped he out of the battell, but not without great danger in deed, by reason the Romans pursued most egerlie in the chase.

Where were slaine of the Scottishmen (as their chronicles report) aboue twelue thousand, and of the Romans about six thousand. This victorie being thus atchieued, the Romans got possession of Epiake with the greatest part of all Galloway, and passed the residue of that yere without anie other notable exploit: but in the summer following, Petilius the Romane gouernor went about to subdue the rest of the countrie, the Scots oftentimes making diuerse skirmishes with him, but in no wise durst ioine with them, puissance against puissance, least they should haue put their countrie into further danger, if they had chanced effionnes to haue receiued the ouerthrow.

Here haue we thought good to aduertise the reader, that although the Scottish writers impute all the trauels, which Petilius spent in subduing the Brigants, and Frontinus in conquering the Silures, to be imployed chieflie against Scots & Picts: the opinion of the best learned is wholie contrarie thereto, affirming the same Brigants & Silures not to be so far north by the distance of manie miles, as Hector Boetius and other his countrymen doe place them, which thing in the historie of England we haue also noted, where ye may read more of all the doings of the Romans here in Britaine, as in their writers we find the same recorded. But nevertheless we haue here followed the course of the Scottish historie, in maner as it is written by the Scots themselves, not binding anie man more in this place than in other to credit them further than by conference of authors it shall seeme to them expedient.

In the meane time then, whilst Petilius was occupied (as before ye haue hard) in the conquest of Galloway, Moadicia the daughter of Aruiragus (whom the Romans had before time misused, as before in this treatise is partly touched) gathered together a crew of souldiours within the Ile of Man, partly of the inhabitants, and partly of such Scottishmen of Galloway as were fled thither for succor: with these she toke the seas, and landing in Galloway, vpon purpose to reuenge hir iniuries in times past receiued at the Romans hands, she set vpon their tents in the night season, when they looked for nothing lesse than to be disquieted, by reason whereof they were brought into such disorder, that if Petilius had not caused such fierbrands to be kindled as he had prepared and dressed with pitch, rosen and tallow, for the like purpose, the whole campe had bene in great danger: but these torches or fierbrands gaue not onlie light to see where to make resistance, but also being cast in the faces of the enemies, staid their har-

die forwardnesse, whereby the Romans hauing leasure to place themselves in arraie, defended the entrees of their campe, till the day was spring, and then giuing a full onset vpon their enemies, they put them quite to flight.

But Moadicia not herewith discouraged, hasted with all speed vnto Epiake, and taking that citie she set fire on it, and slue such Romans as she found there, whereof Petilius being certified, sent forth a legion against hir to withstand hir attempts. Those that had the charge of them that were thus sent, used such diligence, that laicng an ambush for hir in a place fit for that purpose, they so inclosed hir, that slauing the most part of hir company, she was taken prisoner hir selfe, and being brought alieue vnto Petilius, vpon hir stout answer made vnto him, as he questioned with hir about hir bold enterprises, she was presentlie slaine by the souldiours.

Anon after Petilius was certified, that the inhabitants of the Ile of Wight, with other southerne Britains, had raised a commotion against king Marcius, so that without speedie succors they were like to driue him out of his kingdome: wherevpon he hasted thither with all conuenient speed, and subduing the rebels, set all things there in good order and staie: and so remaining there till the next yere after, he fell sicke of the flux and died. Immediatlie wherevpon the emperour sent one Julius Frontinus to succeed in his place. This Frontinus brought with him two legions of souldiours, and after he had taken order with king Marcius for the keeping of the Britains in due subiection of the empire, he purposed to bring such vnto obedience, as inhabited within and beyond the woods of Calidon, and as yet not vanquished by anie man.

Therefore entring first into Galloway, and visiting such garrisons of the Romans, as Petilius had left there for the keeping of that quarter, he commended their loialtie and diligence, in that they had looked so well to their charge, that the enemy had gained no aduantage at their hands, whilst the armie was occupied in the south parts about other affaires there. He also sent an herald vnto the king of the Picts with letters, requiring him to reneue by confirmation the former league betwixt his people & the Romans, & not by any means to aid the Scots as before they had done to their great losse & hindrance. Verinto the king of Picts much suspecting the matter, made a direct answer, that he saw no cause why he should in fauor of the Romans suffer his confederates the Scots to be subdued, and brought to destruction without all reason or equitie: and therefore he was determined by the aduise of his pères & counsellors, to aid the Scots against such as sought nothing but the meanes how to bring the whole Ile of Albion into thraldome and seruile bondage.

Frontinus little regarding this untowardlie answer, set forward to subdue such Scots as were yet disobedient. And so entring into the borders of Kile, Carrick, and Coningham, he diuers skirmishes with such as king Gald had assembled to defend his countrie, but forsomuch as he was diseased with sickness, he was at length constrained to withdraw himselfe into Argile, leaving his power behind him to resist the enemies attempts: but shortly after his departure from amongst them, they were fought withall by the Romans, and discomfited, three thousand of them being slaine in the field. By reason of which overthrow those countries submitted themselves to the Romans, perceiuing no hope otherwise how to escape that present danger.

These Scots of Carrick, Kile, and Coningham, being thus brought into subiection, the armie was licenced to withdraw to their lodgings for the winter

The Scots agree to fight with the Romans.

The Scots are discomfited.

The citie called Epiake is taken by the Romans.

The Scots durst not fight any field with the Romans.

Concerning all the doings of the Romans in Britaine ye shall find sufficient in the historie of England.

Moadicia renewedly wars with the Romans.

The Romane campe assailed in the night by Moadicia.

Epiake taken and burned by Moadicia.

Moadicia is slaine.

The Britains rebel.

The Britains are appeased.

Petilius the Romane legat dieth.

Julius Frontinus sent into Britaine.

The Silures mistaken for Scottishmen.

Frontinus purpoeth to pursue the conquest of the Silures who the Scots mistake for Galloway men.

Frontinus requireth to ioine in amitie with the Picts. The Pictish king refuseth to be in league with the Romans.

Gald resisteth the Romans.

By reason of sickness he withdraweth to Argile.

They submit themselves to the Romans.

ter

Frontinus
being bereft
with sickness
returneth to
Rome.

Julius Agricola
is sent
into Britaine.
The Scots
of Annandale
beat towne
the Romans.
Agricola pre-
pareth to go
against the
Scots.
Baranach
king of the
Picts
discomfited
by
the Romans.

he is ta-
burned
oabicia,

icia is

rebell,

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fed,

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mele-
eth,

From
sent into
ine,

Baranach
king of
Picts,

Annas
eth to
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cots in-
by Gal-
men,

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eth to
a amitie
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ter season, during the which, Frontinus fell sicke of superfluous abundance of flegme, which bereft him in such sort, that the emperor Donitian, who as then governed the Roman empire, sent for him home to Rome, and appointed a right valiant personage, one Julius Agricola to succeed as lieutenant of Britaine in his room. About the time of whose arrivall there, the Scots of Annandale slue a great number of the Romans, with which successe they procured also the Picts with the inhabitants of Galloway, Myle, Carrike, and Coningham to rebell.

These newes being reported unto Agricola, he made his provision with all speed to go against them, and first entering into the borders of Pictland, he recovered such as inhabited about the confines of Berwick to their former subiection, and after marching towards the citie of Camelon, Baranach king of the Picts encountered him by the waie, but being fiercely beaten off by the Romans, he fled backe into the citie, and within three daies after having reinforced his power, he effronterly gaue battell againe to his enimies; but then also being vanquished, he lost the most part of all his men, and so immediatlie thereupon was Camelon wonne by force, & a great number of the citizens slaine.

Agricola caused it to be newlie fortified, and further though fame of this victorious beginning, he recovered the most part of all the castles and fortresses of Pictland. The forenamed Baranach escaping out of that present danger, got him beyond the water of Forth, for the more suertie of his owne person. Agricola having sped thus in Pictland, marched south against them of Annandale, who at the first making resistance for a time, at length were constrained to give backe, and so fled to their houses, where in the night following by their owne wines they were murdered each mothers sonne: for so the women of that nation used to put awaie the shame of their husbands, when they at any time had fled out of the field from their enimies.

Agricola understanding that by winning him fame in the beginning, it should be no small furtherance unto him for the adjuining of other enterprises in time to come, determined to pursue his good fortune, and thereupon prepared to subdue the Isle of Man; but wanting vessels to convey his armie over, he found means that such as could swim, and knew the shallow places of that coast, made shift to passe the gulf, and so got on land, to the great wonder and amazement of the inhabitants, who watched the sea coasts, to resist such ships as they looked for to have arrived upon their shore: but now despairing to resist such kind of warriors as endangered themselves to passe the seas in that manner of wise, they submitted themselves unto Agricola.

Who taking pledges of them, and appointing certein garisons to keepe divers holds and places of defense within that Ile, passed over with the residue of his people into Galloway, where he sojourned all the winter following: which being passed, and summer once come, he assembled his men of warre againe, and visited a great part of that countrie with Myle, Carrike, and Coningham, the inhabitants whereof he put in such feare with the onelie show of his warlike armie, disposed in such polittike order and wise conduct, that there was none to be found that durst advance themselves to encounter him, so that he spent that summers season in keeping such of the Scots as had bene aforetime subdued, from attempting any commotion. And when winter was come, he assembled the nobles of the countrie, exhorting them by gentle persuasions, to frame themselves to a civill trade of living, as well in building of temples, houses, and other edifices after the Ro-

man manner, as also in wearing of comelie and decent apparell; and above all things to set their children to schole, to be brought up in eloquence and good nurture. By this meanes he thought to traine them from their accustomed fiercenesse, and to win them the sooner to be content with bondage, though he coloured it with neuer so faire a glose of humanitie.

The third winter being thus spent, and the next summer commen upon, Agricola invaded such countries as were yet undiscovered by the Romans, entering by the nether side of Calidon wood, even unto the dolorous mountaine, which afterwards by the Scots was cleped Sterling. It was called the dolorous mountaine, for that in the night season there was heard right lamentable noise & cries, as though the same had bene of some creatures that had bewailed their miserable cases: which undoubtedly was the craftie illusions of wicked spirits, to keepe mens minds still oppressed in blind errors and superstitious fantasies.

Agricola considering the naturall strength of this mountaine, with the site of an old ruinous castell that stood thereon, he caused the same with all diligence to be repaired, and a bridge to be made over the Forth there, by the which he passed with his whole armie over into Jife: and the daie after, hearing that the king of the Picts was withdrawne into a castell thereby, standing upon an high mountaine cleped Benart, he environed the same with a strong siege, howbeit his hoped prey was not as then within it, for Baranach king of the Picts, informed of the Romans approach, got him forth abroad into the fields, and assembling his power, purposed by night to have broken the bridge, which Agricola had made over the Forth at Sterling, but being repelled by such as were set there to defend the same, in his returne from thence he was encountered by Agricola himselfe, who being certified of this attempt of his enimies, had lenied his siege, and was comming towards them, so that both the hostes meeting together in the fields, there was fought a foye battell betwixt them, though in the end the Picts were discomfited, and their king the foresaid Baranach chased unto the river of Tay, where he got a bote, and escaped to the further side of that water. By reason of this overthrow, Agricola brought in subiection those countries, which lie betwene the waters of Forth and Tay, as Jife, Forthryke, and Ernedall, and sojourning there all the winter following, he built sundrie fortresses in places most convenient for the keeping of the inhabitants in their covenanted obedience, after his departure from amongst them.

In the meane while, the king of the Picts kept him at Dundee, whither resorted unto him a great number of the Pictish nobilitie, such as had escaped the Romans hands. These comforted their king in all that they might, willing him to be of good chere; and to hope well of the recoverie of his losses againe by some good fortune and means that might happen to come ver ought long, promising to the furtherance thereof all that in them late, as well for counsell as aid of hand: and hereupon they took advise which waie to worke, in so much that at length it was by great deliberation thought good to seeke for succor at the hands of their ancient confederats the Scots, and so incontinentlie there were certein messengers dispatched with all speed unto Gald the Scottish king, requiring him in that common jeopardie to joine in league with his ancient friends the Picts, against the ambitious and most cruell Romans, who sought nothing else but the utter subversion of the whole land of Albion, as manifestlie appeared by their proceedings, having already occupied and wonne

Calendat
wood.
Agricola
commeth
to Sterling.

Agricola buildeth
the castle
of Sterling
with the
bridge.

Mount
Benart.

Baranach as-
saileth Ster-
ling bridge,
which the Ro-
mans de-
fended.

Baranach is
effronterly
chased.
Jife with o-
ther countie
brought into
subiection
of the Romans.

Baranach
comforted by
his nobles.

The Picts
send for aid to
king Gald.

Agricola
striveth to bring
the Scots
into civillitie.

Cald promi-
seth to come in
league with
the Picts
against the
Romans.

fullie surprised a great part not onlie of the Pictish kingdome, but also of the Scottish dominions, minding still to go forward in such unrighteous conquests, if by timely resistance they were not staied. Cald upon this request and motion of the Picts gladiie consented to ioine his power with theirs, in common defense of both the realmes (against such common enemies as the Romans were esteemed) hauing hereunto the assent of all his peeres and chiefest counsellors.

The Scots
slew the Ro-
man souldiers
heng in cer-
taine garisons
The ruler of
Clide, other-
wise called
Clude.
Agricola res-
pelling the
Scots, could
not yet win
the castell of
Dunbretton,
ancientlie
called Bred-
cluch, or Al-
cluch.

Thus whilest the kings of the Scots and Picts were concluding a league together for defense of themselves and their countries, certaine Scots entered into the confines of Bile, Carrike, and Coningham, and wan diuers fortresses, wherein certaine garisons of Romane souldiers sojourned, whome they slew downe right without all mercie, spoiling the whole countrie. Agricola hauing knowledge hereof, went streightwaies thither with a power, and pursuing them that had done those iniuries, some he took amongst the hilles and mounteines, whither they fled; and the residue he chased beyond the river of Clide, but the castell of Dunbretton he could not by any meanes obtaine, though he assaied to win it euen to the uttermost of his power. It was called in those daies Alcluth, that is to meane: All stone. The Scottishmen being thus driuen backe, Agricola repaired such castels and fortresses as they had ouertaken and beaten downe.

Agricola
inuadeth
Lennox.

In the yeare following, being the first after the first coming of Agricola into Britaine, he caused his ships to be brought about fro the Ile of Wight into the water of Lochline in Argile, thereby to put his enemies in utter despaire of escaping his hands either by water or land: and thereupon passing ouer the river of Clide with his armie, and finding his naue there, he set upon the countrie of Lennox, in purpose to subdue the same. But after he had made sundrie skirmishes with the inhabitants, he was certified by letters from the gouernor of Camelon, that the Picts were readie to rebell, by reason wherof he left off this enterprize against the Scots, and drew backe into Pictland, leauing a part of his armie to keepe possession of the water of Clide, till his returne againe into those parties. At his coming into Pictland, he appeled the rebels with small adu, punishing the chiefe authors according to their demerits. This done, he returned vnto the water of Clide, lieng all that winter beyond the same, taking order for the gouernment of those parties, in due obedience of the Romane empire.

Agricola re-
turneth into
Pictland, to
appease a re-
bellion of the
people there.
He returneth
vnto Clide.

The summer following he appointed his naue to search alongst by the coast all the hauens and creeks of Argile, and of the Ilands nere to the same. Whil实现 he by land passing ouer the water of Lenine, went about to conquer towne and castels, though halfe discouraged at the first, by reason of the rough waies, streit passages, high mounteines, craggie rocks, thicke woods, deepe marshes, fens and moles, with the great rivers which with his armie he must needs passe, if he minded to attaine his purpose: but the old souldiers being inured with paines and trauell, overcame all these difficulties by the wise conduct of their two chief generall and other the capitaine, and so inuading the countrie took towne and castels, of the which some they beat downe and rased, and some they fortified and stuffed with garisons of men of warre.

All the Scots
assemble.

About the same time by commandement of king Cald, and other the gouernors of Scotland, all the able men of Cantire, Lozne, Spurrey land, Angemarth, also those of the westerne Iles, & of all other parties belonging to the Scottish dominions, were appointed to assemble and come together in Atholl, at

a place not passing five miles distant from the castell of Calidon now cleped Dunkeld, there to abide the coming of Karanach king of the Picts, to the end that ioining together in one armie, they might work some high exploit. But he hauing assembled fiftene thousand of his men of war, as he marched alongst by the mountaine of Granzbene, in times past cleped Mons Crampus, there chanced a mutinie amongst his people, so that falling together by the eares, Karanach himselfe coming amongst them vnarmed as he was to part the fraie, was slaine presentlie at vnwares, by one that knew not what he was. By reason of which mischance that iourne was broken, for the Picts being bitterlie amazed and discomforted herewith, skaled and departed alunder.

Karanach k.
of the Picts
slaine by mis-
fortune of one
of his owne
subiects.

Cald
upon
of his
in the

Cald with his Scots now being thus disappointed of the Picts his chiefe aid, durst not leaue to trie the chance of battell with the enemies, but determined with light skirmishes, and by withdrawing of vittels out of their walke, to stop them from further proceeding in conquest of the countrie, & in the mean time to prouide against the next summer new aid and succors to keepe the field, and so to encounter with them, puissance against puissance, if they remained so long in the countrie. The Scots resting upon this resolution, thought god to send some honorable ambassage vnto the Picts to moue them vnto mutuall agreement & concord amongst themselves, whereby they might be able to resist the common ruine of their countrie as then in present danger to be oppressed by the Romans.

In ambassage
fro the Scots
to the Picts.

Those that were sent on this message, did so diligentlie behaue themselves, in bringing their purpose to passe, that the Picts in the end agreed to ioine in friendlie amitie one with another, and to chose one Carnard to their king to succed in the rowne of Karanach. They also confirmed the former leage with the Scots, and by their procurement sent messengers vnto the Bozwegians and Danes, requiring them of aid against the Romans the common enemies of all such nations as loued to liue in libertie, wheresoeuer the same were inhabiting in anie part on the whole face of the earth. There were also sent ambassadors vnto the Irishmen from the Scots for the same intent, and from both those places there was great aid promised, as fro them that esteemed themselves halfe bound by a naturall respect, to succor such as were descended of the same ancestors and countries that they were of, and now like to be expelled out of the seats which their forefathers had got possession in by iust title of conquest, and left the same vnto their posteritie to enioy for euer.

The Picts
brought to
agreement
amongst them
selues.

Agricola
succo-
men.

Agricola
confi-
dence

Ambassadors
sent vnto the
Danes and
Irishmen for
aid.

Whilest these things were thus in doing, Calvus diuiding his armie into sundrie parts, did what was possible to resist all the attempts of the Romans. Who standing in doubt of his puissance, rather through fame thereof, than for anie apparant sight or other knowledge had, durst not put themselves in danger to enter into Calidon wood, of all that summer; and the winter following was so extreme, by reason of frost, snow, and coldnesse of aire, that they were not able to enterprize anie exploit on neither part: howbeit the summer was no sooner come (being the seauenth after the coming of Agricola into Britaine) but that they prepared to inuade one another againe with all their forces.

The fame of
Cald his pow-
er pattered
the Romans
in feare.

The
mans
thorow
don in
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The
burne
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Inch

Forth of Ireland there came (according as was promised) a great power of men of warre, and ioined with an armie of Scottishmen in Atholl, being there already assembled in great numbers out of all the quarters of the Scottish dominions. Whither came also Carnard king of the Picts with his power. All which forces being thus assembled together by common agreement amongst them, Cald king of the

In aid of I-
rishmen come
to the succors
of the Scots.

The
mans
to seru-
Roma
bell ag-
these
and he

Cald chosen
to be generall
against the
Romans.

the Scots was chosen to be their generall, who hearing that Agricola with his host was entred into Kalendar wood, diuided the whole armie into three battels, and so marched forth towards the enimies in purpose to incounter them. Agricola being of this aduertised by spies, parted his people also into three warres, doubting to be inclosed within some conuerfome place by reason of the great multitude of his enimies, that were esteemed to be in number about 50000 of one and other.

Cald on the other side understanding by spies this order of the Romans, in the dead of the night letteth upon one of those legions, which was lodged next vnto him, and finding meanes to lea the watch, was entred into the enimies lodgings, before they had any knowledge of his coming, so that the fight was right fierce & cruell even among the Romans tents and lodgings. But Agricola being certified of this enterprise of the Scots, sent forth with all speed a certaine number of light horsemen and footmen to assaile them on the backs, & so to keepe them occupied, till he might come with all the residue of his people to the rescue. They that were thus sent, accomplishing their enterprise according to the deuile in that behalfe appointed, gaue a right fierce & stout charge vpon the Scots and Picts, greatlie to the reliefe of those that were by them assailed, and withall soe amazed and disordered by reason of the enimies sudden inuasion.

By this meanes the fight continued right fierce and cruell on all sides, till at length the daie beginning to appeere, shewed to the Scots and Picts the plaine view of the whole Romane armie, appoynting vnder the conduct of Agricola, to the succour of his people, being thus in danger to be distressed. Wherevnto were the Scots and Picts put in such feare, that immediatlie they fell to running awaie towards the woods and bogs, the accustomed places of their refuge. This ouerthrow did so abash both the Scots and Picts, that they durst attempt no more the fortune of battell, till they had some aid out of Denmarke, but oncle did what they could to defend their townes and countrie, by making sundrie railes vpon their enimies, as occasion and oportunitie serued. But the Romans, supposing nothing to be hard for their vndaunted valiance, but that they were able to overcome whatsoever should stand at defiance against them, determined at length to find an end of the Ile of Albion, and so passing thorough Kalendar wood, and ouer the riuer of Amond, they pitched their field nere to the riuer of Taie, not far from the castell named Calidon or Kalendar.

The Picts, by reason that their enimies were lodged so nere to the confines of their countrie, doubting what might follow thereof, burned the citie of Tuline, least the same enimies chancing to take it, should furnish it with some garrison of men, to the great danger of the whole Pictish kingdome. This citie stood vpon the banke of Taie, right beautifullie built, with many faire castles and towres, as may appeere euery vnto this daie by the old ruines therof, strong rather by the workemans hands, than by nature. The Scottisshmen in our time call the place Inchtyhill. All their wiues and children they removed vnto the mounteins of Granzbene for their more suretie and safeguard.

About the same time the Romans were not a little disquieted, by reason of a mutinie which chanced amongst such Germans as were appointed to come ouer to Agricola, as a new supplie to furnish vp such numbers as were decayed in his armie. These slauing their capitaine, and such other Romans as were appointed to haue the order of them for their training in warlike feats at the beginning, as the ma-

ner was, got certaine pinnelles which they happened vpon in the riuer of Thames, and sailing about the east and north coasts of this Ile, arriued in Taie water, offering themselves to the Scots and Picts to serue against the Romans, whose malice they breed for their offense committed if they should returne into their owne countries, which laie about the mouth of the Rhene, and was as then subiect to the Romane empire, the inhabitants in those daies being cleped Alipites, the which (as some suppose) inhabited Cleueland and Guliike.

Their offer was accepted most thankfullie, and places appointed for them to inhabit amongst the Purraies, because they were descended as it were of one nation. Whilst these things were thus a doing, there came also the long wished aid from the Danes and Forwegians, to the number of ten thousand men, vnder the leading of one Gildo. This Gildo with his nauie first arriued in the strith betwixt Fife and Louthian, but for that the Romans kept him off from landing there, he cast about and came into the riuer of Taie, where he landed all his people, for provision wherof he had good store both of vittels and armour. Gernard king of the Picts hearing of their arriuall there, forthwith vpon the newes departed from Dundee, accompanied with a great number of his nobles, and coming to the place where Gildo with his armie was lodged, received him in most ioyfull wise, feasted and banqueted him and his people, and shewed them all the tokens of most hartie loue and friendship that could be deuised. Gildo himselfe was led by the king vnto Dundee, and lodged with him there in the castell, his people were prouided for abroad in the countrie in places most for their ease, to refresh themselves the better after their painefull iourne by the seas.

Shortlie after there came vnto Dundee the Scottissh king Cald, who for his part did all the honour that in him lay vnto Gildo, shewing himselfe most ioyfull and glad of his coming; yielding vnto him and his people such thanks and congratulations as serued best to the purpose, and received no lesse at his and their hands againe. After they had remained thus certaine daies together at Dundee, both the kings Cald & Gernard, together with this Gildo, went vnto the castell of Foflare, there to consult with their capteins and gouernours of their men of warre, how to mainteine themselves in their enterprise against the enimie. At length they resolved not to go forth into the field till the winter season were past, for doubt of the inconuenience that might insue, by reason of the extreame cold intemperance of the aire, whereto that countrie is greatlie subiect.

In the meane time they took order for the furniture of all things necessarie for the warre, to haue the same in a perfect readines against the next spring, and till then they did appoint oncle to keepe frontier warre, that the Romans should not strae abroad to fetch in vittels and other provisions to their owne gains, and to the vndoying of the poore inhabitants. Upon this determination when the counsell was broken vp, Cald withdrew into Atholl, to defend those parties; and Gernard with the Danissh generall Gildo, furnished all the castles and holds in Angus ouer against the riuer of Taie, to stop the passages of the same, that the enimies should enter no further on that side. Thus passed the winter for that yeare, without any great exploit on either part achieved.

In the beginning of the next summer, Agricola sent appointed his nauie of ships to saile about the coasts of the furthest parts of Albion, making diligent search of euery crake & haue along by the same. The mariners, executing his commandement, failed

These Alipites first inhabited the parties betwixt the mounteins of Hessen and the Rhene, now called Hochrug, from whence they removed into the nether countries. Danes, and Forwegians, come to aid the Scots and Picts. Gildo is kept off from landing by the Romans. Gildo arriueth in Taie water.

Cornelius Tacitus maketh no mention of any foraine aid to come to the succours of his enimies comprehending them all vnder the name of Pictains.

Gernard the king of Picts ioyfully receiued Gildo. Cald cometh into Dundee to welcome Gildo.

Cald Gernard and Gildo assemble a council at Foflare, where they deuise how to proceed in their warre.

They determine to rest all the winter, and make frontier warre oncle.

Agricola sendeth forth his nauie of ships, to discover the furthest point of Britaine northward.

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Gild letteth
upon one part
of his enimies
in the night.

Agricola com
meth to the
incamps of his
men.

Agricola dis-
consisteth his
enimies.

The Ro-
mans passe
through Cal-
don wood ouer
the riuer of
Amond.

The Picts
burne the
citie of
Tuline.
The place
where Tu-
line stood is
called by the
inhabitants
at this daie
Inchtyhill.

The Ger-
mans coming
to serue the
Romans re-
bell against
their capitaine
and leaders.

by rea-
f his
lode,
eth to
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les.

armies
sch tog-
to fight,
p toine.

Scotish
dislode-
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Romans
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laine at
pattell.

Domitian the
emperor en-
with the prof-
erous success
of Agricola.

Agricola is
sent for to
Rome, one
Cneus Tre-
bellius appoin-
ted in his
place which
causeth the
soldiers to
make a
rumour.

The Scots
upon occasion
of discord
amongst the
Romans,
come forth
against them.

The Scotish
nans draw
backe by
their campe.

The Romans
in pursuing
bnduissellie
are distressed.

Agricola sub-
dueth Angus
and wintereth
there.

Agricola is
certified of the
mischance of
his name.

The Romane
sail saileth
round about
the north point
of Britain.

Strange
visions.

Ships seen
in the air.
It rained
froge.
A monstrous
child borne.

Domitian the
emperor en-
with the prof-
erous success
of Agricola.

Agricola is
sent for to
Rome, one
Cneus Tre-
bellius appoin-
ted in his
place which
causeth the
soldiers to
make a
rumour.

The Scots
upon occasion
of discord
amongst the
Romans,
come forth
against them.

the women bewailing thus the deith of their friends, might be removed out of the way. This done, they fell to take counsell what was best to do in this case: and in the end all things considered, it was determined that somewhat before the dawning of the next morrow, euerie man should dislodge and withdraw himselfe into such a place as he thought most meet for his safeguard, saue onelie such as were appointed to attend Calo and Gernard into Atholl, whither they minded with all speed to go.

Thus leaving a great number of fiers to dissemble their departure, they dislodged and made awaie with all speed possible. In the morning when their departure was once discovered, a great number of the Romans followed as it had bene in the chase, but some of them bnduissellie aduenturing to farre forward, were inclosed by their enemies and slaine. Those that wrought this feat got them to the next hills and so escaped. At length, when all the fields and countries adjoining were discovered, and the same appearing to be quite deliuered of all the ambushments of the enemies, Agricola caused the spoile to be gathered, and after marched forth into Angus, where (for so much as summer was past) he appointed to winter, and so comming thither and subduing the countrie, he took pledges of the best amongst the inhabitants, and lodged his people about him in places most convenient.

About the same time Agricola heard newes from his nauie (as then riding at anchor in Argile) what mishap had chanced to the same in Widdall frith. But herewith being not greatly discouraged, he gave order that the ships that had escaped, should be new rigged and furnished with all necessarie provision, and manned thoroughlie, both with able mariners and men of war. This done, he appointed them selfones to attempt fortune, and to take their course againe to come round about by the Orkneys, and so by alongst by the east coast: which enterprise they luckilie accomplished, and in the water of Taire they burnt the Danish fleet lieng there in harbrough.

Here is to be noted, that before the fore-reinembred overthrow of the Scots and their confederats at the foot of Crangbene, there happened manie sundrie vnlike and strange sights in this Ile. Amongst other there appeared lieng in the aire certeine fire visions, much to be wondered at. Also a great pece of Balendar wood seemed in the night time as it had bene on a flaming fire, but in the morning there appeared no such token. There was in like manner scene in the aire the similitude of certeine ships. And in Angus it rained frogs. At Tulline there was a child borne hauing both shap, so filthy a sight to behold, that forthwith they rid it out of the way for offending others eyes. These prodigious things were diuerslie interpreted, according to the variable fanisie of man.

After that the prosperous successe of Agricola was once notified to the emperor Domitian, he took such enuie thereat, that shortly after, vnder a colour to send him into Syria to be lieutenant there, he countermanded him home into Rome, appointing one Cneus Trebellius to succed him in the gouernment of Britaine, but the armie bearing more fauour vnto one Trebellianus being cousin to Agricola, caused no small trouble amongst the soldiers, so that in the end after certeine bickerings betwixt them, Trebellianus took a sort of the best soldiers away with him, and went ouer with them into France.

The Scots taking occasion hereof, joined with the Picts, and entred into Angus. Whereof Cneus Trebellianus being informed, assembled his people, who perceiuing no great forwardnesse in their lea-

der, created Caius Silius (brother to the forenamed Trebellianus) their capteine, but he would in no wise meddle with that charge, though they were verie earnest in hand with him to take it vpon him. In the meane time came the enemies vnder the leading of Calo readie to giue the onset, wherewith the Romans being sore troubled, by reason of this discord amongst themselves, set forward yet right valiantlie, to giue battell to their enemies: howbeit in the end, because that Silius receiued a mortall wound, and so departed out of the field, they fell at length to running awaie, the Scots and Picts following in the chase right fiercelie.

This achieved victorie, after so manie unluckie enterprizes, highlie reioiced the appalled hearts of the Albions, hauing bene continuallie in manner not for the space of fiftie yeres through aduerse fortune grienouslie oppressed by the Romans, who being not a little discouraged by this overthrow, withdrew themselves wholie vnto Tulline, and shortly after for their more safeguard, they got them ouer the riuer of Tay, breaking the bridge which they had made there, to the end that by the same the Scots & Picts should haue no passage in that place. But Calo hauing got this notable victorie with the spoile of the Romans campe, thought it best with the aduise of his nobles, to pursue the Romans without delai, not suffering them to haue time to prouide for resistance. And hereupon comming to the castell of Calidon other- wise Balendar, they got ouer the riuer of Tay, by a bridge of wood laid ouer the same riuer, which in that place is but narrow, by reason of the rocks & cliffs forcing the banks on either side to a streinnesse.

The Romane capteins also not ignorant of the passage of the enemies, brought forth their armie, and made themselves readie to incounter them, but for that the forenamed Caius Silius was not able to stirre by reason of his wounds receiued in the last battell, they chose one Titus Cilius, a valiant gentleman of Rome to be their leader, and so vnder his conduct setting vpon their enemies they fought right fiercelie for a time, but yet in the end they were put to flight, & chased into Calidon. There were slaine of the Romane part in this incounter to the number of five thousand, and of the Scots and other the confederats two thousand. After this victorie thus obtained by the Scots, a great number of the Britains revolted from the Romane obedience, as those that inhabit the countrie which we now call Wales, with the marches, slaieng & chasing awaie such Romans as lay abroad in those parties.

This done, they sent vnto Calo king of the Scots, certeine messengers with rich iewels and gifts, in token of their reioicing and gladnes for his victories, promising him furthermore such aid as they were able to make against the Romans the common enemies of all the whole Albion nation. Moreover, in this meane while did the Romans within Calidon castell direct their messengers with letters vnto Marius king of the Britains, signifieng vnto him the present danger wherein things stood in those parties by the cruell rage of the Scotishmen and Picts, whom fortune had aduanced with the gaine of two foughten fields, insomuch that if timely succours were not the sooner sent, the losse would be irrecoverable. Wherevnto Marius answered, that as then a common conspiracie appeared to be in hand amongst his subjects, so far forth that he doubted greatly the suertie of his owne estate; and as for hope of aid to be sent from Rome, he saw small likelihood; considering the slender provision there through the misgouernement of cruell Domitian, who by reason of the hatred which the people bare him, regarded nothing but how to keepe them from rising

The Scots
set vpon the
Romans.

The Romans
are distressed.

The Romans
withdraw vnto
Tulline.
They retire
backe ouer the
water of Tay
and breake the
bridge after
them.

The Scots
get ouer the
water of Tay
nere to Cal-
don castell.

The Scots
effronies giue
battell to the
Romans.

The Romans
are againe
discouraged.

The Brit-
tains hearing
of the euill ad-
uentures
fallen to the
Romans, re-
uolt fro their
obedience.

The Romans
send vnto
Marius king
of the Brit-
tains for aid.

Marius king
of the Brit-
tains doubts
rebellion
of his sub-
jects.

Marcius com-
melly the
Romans to
leave the
north parts
unto the ene-
mies, and to
draw unto
him into the
south parts
to keepe the
same.

The Romans
withdrew in-
to Cantire, &
after into
Galloway.

Gald pursu-
eth the Ro-
mans.

The Romans
determine a-
gain to fight
with the
Scots.

The Romans
exercise assaie
the Scots.

Strange dea-
ling in womē,
and contrarie
to their nature

The Romans
sle to their
campe.

The Scots
purpose to as-
saile the Ro-
mane campe.

The Romans
require a com-
munication.

rising vp in armour against him, and therefore he thought it necessarie that leauing the north parts to the enemies, they should all withdraw towards him into the south parts, to keepe yet the more fruitfull position of the Ile in due obedience, sith their puissance might not suffice to retein a rule the whole.

These newes greatlie abashed the Romane armie, & so much the more, for that about the same time it was shewed them how king Gald with an huge armie of Scottishmen and Picts, was come within ten miles of them. Whereupon the Romans not knowing at that instant what was best for them to do, in the end they concluded to withdraw into Cantire, where being arrived, and perceiuing themselves as yet to be in no great surtie there, they went aback from thence with speed into Galloway. In the meane time king Gald, supposing it best effoines to fight with them per they might haue anie space to reinfoce their power, followed them with all diligence, not forcing though he left behind him diuerse castles and fortresses furnished with sundie garrisons of his enimies, so that he might discomfit and chase away their maine power, which he thought might as then easilie be done, considering the great multitudes of people which came flocking in on each side, presenting themselves with offering their seruice unto him, and shewing furthermore great tokens of ioy and gladnesse, for that it had pleased the gods at length yet to declare themselves fauourable in this their relieuing of the oppressed Britains. Herevnto Galdus on the other side, giuing them heartie thanks for their trauell, receiued them verie gentlie, miring his talke with most comfortable words, therewith to put them in hope of such good and prosperous successe, as that shortly they should thereby be restored intierlie vnto their former liberties, and perpetuallie deliuered from all forein seruitude and bondage.

But to proceed, at length he did so much by his tourneys, that he came into Galloway, where the Romans with all speed (seeing none other remedie) resolued themselves to giue him battell, and thereupon exhorting one another to plaie the men, sith their onelie refuge rested in their weapons points, they fiercelie gaue the onset, and at the first put the left wing of the Scots and Picts wholie vnto the worst. In which wing, according to their maner in those daies used, there were a great number of women mingled amongst the men. Gald therefore perceiving the danger, succoured them with such as were appointed to giue the looking on till need required, and then to go where they should be commanded. By which meanes the battell on that side was renewed afresh, the women shewing no lesse valiancie than the men, and therewith much more crueltie, for they spared none at all, though they offered neuer so much to haue their liues preferred.

In fine, the Romans being chased in the left wing, their ouertypot gave occasion to all the rest, due to flee backe to their campe, being pursued so egerlie by the Scots and Picts, that they had much adoe to defend the entries of their trenches, where both parties fought right egerlie, till at length the night parted them both in sunder. Being parted, the Scots gaue not themselves to rest, but provided them of all things necessarie against the next morning to assaile their enimies afresh, and namelie from the next wood they fetched great plentie of fagots and brush to fill the trenches withall. But this their demeanour and purpose being vnderstood of the Romans, they required a communication, the which (though some perswaded Galdus to the contrarie) vpon deepe considerations of fortunes fraile fauour, was at length granted vnto them, and foure an-

ent Romans clad in right honorable and verie rich apparell came forth and were admitted to the presence of the kings [Gald of the Scots, and Garnard of the Picts] vnto whom with humble submission they acknowledged themselves as vanquished, and that by the iust wrath and reuenge of the equall gods, which against them they had conceived for the wrongfull inuasion of that which in no wise of right appertained vnto them. Therefore if it might please those kings to hidle and restraime their displeasure against them, in licencing them vnder some reasonable conditions of appointment to depart, it should be a thing resounding so much to their fame and glorie, as nothing could be more; considering so humble sute made to them by the orators of those people, who were reputed as vanquishers of the whole world.

Herevnto falling prostrate at the feet of those kings, they besought them of pardon, in such pittifull wise, that the hearts of the hearers began somewhat to mollifie, and at length Gald took vpon him to answer in name of all the residue of the Scottish and Pictish nations, and in the end concluded, that they were contented to grant a peace on these conditions: That the Romans should cease from that day forward in anie wise to molest or disquiet by way of anie inuasion the Scottish and Pictish borders, and also to depart wholie out of those countries, restoring all such holds and fortresses as they held within the same: and further, to deliuer all prisoners, pledges, and fugitiues whatsoeuer as then remaining in their hands, together with such goods & spoiles as they had latelie taken.

These conditions being certified to the Romans by their orators, were gladlie accepted, sith they saw no better meane how to deliuer themselves out of that present danger. And so deliuering sufficient hostages for performance of all the articles of agreement, they departed without protracting time, marching southwards to come into Kent, where Sparius king of the south Britains sojournd as then. Agricola, as the Scottish chronicles report, left at his departure towards Rome, to the number of threescore thousand men in the Romane armie, what of one and other, but now at their departure out of Galloway, there remained vnto twenty thousand, the residue being dispatched by one meane or other. By this conclusion of peace then, the Scots and Picts got againe the whole possession of all such countries as the Romans had before wonne and taken away from them, as the Pipers, Louthian, the marches about Berwick, Fife, and Angus, with Aile, Cantire, Coningham, and Galloway: all the Romane garrisons departing out of the fortresses and holds, and leauing the same vnto the former owners.

Galdus hauing thus ended the warres with the Romans, took order to set good directions amongst his people for the quiet and peaceable gouernement of the common wealth, visiting daile the countries abroad, the better to vnderstand the state of them, and to reforme the same where it was needfull. Further considering that as warre breedeth god soldi-ers, so peace by iustice riddeeth them out of the way, if they be not the better provided for. Such as had serued long time in the last ward, and had not anie trade now in time of peace whereby to get their liuing, he placed in garrisons nere to the borders of the Britains for defense of the countrie. After this, he came to an interuiew with Garnard king of the Picts at Calidon, or Balendar, to repress certain troubles raised betwixt their subjects being borderers, concerning the limits of their countrie: where perceiuing a sort of euill disposed persons to be

The Romans
submit them-
selves as van-
quished.

Gald be-
sith this
at Epial

3. H
5302.
130.1

Galloway
with the
of Gald.

The conditi-
ons of peace
prescribed to
the Romans
by the Scots
and Picts.

Lugth
In brig-
ons for
cedeth
his tow-
father.

The in-
menie of
Lugth

The Romans
depart out of
Galloway.

His ima-
gined to
nobilitie
famous
to men o
conditio

Offendo
mauer

Justice
banished

The Romans
giue by all
their holds
and fortresses
which they
kept within
the Scottish
or Pictish do-
minions.

Lugth
would
put to de
such as l
against
misgoue-
ment.

Lugth
murder
with a nu
ber of his
men.

Agall
pne to d
banis a
ted king
studiously
repell a
les.

Galdus sub-
mitth to preferre
his subjects
in god quiet
now after the
warres were
ended.

Such as
fought to trou-
ble the peace
were punishd

The Romans submit themselves as vanquished.

he whole in the fault, upon a naughtie intent to feale, and trouble the peace, which they had with such traueil and labour sought to restore, they punished the offendours, and set all things in good quiet, and so departed in funder with great loue and friendship.

Thus Calvus applieng all his studie and diligence to aduance the common-wealth and quiet state of his countrie, liued manie yeres so highlie in the fauour of all his subiects, that the like hath bene but seldom heard of: finalie, to their great griefe and displeasure he ended his life, moze deere to them than their owne at Epistie, in the 35 yere of his reigne, which was about the 15 yere of the empire of Adrian, the 4098 yere after the worlde's creation, and from the birth of our Sauour 131, and was buried with great lamentation in most pompous manner, and laid in a goodlie tombe which was raised with mightie huge stones, hauing a great number of obelisks set by round about it according to the maner. Furthermore, to the end his memorie should euer indure, the countrie where he fought last with the Romans was called Calbia, after his name, which by addition of a few letters is now called Galloway, and before that time Brigantia, as the Scots do hold: but how that seemeth to agree with a truth, ye may read in the historie of England.

Gall departeth this life at Epistie.

3. H.B.
5107. H.B.
1310. H.B.

Galloway takes the name of Cald.

Lugthake
30. vngat-
ons son suc-
cedeth after
his father's
reign.

The inconti-
nencie of
Lugthake.

This small re-
gard to the
nobilitie.
Famous thewed
to men of base
condition.

Offendours
maintained.

Justice is
denied.

Lugthake
should have
put to death
such as spake
against his
misgovern-
ment.

Lugthake is
murdered
with a num-
ber of his
men.

Agall ne-
quie to Cal-
vus is admi-
ted being and
subiect to
republice ad-
vis.

After this famous prince was thus departed hence, his sonne Lugthake succeeded in rule of the Scottish kingdome, no lesse abhorred of all men for his detestable and filthie vices, ioined with all kind of crueltie and couetousnesse, than his father was beloued for his noble and excellent vertues. This Lugthake went so farre past the bounds of all continencie in following his sensuall lusts, that he forced and ranshed not onelie aunt, neere, and sister, but even his owne daughters also. Such as were honorable personages, and meet to gouerne in the common-wealth he nothing regarded, but committed the administration of things vnto vile persons, and such as could best deuise how to inuent quarels against the rich, whereby they might be sliced of all whatsoever they had: and oftentimes vpon some forged cause cruellie put to death. So little did he prouide to see offendours in anie wise corrected, that contrarie he maintained them in such sort therein, that iustice was quite banished, and nothing but spoile and rauine exercised.

Thus he continued about two yeres, to the great ruine of the common-wealth. Finalie, when he went about to put vnto death such as in an assemblie called at Dunsfage spake against the misordered gouernement of the realme, he was there murdered amongst the people, with a number of those also whome he vsed to haue attendant on his person for safeguard of the same. His owne bodie was solemnelie buried by appointment of the nobles, hauing respect to his fathers benefits, but the carcasses of his gard were cast out into the fields, there to be deuoured of beasts and birds of rauine.

After Lugthake was thus dispatched, one Agall the nephew of Calvus by his daughter was admitted king in his place. His chiefeest studie was to reforme the decayed state of his countrie, and first he caused such wicked counsellors of his predecessors and vncle Lugthake, as had escaped with life (when their maister was made a waie) to be put to death, according to their iust desertings. He restored also the due worshipping of the gods, in part as then neglected, by the wicked counsell of their former rulers. The Scottishmen in like maner conceiuing an assured hope of a good redresse in all their grieues and oppressions, by the means of such a well disposed prince,

began to beare him incredible loue and fauor, euen the like as they had done his grandfather Calvus. In the meane time came certeine ambassadoys from the Picts, vnto this Agall, requiring him of aid against the Romans and Britains, who by a sudden inuasion had done much hurt in Pictland, to the great distresse of the inhabitants.

At the same time they of Galloway certified him also by letters, that the same Romans had made a rode into their countrie, and led a waie a great botie of goods and prisoners. Agall hauing a mind no lesse giuen to deeds of chivalrie, than to the studie of ciuill gouernment and religious deuotion, reioiced that he had iust occasion giuen him to shew some proufe of his valiant inclination, and so hereupon sent an herald at armes vnto the Romans, requiring to haue restitution and amends for the iniuries thus by them committed. The herald doing his message, receiued nothing but scoznesfull words, and disdainfull menaces, whereby Agall being thoroughly kindled with despite, assembled his power together forth of all the parties of his dominions, and comming with the same into Galloway, visited his grandfathers sepulchre, honoring it with great reuerence and solemne supplications, requiring as it were his aid against those enemies, which had violated the league made betwixt him and them, by solemne oths and other accustomed means of ratification. This done, he drew into Annandale, where Antipanus as then king of the Picts abode his coming. There ioining their powers together, they marched forth into Cumberland, and so forward into Westmerland, with fire and sword waiking and spoiling those countries, as then belonging to the Romans.

Lucius Antenus the Romane lieutenant, lieng at the same time at Forke, being certified hereof by such as fled for feare out of those parties thus inuaded by the Scots, gathered a mightie armie out of all the countries of Britaine, and hasted forth with the same towards his enemies; of whose approach Agall hauing notice, he made a long oration vnto his people to encourage them to fight manfullie against the Romans, persuading them effectualie thereto by manie familiar examples brought in of the valiant enterprises atchued by their elders, in the defense of their countrie and libertie of the same. In like maner Lucius Antenus for his part exhorted the Romans, and other his souldiers, to call to remembrance the victorious exploits of their predecessors, and how that as then they should fight but with a rude and barbarous people, running to battell more vpon a furious rage and violent madness, than with any discretion or aduised order, sauing furthermore, that it laie now in their hands with no great adoe to recover that which through the negligent sloth of Cneus Trebellius was before lost, whereby they should attaine great honor and famous renowne for euermore.

By this meanes the armies on both sides being kindled with desire of battell, in hope of victorie, they drew neere together, and began the fight right fiercelie at the first, with throwing and shooting of darts and arrowes so thicke that one might vnneth see another. The place was more for the aduantage of the Scots than of the Romans, because they were compelled to fight as it were by companies and parts, by reason of bogs and marishes, with such sliding banks on the sides that they could keepe none arate: yet all these impediments notwithstanding, this battell was fought so far forth to the bitterance, that in the end, after a wonderfull slaughter on both sides made, when their swords and other weapons were spent, they buckled together with short daggers.

F. i.

Finalle

Agall is beloued of his subiects. The Picts desire aid of the Scots against the Romans.

The Romans inuade the Scottish borders.

Agall requieth restitution of wrongs done by the Romans. Agall prepareth to the wars. Agall visiteth his grandfathers sepulchre.

The Picts and Scots ioine their powers together and enter into the lands of their enemies.

Lucius Antenus lieutenant of Britaine. Agall exhorteth his men to be valiantlie.

The battell beginneth betwene the Romans and Pictians.

A cruell fight.

The condition of peace prescribed to the Romans by the Scots and Picts.

The Romans depart out of Galloway.

The Romans giue by all their holds and fortresses which they kept within the Scottish borders.

Calvus studieth to preserve his subiects in good quiet now after the warres were ended.

Such as sought to trouble the peace were punished.

The Ro-
mans retire.

Lucius Ante-
nons is wound-
ed.
The Ro-
mans are put
to flight.

Women as
readie to the
battell as the
men.

Adrian the
emperour pre-
pareth to go
into Britain.
Adrian trans-
porteth into
Britaine.

Adrian com-
meth to York

He passeth
ouer the riuer
of Tyne.
Adrian find-
eth nothing
abroad in the
countrie of
his enemies.

What maner
of people he
had to doe
withall.

Finalie the violent charge of the Scots & Picts was such, that the Romans were constrained to retire, which their generall Antonius perceiving, did what he could to staie them, and to bring them forward againe, but as he was most busie in the forefront to exhort them herunto, he was wounded with an arrow, and thereupon departed out of the battell, which gave occasion to diuers other of his companie to follow him, by meanes whereof all the residue fell to running awaie, and made toward the next wood, there to saue themselves as well as they might, though some companies perceiving that they could not reach thither without manifest danger, closed themselves together and departed by another waie, which they toke at aduenture, not knowing towards what parts they diew, so that they laie all the night following within two miles of the Scots and Picts, who for that the daie was in maner spent (before the Romans were put to flight) incamped themselves in the selfe-same place where the battell was fought, and in the morning, hearing that part of their enemies were lodged so nere them, & knew not which waie to diew, they sent a number forth of their campe to fight with them, & to kill them if they resisted, or to bring them captiue to the king if they should seeme willing to yeld. Those that were thus sent, found the Romans in verie good order of battell for so small a band, not minding to yeld themselves as prisoners. By reason of which their obstinate wilfulness, they were slaine in the end enerie mothers sonne.

Lucius Antonius hauing thus receiued the overthrow, dispatched a post vnto Rome with all hast, signifieng vnto the emperour Adrian the whole manner of the discomfiture, and how that by reason thereof things stood in great danger here in Britaine, if speedie succors were not the soner sent, for the enimies were neuer more cruell and fierce, than at this present, not onelie the men, but also the women (as in the last battell he saw plaine pprove) who cared not for the losse of their owne liues, so that they might die reuenged.

When Adrian vnderstood these newes, he purposed forthwith to go himselfe into Britaine. Causing therefore an armie to be leuied, he passed forth with the same into France, then called Gallia, and coming to Calice, he transported ouer into Britaine, where he learned how the Scots and Picts were neuer more busie than at this present, hauing of late wasted and spoiled the countrie euen to the riuer of Tyne. Wherewith Adrian being sore offended, joined the power which he had brought with him fro Rome, with the other which he had caused to be raised in France and Britaine. This done, he remoued to York, where sojournig certeine daies to refresh his people, he afterwards diew toward the borders, and coming to the riuer of Tyne, he passed ouer the same.

The fourth daie after, he came into a countrie wherein was left no kind of earthlie thing seruing to mans vse, and so passing forward a daie or two, he found neither come, nor other prouision of vittell, nor any kind of liuing creature, all the people being fled into the mountins and marsh grounds, where no man might come vnto them, as commonlie in case of extreme danger they were accustomed to lie abroad in the same without house or any couerture ouer their heads. Howbeit, for all that he gaue not ouer to pursue them, but finding them out where they lurked in the hilles and woods, he graunthie assailed them, and that in sundrie maner. In the end espiong the barrennes of the soile, the rudenes of the people, and that there was no hope left to come by sufficient prouision for the maintenance of his armie, he determined not to spend anie longer time in

such a vaine and fruitlesse trauell, and therefore returned vnto Tyne, there to refresh the Scots and Picts from invading such of the Britains as were subiect to the Romane empire, he caused a great trench to be cast quierthwart the land from the mouth of Tyne to the riuer of Esk, and a wall to be made on the inner side of the same, of turfe and fods. The Scottish chronicles make mention that it was begun by Adrian, but not finished till the daies of the emperour Seuerus, who made an end of it, and therefore the same chronicles name it the wall of Septimius Seuerus.

Adrianus hauing thus dispatched in the north parts of Britaine, in his returne visited Wales with the marches of the same, setting an order amongst such as had moued a commotion against the magistrats in those parties, the authors whereof he punished according to their offenses, & so then he came to London, whither at the same time a great number of the Britaine nobilitie resorted to do him honor, according to their duties. And he for his part shewed them such friendlie intertainment, that they could not wish any better. After this he sailed into France, taking Lucius Antonius with him, because he could not awaie with the aire of Britaine, in whose place he left one Aulus Alatorius lieutenant there, who disposed diuers garisons of souldiers in places nere vnto the fore-remembred wall, for defense of the inhabitants against the violence of the Scots & Picts.

Who seeing this demeanour of the Romans, diuided those lands and countries (which they had lately wasted on the further side of Tyne) in such sort betwixt them, that all that fouer laie towards the Irish sea, remained to the Scots, and the rest coasting vpon the Almaine seas, fell vnto the Picts for their portion.

After this Mogall liued manie yeares in good quiet without anie trouble of enimies. But being puffed vp in pride, by such notable victories as he had thus got of the Romans the conquerours of the world, he could not in time of peace maister his owne vnrule appetites; but that brottoned in the filthy lusses of the bodie, he spared neither maid, nor dole, nor wife. Againe, he was giuen to such vnquenchable couetousnesse, that nothing might suffice him, finding manie forged matters against the rich, thereby to berceue them both of life and substance. He was the first which ordeined that such as were banished or condemned for anie crime, should forfeit all their lands & goods without any consideration had either of wife or child, which is obserued at the full euen vnto these our daies, where before it was otherwise in that countrie. But these so notable vices in the prince could not long continue unpunished, for at last a conspiracie was practised against him, whereof he hauing knowledge (whether by witchcraft or otherwise by relation of friends, the certaintie is not known) in the dead of the night he armed himselfe, and with two of his seruants onelie fled to the next wood, not giuing notice of his departure to anie other of his household.

The morning being come, and knowledge had how he was thus departed, the conspiratours pursued after him, who perceiving them to approach, sought waies how to haue escaped their hands; but such was his hap, that he fell amongst other that were as readie as the first to wreake their malice vpon him, and so by them he was immediatlie murdered in the 36 yeare of his reigne, being the 4136 of the world, and after the birth of our saviour 169, Antoninus Pius then gouerning the Romane empire, and Piatrus surnamed Albus reigning amongst the Picts. His head being smitten off, was set vpon a poles end, and carted about in derision; but afterwards in respect of his linage it was buried

Adrian beginneth to make a wall for safeguard of the Britains against the Picts and Scots.
The Romans write and confirme the same.

Adrian cometh to London.

Adrian returneth toward Rome.
Aulus Alatorius lieutenant of Britaine.

The Scottish men & Picts diuide the countrie beyond Tyne betwixt them.
Mogall through pride abuseth himselfe in sundrie kinds of vices.

A couetous and cruell ordinance.

A conspiracie attempted against Mogall.
Mogall slain out of his owne house.

Mogall is murdered.
148. H. B.

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ried together with the bodie by appointment of the nobles, notwithstanding the commons thought it most unworthie of anie such honoꝝ.

*Conarus.
Conarus the
sonne of Argus
will succeedeth
his father.*

His sonne Conarus was admitted king, who (as is reported) was privie to the conspiracie devised against his father, and as he came to the government by wicked means, so in the end he used himselfe much what accordingly in the same; for after he had for a time dissembled his naughtie nature, he began at the last openlie to shew himselfe in his right colours, committing first of all the administration of publike affaires unto men of base condition and vile nature. His chiefe delight was altogether in banquetting and costlie fare, not regarding the ancient temperance in feeding, used amongst his worthie ancestors.

*Conarus giveth
to excessive
gluttonie.*

In waisting therefore his kinglie revenues upon such riotous excesse, he was nothing abashed to require in an open assemblie of his nobles, a subside to be granted, towards the maintenance of such roiall chere, as he indulged to stand with his honoꝝ to have dallie in his house. And therefore whereas the rents that belonged to the crowne were not sufficient to furnish the charges, he requested a generall contribution to be lent through the realme, of every person according to their abilities, for the maintenance of such superfluous expenses as he daile used in excessive banquetting. The lords maruelling to heare him moue anie such demand, and considering withall the occasion thereof, they asked respite to make their answer till the next day: which being granted, in the night following they committed secretlie together, and in the end concluded, not onelie to denie his request, but also to depose him of all kinglie government, with his naughtie life requiꝝed no lesse.

*The lords
conspire a-
gainst Conarus.*

The next day therefore when they were againe set downe in the councill-chamber, one of them in name of the residue took upon him to speake, declaring that the lords and commons of the realme maruelled not a little how it should come to passe, that the king hauing no warres wherewith to consume his treasure, should yet be enforced to demand a tallage for maintenance of his estate and charges of his household; but the fault was knowen well enough to rest in such as he most unworthilie had preferred to rule things under him, who being come of naught did nothing but deuide means how to cause the king to spoile his naturall subjects of their goods and possessions, therewith to enrich themselves, but (saith he) as they shalbe prouided for well enough yer long, and so advanced as they shall not need to thirst for other mens linings, that is to wit, euen to a faire paire of gallowses, whereto end their liues with shame; as a number of such other losengers had often done before them: so it is convenient that the king, with his skill is so small in the administration of his office, should be kept up in some one chamber or other, and such a one to haue the gouernance of the realme; as may be thought by common assent of the lords most meet to take it upon him.

*Conarus is
reuen and
committed to
close keeping.*

The king hearing this tale, started up, & with a loud voice began to call them traitors, adding, that if they went about anie hurt to his person, they should daerlie abide the bargain. But notwithstanding these words, such as were appointed thereto, caught him betwixt them, and had him forth to a place assigned, where they laid him up, mangre all his resistance. In like manner, all such as had borne offices under him, were attached and had to prison, where the most part of them, upon examination taken of their offences, suffered death according to their iust demerits.

*Conarus his
ministers are
punished for
their offences.*

Then was the rule of the realme committed vnto one Argadus, a man of noble birth, and ruler of Argile, who vnder the name of a gouernour took upon him the publike regiment, vntill other aduise might be taken. This mans studie in the beginning was onelie to cleanse the countie of all misdoers, and to see the peace kept to the quiet of the people; & finally in all his doings shewed himselfe a perfect patterne of an vpright iusticer. But within a few yeares after (as it often happeneth) prosperous success changed his former mind to an euill disposition, wherby he ordered things after his owne selfewill more than by reason, without the aduise of his peeres. And further, to the manifest ruine of the common-wealth, he nourished ciuill discord and sedition amongst the nobles, supposing it to make for his welfare, so long as they were at odds. He also married a Wittish ladie, the better to strengthen himselfe by this his forren alliance.

*Argadus is
chosen to gou-
erne the
realme.*

*Argadus an
vpright iusticer.*

*Prosperitie
changeneth con-
ditions.*

Whereupon the peeres of the realme, vnderstanding that mischief might insue by these manifold and sundrie abuses of the gouernour, caused a parliament to be called, where, in presence of the whole assemblie, they laid vnto his charge, how that (through his misgouernement and presumption, not onelie in coupling himselfe in marriage with a wiife of a strange nation, but also for attempting manie other things preiudiciall to the estate of the realme, without consent of the nobles or commons of the same) he had deserued grievous punishment; his trespass being so much the greater, in that considering the meane how he came to that dignitie, he answered not their expectation, nor performed the trust and credit which was generallie committed vnto him.

*Argadus is
rebuked.*

*Argadus con-
fesseth his
fault.*

Argadus hearing himselfe thus charged, and not able to laie anie likelie excuse, fell vpon his knees, & partly confessing his fault with teares gushing from his eyes, besought them of pardon, whole submitting himselfe to be ordered at their discretion. The lords being moued with this humble submission of Argadus, vpon promise he should redresse all his former misdemeanours, were contented that he should continue still in the administration. But such as had bene his chieffest counsellors were committed to ward. After this sharpe admonition and warning thus giuen, Argadus did nothing touching the gouernement of the common-wealth, without aduise of his peeres; and some after, amongst other things, he took order for the limiting how far the authoritie of inferior officers, as bailiffes, borough-masters, constables, and such other should extend. But speciallie he trauelled most diligentlie for the punishing of thieves and robbers, of whom none escaped with life that fell into his hands. Moreover, he ordained by statute, that no man exercising anie publike office, should taste of anie drinke that might make him drunken. He also banished all such persons as used with dressing of delicat meats, and (as I may call them) deintie dishes, or banquetting chere, to allure mens appetites from the old rude fare accustomed amongst their elders, who sought not to follow their delicious appetites, but onlie prouided to suffice nature, which is satisfied with a little, & that sort of costlie furniture. Argadus thus being occupied in reforming the state of the common-wealth, brought manie euill doers into good frame and order, and such as were vpright liuers of themselves, indured still to proceed forward to better and better. At length, in the eight yeare of his gouernement, Conarus being consumed with long imprisonment, departed out of this life, in the fourteenth yeare after the beginning of his reigne.

*Argadus is
permitted to
continue in
his office.*

*Argadus es-
tablisheth his
former misgou-
ernance, and
ruleth his
selfe by better
aduise.*

*A notable sta-
ture.*

*Fine cookes
banished.*

*Conarus de-
parteth out of
this world.
162. H.B.*

F. 4.

After

*Argadus beginneth
to make
all for
the sake
of the
peeres
and
nobles.
The Romans
peeres do
infringe the
law.*

*Argadus cometh
to London.*

*Argadus returneth
towards
home.
Julius Cæsar
was lieutenant
of
Britaine.*

*The Scottish
men & women
in the
countries
eyond the
strait of
Argyll
brought
pride
in
themselves
in
sumptuous
habits
of
riches.*

*A conetous
and cruel op-
inance.*

*A conspiracie
attempted a-
gainst Argus.
Argus slayeth
out of his
owne house.*

*Argus is
murdered.
148. H. B.*

Ethodius.
Ethodius the
nephue of
Argadus is
chosen king.

Argadus is
created lord
president of
the counsell.

Great discorde
amongest the
lords of the
Iles.
Argadus is
sent forth to
apprehend the
rebels.

The Iland
rebels are pu-
nished.

The Romans
invade the
Pictish and
Scottish bor-
ders.

Ethodius re-
quireth restitu-
tion of his
subjects goods
taken away
by the Ro-
mans.

Victorinus
answers to E-
thodius re-
quest.

Ethodius ex-
horteth the
king of the
Picts to
make warre
against the
Romans.

After whose deccasse, the nobles and other e-
states of the realme assembling themselves to-
gether, chose one Ethodius, nephue to king Argadus
by his sister, to reigne ouer them. But Argadus
being highlie rewarded with lands and livings for
his faithfull & diligent paines taken in the advance-
ment of the publike weale, during the time of his go-
uernement, was thereto some after created as it
were lord president of the counsell, thereby to be chie-
fest in authoritie next to the king, in ordering and ru-
ling of all publike affaires & causes. Shortly after
Ethodius (as the custome of new kings in those
daies was) went ouer into the weserne Iles, there
to take order for the administration of iustice, where
immediatlie vpon his arrivall, it was shewed him,
that not passing two or thre daies before, there had
bene a great conflict fought betwixt the nobles of
clannes of the countrie, by reason of a strife that was
stirred amongest their servants, being a companie
of naughtie and unrulie fellows, to the great dis-
quiet of the inhabitants. Here vpon was Argadus
sent forth incontinentlie with a power to appease
that businesse, and to bring in the offenders, that
they might receiue reward according to their deme-
rits. Argadus forthwith hasted towards the place
where he understood the rebels to be remaining, and
apprehending the whole number of them, some by
force, and some vpon their humble submission, he
returned backe with them to the king, who causing
the matter to be throughlie heard, such as were the
chiefest beginners and most in fault, were punished
by death, and the other fined at the kings pleasure.
The Iland people being thus appeased, the king
returned into Albion, where as then lieng at En-
uerlochthe, a towne (as is said) in Loughababer,
word came vnto him that the Romans had broken
downe the wall builded by the emperor Adrian,
and made a great robe into the Scottish and Pictish
borders, where meeting with the inhabitants assem-
bled together in defense of their countrie (after a
foye conflict) the victorie remained with the Ro-
mans; by reason whereof they led a great bootie of
cattell and other goods away with them to the places
where they sojourned.

Ethodius being moued herewith, sent forthwith
an herald vnto Victorinus the Romane lieutenant,
requiring that his subjects might haue restitution of
their goods wrongfullie taken from them, or else to
looke for warres within fiftene daies after. Victo-
rine answered hereto, that the Scots and Picts
had first begun to breake downe the foresaid wall,
and to build a towne vpon the same, fortifying it
with a number of men of warre, who running dai-
lie into the British confines, fetched preies thence
from amongest the Romane subjects, and though
he had sent diuers times to the Scottish and Pictish
wardens for restitution, yet could he neuer haue a-
nie towardlie answer, so that he was constrained to
begin the warre in maner and sortine as he had
done already.

Ethodius not a little kindled with this answer,
wrote freightwaies to the k. of the Picts, exhor-
ting him in reuenge of such iniuries as his subjects
had lately receiued at the hands of the Romans, to
invade the wall on that side where it diuided his
countrie from the Britains, and to breake in vpon
the enemies by the same, and for his part he promi-
sed shortly after to come, and to ioine with him in
such a necessarie enterpryse against the common eni-
mies of both their countries. The Pictish king gi-
uing thanks to the messenger for his pains, promi-
sed with all speed to set forward according to the ad-
uise of Ethodius. The Romans in like maner ha-
uing knowledge of the whole intention of the two

kings, with all speed made preparation also for the
warre, but the Scots and Picts first breaking in v-
pon them, did much hurt abroad in the countries
next adjoining. Which when the Romans perceiued,
they passed by the enemies campe in the night sea-
son, and entred into the Pictish borders, waiking
and spoiling all afore them.

When the two kings understood this, they hasted
forth towards them, and were no sooner come with-
in sight of them, but that they made ech towards o-
ther, and so incounting together, there was fought
a foie battell with doubtfull victorie, for the right
wings on either side vanquished the left, the brasts
of both the battels keeping their ground, the one not
once shinking backe from the other till night seue-
red them in sunder, but not without such slaughter
made on both sides, that being once parted, they
made no great hast to ioine againe together; for as
well the one part as the other being thus disscured,
drew incontinentlie homewards without abiding
for the morning. Neither did they attemptie fur-
ther exploit of all that yeare following.

In which meane time Victorinus sent letters to
Rome vnto the emperor Marcus Antonius Aure-
lius, who as then gouerned the empire, signifying
vnto him in what state things stood in Britaine; fur-
ther declaring, that if conuenient succors were not
sent in time, it would be hard to resist the furious
rage of the enemies, by reason of the small trust he
perceiued was to be had in the Britains, being no
lesse readie vpon occasion to make warres in reue-
uerie of their libertie, than the Scots & Picts were
to ineroch vpon them. The emperor vpon receit
of these letters, thought in his mind that Victo-
rine was not so valiant a capteine as the case requi-
red, and that there vpon the Scots and Picts became
the more emboldened to resist, therefore he sent
him home, appointing one Agricola Calpurnius to
succeed in his come, who was (as some haue left in
writing) the nephue of Iulius Agricola, the most
famous capteine of the Romans that euer came in-
to Britaine.

This Calpurnius comming into Britaine with
an armie, ioined to the same the power which he
found there, as well of the Britains, as of other ser-
uing vnder the Romane ensignes. Which done, he
repaired toward the riuier of Tyne, where being ar-
riued, he marched forth into the borders of his eni-
mies, finding all the countrie round about him so
clearelie wasted and burned, that there was not a
house left standing, nor a graine of corne, nor one bed
of cattell to be found therein. Yet notwithstanding
all this, forth he passed thorough Northumberland,
and entring into Pictland, wasted all that was be-
fore him with fire and sword. And for so much as
winter came vpon him, when he had done his will
in that behalfe, he returned vnto York, where he
sojourned vntill the spring.

When summer was once come, hauing made his
prouision for warre on the Scots and Picts, word
came vnto him that the Welshmen were reuolted,
and began to raise warre against the Romans, so
that taking order for the repairing of the wall made
by Adrian, which the enemies in diuers places had
broken downe, and leauing a sufficient number of
men of warre for defense of the same against all in-
uasions that might be attempted, he turned the resi-
due of his power against those Welsh rebels, whom
in the end, though not without much adoe, he reduced
to obedience. Immediatlie after this, he heard
also how the Britains of the Ile of Wight were by
in armour against such Romans as ruled there,
sundry noble men of the maine Ile taking their
part, but they also were at length brought againe
to

The Scots
men and the
Picts invade
the British
borders.

The Romans
incounted by
the Scottish
men and
Picts.

Right parted
the battell.

Victorinus
sends letters
to Rome.

Victorinus is
sent for to re-
turne vnto
Rome, and
one Calpurni-
us sent into
Britaine to
succeed in his
rome.

Calpurnius
enters into
the borders of
his enemies.

Calpurnius
returns to
York.

The Welsh-
men reuel as
gainst the Ro-
mans.

The Welsh-
men brought
to their former
obedience.
The inhabi-
tants of the
Ile of Wight
reueling fro
the Romans,
are constrain-
ed to be obedient.

The nar-
Agricola
full to the
Scottish
and Pict

Calpurni-
us direct
some of
came.
Calpurni-
us returne
to Rome
Calpurni-
us rebel
but as
name in
Britan

Public
Crede
gives t
counseil

He is
the B

The
and
new
again
Rome

Calpurnius
enters into
the borders of
his enemies.

well
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Scott
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The
comm
against
the
Cal
Pict
then

to their former subiection, and the authoꝝ of that rebellion punished by death.

In the meane tyme the Scots and Picts determined not to attempt anie further exploit against the Romans, doubting the verie name and linage of Agricola in the lieutenant Calphurnius, by calling to remembrance the noble atchieved conquests of his grandfather Julius Agricola, of whose victorious exploits, besides that which ye haue before heard, the English historie also doth make a long rehearsal.

Calphurnius being thus at quiet on that side, intended wholely to refoꝛme all misorders amongst the Britains, which being brought to indifferent good passe, he was sent for home againe vnto Rome by the emperor Antonius Commodus, the sonne and succellour of the fore-remembꝛed Marcus Aurelius sending one Publius Trebellius into Britaine, there to supplie his charge.

This Trebellius comming into Britaine, at the first vsed himselfe verie vprightly in his office, shewing all honoꝛ and loue towards the Britains, subiects to the Romane empire, and namelie to Lucius, who reigned as king of the land, vnder the name and authoritie of the Romane empire. But after that he had once woone him a peece of credit amongst them, he changed his maners, or rather discovered his naturall inclination, so wholely giuen to couetousnesse, that his onelie studie was set vpon which way to fill his bags, not caring how vnrulie he forged accusations against the rich, so that either by death or banishment their goods might be confiscat, and so come to his hands.

By this wicked gouernement, the Britains began so sore to hate him, that had it not bene for the loue of their king the foresaid Lucius (who holpe to appease them) there had bene some rebellion practised against him in the south part. Now the Scots and Picts hauing knowledge of this misliking in the Britains towards the Romane lieutenant, thought it a time conuenient for them also to be doing, to the end they might reuenge their former iniuries; and hereupon leueng an armie, they came to the oft remembꝛed wall, and ouerthrowing the same in diuers places, they entred into the Britissh confines with great spoile and crueltie. Trebellius being hereof informed, hastened forth with all the power he could make, to resist their inuasions; but finding the enemies readie in the field, and incountring them sooner than he looked for, he was euen vpon the first ioining abandoned of the most part of his whole armie, which consisted of Britains and Frenchmen, then called Galls, so that the residue being beaten downe, he was glad to saue himselfe as well as he might, by setting the spurs to his horse and galloping away.

After this, gathering together his people againe as they fled from the discomfiture, he retired backe with them vnto Forke, hauing lost in this bickering a great number of his best souldiours, and men of warre: for the Scots and Picts, mistaking no small number of their friends in that battell, were not satisfied with those whome they had likewise slaine in the fight, but also fell vpon their prisoners which they had taken, and slue them also in reuenge of their fellows whome they had lost. Afterwards they harried the countries of Westmerland and Wendall in most cruell wise, Trebellius not being so hardie to fight with them againe for doubt of some fraine that might be practised by the Britains. Neither was his suspicion grounded vpon the credit of any light information, as may appeare by that which folowed: for immediatlie after, the commons of the countie rose against the Romans, in purpose to haue slayen them all out of the land.

Their capteine was one Calboꝛus a Pict boꝛne.

There were also diuerse of the Britissh nobilitie amongst them not knowine, for they were disguised in strange apparell, counterfeting themselves to be of the vulgar sort. The furie of these people was great, but yet in the end the politike order of the Romans vanquished them, holpbeit not without great slaughter on both sides. Calboꝛus escaping the hands of his enemies, fled into his native countie of Pictland, not a little reioicing that he had procured such slaughter amongst the Romans and Britains, both being enemies to him and his countie. Such prisoners also of the Britains as fell into the hands of the Romans, were hanged by vpon sundrie trees and gibets: whereat other of the Britains being offended, in the night season toke down those dead bodies, and hanged by as manie of the Romans in their places, the truth being neuer knowne who were the doers of that act.

The lieutenant Trebellius perceiving thus what danger he stood in on euerie part, wrote vnto the emperor Commodus, that without some refoꝛmation were had, the Romans were not like to keepe so anie long season in Britaine, and therefore required to haue some aid sent ouer vnto him in time. But the emperor doubting least the fault rested most in the lieutenant himselfe, appointed that one Pertinax an ancient gentleman, and one for his high and notable vertues greatlie esteemed both amongst the men of warre, and also in the senat, should go into Britaine, to be legat there in place of Trebellius. This Pertinax comming into Britaine, according to the emperors appointment, toke vpon him the office: and first setting a staie among the Britains, by right prudent and well aduised gouernement, he afterwards made a iourneie against the Scots and Picts, dꝛiuing them by great slaughter beyond Adrians wall, and so constrained them to remaine within their owne confines, pursuing them no further, for that he was sent for home to Rome, where the emperor Commodus being murdered amongst his owne men, he was against his will preferred to his place.

About the same time the state of the Scottissh commonwealth was brought into great danger through an other incident, as by reason of a rebellion stirred by them of the western Isles, who not quieted in their stomachs for the death of their friends executed by Argadus (as before ye haue heard) assembled themselves together, and comming ouer into Argile, spoiled and harried the countie in pitious wise. For redresse whereof, Argadus was sent thither againe with an armie, and in the meane time Ethodius the king with a great host of Scottisshmen and Picts lay in campe nere vnto Adrians wall, to resist the inuasion of the enemies on that side, if happilie they should attempt any new exploit against him in those parts. The Island-men hearing of Argadus his approach, drew themselves together to receiue him by battell, if he minded to offer it.

In which meane time two thousand Irishmen were landed in that countie, in hope of spoile, and hearing that Argadus was comming that waies bearing to fight with his enemies, they laid themselves secretlie in ambush by the waie where he should passe, and when he was passed by them, they brake forth vpon his reeward suddenlie, putting his people in such disorder by their violent impression at the first bzunt, that though he did what in him laie to bring them againe into araic of battell, yet in the end he was there slaine with two thousand of his armie, the residue escaping by flight out of the hands of their wild and cruell enemies. Ethodius hauing knowledge hereof, with an armie of twentie thousand men hastened forth towards Argile, to reuenge

The same commons are banquished. Calboꝛus reioiceth at the slaughter as well of the one part as of the other.

The spite of the Britains shewed towards the Romans.

Trebellius writeth to the emperor Commodus for aid.

Pertinax sent as lieutenant into Britaine.

Pertinax dꝛiueheth back both the Scots and Picts.

Pertinax is chosen emperor.

Argile infected by the Islandmen.

The Irish men land in Argile.

The Irish men lay an ambush to intercept Argadus.

Argadus is slaine.

the

The Scotchmen and the Picts inuade the Britissh borders.

The Romans incountring by the Scotchmen and Picts.

Right parties the battell.

Victories tendered letters to Rome.

Victories sent for to returne vnto Rome, and one Calphurnius sent into Britaine to succeed in his roome.

Calphurnius entred into the borders of his enemies.

Calphurnius returneth to Forke.

The well-men rebell against the Romans.

The well-men brought to their former obedience.

The inhabitants of the Isle of Wight remouing from the Romans, are constrained to be obedient.

The name of Agricola is odious to the Scotchmen and Picts.

Calphurnius desired to reforme the state of Britaine.

Calphurnius returneth vnto Rome. Publius Trebellius sent as lieutenant into Britaine.

Publius Trebellius giuen to couetousnesse.

He is hated of the Britains.

The Scots and Picts renew the warre against the Romans.

Trebellius fighteth against his enemies, is taken of his owne men, and choiced out of the field.

Westmerland and Wendall spoiled by the Scotchmen and Picts.

The Britissh commons rise against Trebellius, one Calboꝛus a Pict being their capteine.

The Island-
men yield
themselves.

Execution.

Ethodius be-
siegeth his coun-
tries, to see
justice main-
tained.

He giveth him
leave to hun-
ting, & causeth
the lawes for
the mainte-
nance of game
to be well kept
& looked unto.

Ethodius
murdered by
a musician.
194 H.B.

Septimius
Sextus, H.B.

the death of his ballant captaine Argadus upon the rebels. Who hearing of his coming, made so towards the sea, and would gladly have bene gone, but by reason of a contrarie wind they were forced to stay against their wills, so that he finding them still in the countrey, wrought so warlike by closing them by among the hills and mounteins, that finally constrained through famine, they submitted themselves upon these conditions, that their head captaine with two hundred others of the chiefest, should yield themselves simple to the kings mercie, and the residue to be licenced to depart againe into their countries.

Those that were appointed to be deliuered to the king with their captaine, suffered death by sentence of the nobles and peeres of the realme. Whereat the other taking indignation, though they had already yielded by their weapons, yet began they to fall upon the Scots with hurling of stones, and other such things as came to hand, till finally they were beaten downe by the armed soldiers, and a great number of them slaine: the residue escaping as well as they might, fled into the mounteins. The Island-men being thus vanquished, and the Romans attempting nothing against the Scottishmen or Picts, Ethodius visited all the parts of his realme, taking order for the due execution of justice amongst his subjects.

And for that he would not spend his time in idleness, being now at rest from warres, he began to exercise himselfe in hunting, and for the better nourishing of game, he took order that all such ordinances as had bene deuised by his elders, should strictly be obserued and kept: as that no man should be so hardie to go about to destroye anye hares with nets, greins or hare-pipes: neither to kill them in their foryes by anye means: nor after that they had bene once coursed and escaped, to followe the sute, to the intent to start them againe. Also that none should go about to kill anye hart or hind, during all the winter season, at what time they were accustomed for hunger to leaue the mounteins, forrests and woods, and to come downe into the fields and courtiers, nere vnto the townes & houses.

He ordeined moreover therevnto, that no man should presume to kill anye hind-calues, detesting nothing more than to haue such game destroyed, as serued for the exercise and solace of him and his nobles. The other vacant time, whilst he rested from hunting, he spent for the most part in hearing of musike, hauing diuerse cunning plaiers of sundrie kinds of instruments attending in his court. At length setting all his pleasure in hearing of a musician being bozne in one of the west Isles, he was murdered by him in the night time within his owne chamber. The murderer being apprehended, and examined vpon what occasion he did that heinous fact, for the which he had deserued the most extreme kind of punishment that might be deuised, he answered: that in reuenge of the death of such his kinsmen and friends as the king had caused to be executed in Argile, he purposed long before to do that deed, and now that he had accomplished his purpose, he was ready to receiue what kind of death they would adudge him vnto. For sure I am of this, saith he, that how terrible soeuer my execution shall be, yet can it not be so painfull, but that I shall reioice even in the very instant of my death, for that I haue in such notable sort reuenged the deaths of all my kindred & friends. Finally by commandement of the magistrates he was drawn in peeces with wild horses in most violent wise.

Ethodius reigned 33 yeeres, vntill the latter daies of Caracalla the emperour. He was buried at Dorn

nasage, with all such pompous ceremonies as was accustomed about the interment of kings in that age. In his daies Lucius the king of Britaine receiued the faith with a great part of his people, being the yere after the birth of our Saviour, as the Scots chronicles haue 187, but after the British 177.

After the death of Ethodius, his brother Sathrell or Serrahell (as some write him) was chosen to succeed by the common consent and voices of all the estates of the realme. For although Ethodius left a sonne behind him; yet because he was verie young in yeeres, he was thought insufficient to haue so great a charge as the rule of a kingdome committed vnto his hands. This Sathrell was subtil of nature, and a great dissembler, whose purpose was to defraud the issue of his brother Ethodius from attaining at anye time vnto the rule of the kingdome, and therefore to bring his purpose the better to passe, he found forged matter against all such as were familiar friends vnto Ethodius, thereby to put them vnto death. Neither dealt he anye thing more sincerelie with a great number of other of his wealthie subjects, whose lands and goods he onelie sought to inioy at his owne will. By means whereof such mischance ensued through the realme, and such ciuill sedition dailye rose amongst the people, that pitie it was to behold it: the king being not so bold all the while, as once to shew his face abroad for redresse thereof, by reason he understood well enough what hatred the people bare towards him, neither did his keeping within doores saue his life anye long time, for in the end his owne seruants found means to strangle him, and that before he had reigned full foure yeeres.

In his place succeeded his brother Donald, a prince of a farre contrarie nature and conditions, for he was free, courteous, and without all deceit, more righteous than rigorous, and afore all things desirous that peace and concord might prosper amongst his subjects. Neither bare he with offenders, but such as were disobedient against the lawes and wholesome ordinances of the realme he caused to be dulye punished: finallye he took such order for reformation of things, that he reduced his subjects as it had bene from a wild and savage rudenesse, vnto a perfect ciuill trade of humanitie. About the same time Lucius king of the Britains being dead, the Romans perceiuing that a kings authoritie amongst the Britains, did nothing else but diminish the maiestie of the imperiall iurisdiction amongst them, determined not to suffer anye more of the British nation to inioy that title.

This thing moued the Britains to such indignation, that by procurement of one Fulgentius, diuers of them rebelled, and choosing the same Fulgentius to their generall, they directed a messenger with letters vnto Donald king of the Scots, requiring him to ioine with them in league against their ancient enemies the Romans, whose endeuor (as he knew) had euer bene from time to time, how to bring the whole Island vnder their subiection, and to extinguish all the nobilitie and ancient inhabitants of the same: adding furthermore, that if he would now put to his helping hand, the time neuer serued better for the dispatching of them whole out of the Ile, considering the sundrie rebellions attempted as well by the people of Germanie and France, as also of the easterlie nations and countries.

Donald receiued the messenger most frendlie, and being glad to vnderstand of these netues, he promised to aid Fulgentius with all the power he was able to make, and to meet him at such date and place as he should afterward appoint. The like answer was made also by the king of Picts, vnto whom in semblable

Britaine receiued the christian faith in the yere 187.

Sathrell.

Sathrell sought to destroy such as were in fauour with his predecessor.

Discontent arising among the people through the huge misgovernment.

Sathrell strangled to death by his owne seruants.

397 H.B.
Donald.

Donald studieth to reduce his subjects vnto all ciuilitie.
Lucius king of Britains dieth.

The Britains rebell and choose one Fulgentius to their capitaine who leade them forth vnto the Scots.

Donald promised to aid Fulgentius.

The 2d cause to 3d part, is it down to let it be knowne that the 3d part is not a new edition of the 2d part.

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semlable wise Fulgentius had directed his letters. Thus the Britains (being confirmed with hope of great aid from the Scots and Picts) assembling their host together, resorted unto the wall of Adrian, which they overthrow in divers places; that their friends might have the more free access and entrie unto them by the same. Neither were the Scots and Picts slow for their part to make forward: so that they likewise comming thither, hope to throw down that wall, and to fill up the trench or ditch that went alongst the same.

This done, joining their powers together, they passed forth towards Yorke, in hope to have found the Romane lieutenant Trebellius within that citie and to have besieged him therein: but having knowledge how he was withdrawn into Kent, there to gather a power, they left their purpose of besieging that citie, and fell to spoiling & harrying of the countrie abroad on euerie side, & constraining the most part of the people to come in and yield themselves vnder their obedience. Thus they continued in passing from one quarter of the countrie to another, till winter enforced them to breake up their campe, and to licence the souldiers to depart home into their countries, till they had new summons to assemble and meet againe.

In this meane time Trebellius certified the emperor Seuerus of all this trouble and rebellion in Britaine: whereupon he with all speed leuied an armie, & set forward with the same himselfe in person toward Britaine, as in the English historie more plainlie may appere. At his comming into Britaine, he lacked no time, but assembling his power, prepared to go against the enimies. Fulgentius doubting the force of his enimie, sent ambassadoys vnto him to treat for peace, but Seuerus would not grant to a nie, whereupon Fulgentius confirmed the minds of the Britains with all comfortable words, in the best wise he could, exhorting them to stick to their necessity begun enterprise, for recovery of their long withheld libertie, which he doubted not, but by vanquishing the emperor at that present they should assuredlie attaine: and as for victorie, he was in no doubt, so that they would plucke their harts vnto them, and trie it forth manfully by dint of sword, like fellows, and brethren knit in one faithfull band of trustie company, considering the enimies armie being gathered of so manie sundrie nations & languages that consent in one opinion, the chiefeest meane for the obtaining of victorie must needs be wanting among them.

The Britains moued herewith, promised him to live and die in the quarrell. Whereupon he took advantage with them, which waie to mainteine themselves against Seuerus, of whose comming they were already certified. For Seuerus hauing dispatched the British ambassadoys from him, let incontinentlie forward towards Yorke, leauing his yongest sonne Geta in the south parts to haue the gouernance of the same in his absence. His eldest sonne Antoninus he took with him in his iourne against his enimies. At his comming to Yorke, he did sacrifice to the gods, according to the Ethnish custome, & also took aduise with his captains how to proceed in his enterprise against his enimies.

This done, he marcheth forth with his armie towards them, who being already armed with the Scots and Picts, were determined to abide him, the thought that those of the one side came no farther in sight of the other, but that they hasted forth to iollie together in battell, whereof insued great slaughter betwixt them, though the British part (notwithstanding their aid of Scots and Picts) were not able long to endure against the great multitude and placed skill of the Romane souldiers, so that in the end

they were opened perforce and put to flight with the losse of thirtie thousand, that of Britains, Scottish men and Picts.

Fulgentius himselfe, seeing the discomfiture and huge slaughter made of his people, had runne in amongst the thickest preale of his enimies, had not those that were about him led him awaie by force, and so at length he got him amongst the troops of the Scottishmen and Picts, and together with them passed ouer Tine, and so into the borders of his friends where he got together such souldiers as he could, that had escaped from the battell, and retained them with wages so well as he might, in hope vpon occasion to imploye them euesomes against his enimies. The Scots also sent into Ireland for aid, and the Picts into Denmarke and Roxloate. Such of the British nobilitie as fell into the hands of the Romans, Seuerus punished most greivouslie, but the commons he used more gentle, as it were making excuse for them being procured thereto by their captains. After this, when winter was come, he appointed his men of warre to draw vnto places conuenient for them to lodge in, till the next spring. He himselfe wintered at Yorke.

In the next summer there was little done worthy to be spoken of, but that there were certeine skirmishes betwixt the Romans lieng on the borders, and the Scots and Picts, euer as occasion serued, either of the parties to worke any exploit for their advantage. But for so much as the Scots had no aid sent them south of Ireland, they were not minded to leaue paragaie in a foughten field, supposing it sufficient if they might defend their owne, though they gained nothing as then, considering the puissance that was ready bent against them. At length Seuerus fell sick at Yorke, and his son Antoninus lieng on the borders beyond Tine, caused the wall afore mentioned, dividing the Britains from the Scots and Picts, to be repaired. This wall was built (as is before recited) first by Adrian the emperor, to keepe the Scottishmen from inuading the lands appertaining to the subiects of the Romane empire, & after overthrowne in diuers places as well by Scots and Picts, as by the Britains, in sozt as before is partly mentioned. Antoninus caused it to be fortified with bastillions, one placed so nere to another, as trumpets being appointed in each of them, the sound might be heard betwixt to warne one another vpon the first deserting of the enimies approach.

Finallie Seuerus dieth, though not so lone as his son Antoninus wished, in hope after him to attaine the imperiall dignitie. Concluding therefore a league with the Scottishmen and Picts, and granting peace to Fulgentius, and other such British rebels as were fled with him into Pictland, he receiued sufficient pledges, and then returned towards London, where his mother with his brother Geta as then late, shortly after both the brethren departed forth of the Ile, & went to Rome, as in the historie of England it appereth. But now to retorne vnto Donald the Scottish king, ye shall vnderstand, that being deliuered of forein trouble, he studied cheeke how to perfect his people in god peace and perfect tranquillitie, which mind our Sauour Christ the author of all peace and concord had giuen vnto him, being latelie afore conuerred vnto the true faith from his wicked paganism and heathenish idolatrie.

For as we find in Hector Boetius, in the daies of the afore said emperor Seuerus, he sent a messenger with letters vnto pope Victor. (Zepherinus saith Harlow) being the 15. in number, as they saie, after saint Peter, declaring vnto him that he was fittly minded to receiue the christian religion, and willing to forsake the superstitious seruice of the heathenish gods,

Fulgentius is put to flight and his armie discomfited.

Fulgentius withdrawneth into Pictland.

Seuerus wintereth at Yorke.

Seuerus sickneth, The wall is repaired.

Seuerus dieth.

Antoninus in hope to be emperor concludeth a peace with the enimies.

Donald studious to mainteine his subiects in peace and concord.

Donald conuerred vnto christian heathenism.

treacherous the Brit faith & peace

trebell.

trebell said as were not with Seuerus

could arise among people though the misgoment.

trebell agreed to by his letters.

7 HB. onald.

could studie to reduce subiects to all civillising Britaine.

the Brits rebell chose one gentius their captain who leuied for and the Brits men.

could grow to his gentius.

The Brits come to Adrian wall, and pull it down to let in the Scots. The Scottish men & Picts come to the aid of the Britains.

The Scots and Picts made the Britains. The Scots help the Britains to spoile their owne countrie.

Trebellius certified the emperor of the state of Britaine.

Fulgentius encouraged the Britains to stick vnto their begun enterprise.

Seuerus leteth forth towards his enimies.

Seuerus commeth to Yorke.

Seuerus is encountered by his enimies.

gods, and therefore instantlie required him to send over into Scotland some godlie learned men, to instruct him in the right beleife. The pope hearing this, and being glad to increase the faith of Christ through all parts of the world, sent with all speed into Scotland such well disposed persons as he thought most meet for that purpose, who at their arrivall there, did their endevour in such diligent sort, that not onelie the king, but also through his example a great number of the nobilitie were baptised, and clerelie forsooke their former errors and idolatrie. This was in the yeare after the birth of our saviour 203, from the creation of the world 4170, & after the first erection of the Scottish kingdome 330, as W. Harison in his chonologie doth manifestlie confirme.

The Scottish men received the faith in the yeare of our saviour 203.
1399. H.B.
533 H.B.

Whereover this Donald was the first as the Scottish chonicles alledge, that caused silver and gold to be coined in his realme. The stampe which he devised for the same, was a crosse on the one side, and his face on the other. Before that time the Scots used no coine, but either exchanged and bartered ware for ware, either else occupied with British and Romaine monie, as divers marble chests full of the same which have bene found of late yeeres in sundrie parts of Scotland doe verie well witness. Finallie B. Donald in the 21 yeare of his reigne departed out of this life, and was buried according to the manner of our christian religion, without any heathenish ceremonies.

Donald departed out of this world.
216 H.B.

Ethodius.

The gouernance of the realme committed to sundrie noble men.

After him succeeded Ethodius the second, and sonne of the former Ethodius, which prince procured so verie a sole, that the regiment of the realme was quite taken from him, and committed unto certaine noble men, who being diuided into sundrie quarters of the realme, toke verie good order for the due gouernment of the parties so to them limited, and vsed themselves verie brightlie in all their doings. As for cause of wars they had none, for Severus before his death had giuen such order for the gouernment of the Britains, that they durst not once stir by reason of such pledges as were deliuered and conueied to Rome, which were the chiefest of all the British nobilitie. At length Ethodius being apt for nothing but to fill his cofers, as one though dolitic, yet naturallie giuen to inuincible couetousnesse, was slaine by those that were appointed to the gard of his person, in the 16 yeare of his reigne.

Ethodius being giuen to couetousnesse is slaine by his owne seruants.

Athirco.

Then was his sonne Athirco elected by the generall voices of all the estates, who in the beginning of his reigne shewed himselfe verie sober, gentle, courteous, and friendlie of behauiour, exercising himselfe in all laudable pastimes conuenient for his estate, and herewith he was so free and liberall towards all men, that he won him wonderfull much praise and loue amongst his people. But these his noble vertues increased not in him together with his age, but contrarielie decayed, in such sort, that after he had reigned eight yeeres, he was quite altered: in place of liberalitie, imbracing auarice; for courtesie and amiable countenance, he vsed sterne and lostie looks: for commendable exercises, he gaue himselfe wholie to filthie pleasures and sensuall lusts of the bodie: and such as could further his purpose most in these his beastlie affections, he cherished and had them most in estimation, not regarding at all the nobilitie of his realme, but was as ready to wrong them by villanous iniurie, as he was anie other of the lowest and meanest degree.

Athirco changed in conditions from good to bad.

Athirco regarded not his nobles.

The villanous act of Athirco in abusing a noble mans daughters.

It chanced that a noble man in Argile (being one of no small authoritie amongst the people of that cuntry) named Patholocus, had two faire young gentlewomen to his daughters: now the king being verie desirous to satiffie his lust upon them, forced them both the one after the other, and not so con-

sent, deliuered them afterwards to be abused in semblable sort by his pages and seruants. The father vnderstanding this villante done to his daughters, by their owne lamentable complaint, sent for his friends, and opening vnto them the whole matter, he required their assistance. They being in a wonderfull furie to heare of such an iniurie done to their blood, promised in reuenge thereof to spend life, lands & goods, and forthwith departing in sundrie, they prepared themselves to assemble their powers, procuring a great number of other noble men to ioin with them in so necessarie an enterprise, as to rid the cuntry of such a catife wretch, respecting nothing but the satiffing of his filthie carnall lusts, and the accomplishment of his most beastlie appetites.

The kinfolmen and friends of the gentlewomen conspire against J. Athirco.

Patholocus goeth to Dunblane to be king.

Patholocus care for the nobles.

Fortinarius tholocus time to change Doozus.

Patholocus put to sea.

When they were once got together in a companie, they marched forth towards Dunblane, where they vnderstood that the king as then did sojourne, a great multitude of people still resorting vnto them by the waie, after it was once knowne whereabout they went. Athirco hearing of their approach, called together his power, supposing at the first to haue beaten downe his enemies; but when he had throughly weighed the matter, and considered of what force and power they were, & how feeble his part was through want of goddiss in his people, he priuile stole away from them, and would haue passed over into Fla, one of the westerne Isles, to haue procured some succor there, but being imbarked and set from the shore, he was by contrarie winds driuen backe againe to land, where doubting to come into his enemies hands, he chose rather to sea himselfe, and so ended his wretched life in such miserable extremities after he had reigned the space of 12 yeeres. His reigne continued till the daies of the emperor Commodian the third, or (as others saie) till the time of the emperor Valerian. But as William Harison hath gathered, he reigned in the daies of the emperor Aurelius Claudius. Doozus the brother of Athirco vnderstanding of the death of his brother, disguised himselfe in beggars weed for doubt of death, and went into Pictland with three of his nephues, sonnes to the same Athirco, whose names were Sindoch, Carance, and Donald.

Athirco doubting to be forsaken of his owne men it came to the trial of battell conueied himselfe from among them.

242 H.B. Doozus the brother of Athirco conueied himselfe out of the way.

Howbeit, Patholocus having knowledge whether he was fled, sent forth certaine of his seruants, with commandement to search him out, commanding furthermore verie streiallie, that if they found him, they should dispatch him out of life, for feare of further mischeefe. But they that were sent, finding one in all features and proportion of bodie resembling Doozus, slue the one in stead of the other, and so returning home to their maister, they made him verie full of the newes, although indeed they came not nere to Doozus. Then Patholocus causing the estates of the realme to assemble, he handled the matter in such wise, by dissuading them to chose any of Athircos blood to reigne over them (for doubt least they should seeke any meanes how to reuenge his death) that in the end this Patholocus was elected himselfe, more by force than by anie common consent of the nobles: for diuers of them doubting the craftie nature, which they knew to be in him, wished rather that the issue of Athirco (hauing deserued nothing less to be defrauded of the kingdome, saue onlie in respect of the fathers offences) might haue inioied that which of right they ought to haue had, that is, either one of them to be king, or else some nere kinfolmen of theirs to reigne as king, till the eldest of them might come to sufficient yeeres to beare the rule himselfe.

Patholocus taketh the life of Doozus.

Patholocus is chosen to be king.

At Patholocus being once proclaimed king by the multitude, and Athircos blood attainted of treason,

Patholocus.

Chalco.

Why nedred son.

Patholocus
goth unto
Dunfalsage
to be murthered.

Patholocus
saweth to pro-
cure some of
the nobilitie
through
bribes.

Fortune fa-
uoring Fla-
tholocus for a
time began to
change.
Dopius writ-
eth unto
certaine Sco-
tish lordes to
moue them
to rebellion.

Patholocus
putteth such
to death as he
suspecteth to
fauour Do-
opus.

Patholocus
sendeth vnto
a witch to
know the con-
clusion of his
enimies
attempts.

The witches
answere.

What hap-
ped by giving
credit to the
wordes of a
witch.

kinsmen
friends of
gentlewo-
man 3.
10.

irco dond
to be for-
n of his
men it is
e to the
li of hater
red him-
from
ing them.
irco flatter
selfe.

2 H.B.
Dopius the
her of
irco com-
th himself
of the way

tholocus
eth the life
Dopius.

tholocus
hosen to
ing.

atholo-
r.

treason, and so published, according to the custome he took the othes of those that were present, and then repaired unto Dunfalsage, there to be murthered according to the maner. This done, he called such aside as he suspected, and talking with them alone, he exhorted them to be faithfull, promising to be their assured good lord and maister, and for an earnest thereof, he gaue unto diuerse of them verie great rewards. Generallie vnto all men he shewed him- selfe verie gentle and tractable, thereby to win their loues, for the better establisment of his newe atchieued estate: and hereto he imploied such riches as the former kings had heaped together amongst the nobles, studieng by all meanes to auoid all sceditious quarels and secret discords amongst them.

Thus ruling the realme at his will for certeine yeeres, at length fortune began to shew a change of countenance after his old accustomed guise. For Dopus the brother of Athirco (whome, as ye haue heard, Patholocus supposed to haue bene dead) wrote certeine letters, signifieng his owne estate with the welfare of his nephues the children of Athirco vnto certeine Scottish lordes, whom he knew to fauour his cause. Which letters he deliuered vnto a pidiish woman, appointing hir how and to whome she should deliuer the same, but the woman apprehended by the waie, and brought vnto Patholocus, he caused hir secretly to be sacked and thowne into a riuer. Afterwards sending for such of the nobles as the direction of the foresaid letters had giuen him occasion to haue in some suspicion, he committed them first to prison, and at length caused them to be secretly strangled.

Which wicked deed being once notified abroad, so moued the hearts of their friends and allies, that they procured the people to rebell: and so gathering them together, they raised open and cruell warres against him. Patholocus informed of their determinations, withdrew himselfe priuie into Murray land, there to get together an armie to resist his enimies, and for that he was desirous also to vnderstand somewhat of the issue of this trouble, he sent one of his trustie seruants, being a gentleman of that countrie, vnto a woman that dwelt in the Ile of Colmekill (otherwise called Jona) esteemed verie skillfull in foretelling of things to come, to learne of hir what fortune should hap of this warre, which was already begun.

The witch consulting with hir spirits, declared in the end how it should come shortly to passe, that the king should be murthered, not by his open enimies, but by the hands of one of his most familiar friends, in whome he had reposed an especiall trust. The messenger demanding by whose hands that should be: Cuen by thine saith she, as it shall be well knowen within these few daies. The gentleman hearing these wordes, railed against hir verie bitterly, bidding hir go like an old witch; for he trusted to see hir burnt before he should commit so villanous a deed. And departing from hir, he went by and by to signifie what answere he had receiued; but before he came wher he king lay, his mind was altered, so that what for doubt on the one side, that if he should declare the trueth as it was told him, the king might haplie conceiue some great suspicion, that it should follow by his means as she had declared; and thereupon put him to death first; and for feare on the other side, that if he kept it secret, it might happen to be reuealed by some other, and then he to run in as much danger of life as before; he determined with himselfe to twok the surest way, and so comming to the king, he was led aside by him into his priuie chamber, wher all other being commanded to auoid, he declared how he had sped; and then falling softly

with vpon Patholocus, with his dagger he slue him outright, and threw his bodie into a priuie; and afterwards getting out by a backe doore, and taking his horse which he had there readie, he fled with all speed vnto the campe of the conspirators, and was the first that brought newes vnto them of this act thus by him atchieued. This chanced in the yeare of our Lord 280, & in the eleuenth yeare after the first entring of Patholocus into the estate.

After Patholocus was thus dispatched, the peeres assembled together to ordeine one for gouernement of the realme, where in the end it was amongst them concluded, that the sonnes of Athirco should be sent for into Midland, and Findocke receiued for king. The pporaulan that slue Patholocus was appointed to fetch them, who (according to his commission) comming into Midland, conueied them right honorable into Argile, wher Findocke being already chosen king, was placed on the stone of marble, with all the ceremonies in that case appertaining.

This Findocke was in the flower of his age, of a person most beautifull, cleane made, & of a goodlie stature; wherewith were ioined most excellent gifts of the mind, not so much desirous to seeme as to be vertuous in deed. He was courteous, meeke, & full of affabilitie, studieng alwaies to win friendship and loue, rather by gentlenesse, than by feare and menacing wordes. The leagues with the Britains, Picts and Romans he firmitie obserued. But as peace with forraine enimies breedeth oftentimes ciuill discord at home, so came it then to passe with him at this present: for one Donald of the Isles, a noble man borne, came ouer with an armie into Koffe and Murray land, fetching from thence a great spoile and botie, not without great slaughter of such as inforced themselves for to resist him. The occasion as he pretended was to reuenge the death of Patholocus. But Findocke vnderstanding his doings, prepared an armie with ships, and sailed ouer with the same into the Ile of Jla, wher in countring with Donald and other his enimies, he vanquished and chased them egerlie, without returning once backe, till either the sword or the sea had made an end of them all.

Donald himselfe taking a bote, in hope to haue escaped, the prease was such at his entring into the same, that before they could get it off from the shore, it sunke by means of the ouerlading, and so he and all they that were on board were drowned there withall. The king hauing atchieued this victorie, returned into Albanie; but the Jland-men not fullie quieted with this slaughter of their fellows, sent ouer into Ireland, and got from thence certeine kerns, who vnder the leading of an other Donald, the sonne of the former Donald, made starts into and then into Argile and Cantire, doing manie sheld turns in the same, yet they could be suppressed. But Findocke being some informed of these tidings, went ouer againe into the Isles, and such of his enimies as he found, he caused to be hanged, to giue other example what to loke for when they should rebell, but Donald escaped, and got ouer into Ireland, wher he remained, till he heard that the king was returned backe into Albanie, and then he came againe. But perceiuing himselfe not able to twok such feats as he hoped to haue done, he sent a messenger vnto the king, offering to yield himselfe, and to become his true subiect if he might get his pardon, and be at his owne libertie. But being answered that he should not be receiued, vntlesse he would come vnto Dunfalsage with other of his chiefest complices, and to stand fallie at the kings mercie; he refused thus to doe, deuising an other

Patholocus
murthered.

252.H.B.

The lordes of
the realme as-
semble tag-
ther to chuse a
new king.

The sonnes
of Athirco are
sent for, and
the eldest of
them named
Findocke cho-
sen to reigne.

Findocke.
Findocke his
noble quali-
ties and ver-
tuous disposi-
tion.

Findocke ob-
serueth the
leagues con-
firmed of for-
mer times
with his
neighboures.
The of the
out Isles in-
uade the coun-
tries of
Koffe and
Murray land.
Findocke ma-
keth a journe
into the Isles,
to subdue the
rebels.

Donald is
drowned.

The Jland-
men with aid
of the Irish
kerns, make
often inuasi-
ons into Ar-
gile, and other
of the Scottish
counties.

Findocke go-
eth againe to
subdue the re-
bels of the
Isles.

Donald offer-
eth to yield
himselfe v-
pon certeine
conditions,
but is not re-
ceiued.

meane

Donald deni-
seth how to
murder king
Findocke by
two naughtie
persons.

Findocke is
Aune.

The murder-
ers confesse
by whose pro-
curement they
did the deed.
A pretie in-
duction (if not
forged) to the
hystorie that
afterwards
followeth of
Caraulus or
Carantius as
the Scots
write him.

Donald.

Donald of the
Iles inua-
deth Scot-
land.

meane how to be reuenged.

Wherefore to begin withall, he procured two naughtie persons to go ouer into Albaine, and to feine themselves to haue fled from him, there also he willed them to offer their seruice vnto the king, and to disclose vnto him certeine light secrets of the said Donalds, thereby to win credit if it might be, and in the end to espie a time to rid him out of the way. These craftie mates working according to Donalds wicked instructions, at length with much adoe they got credit, and after credit they got place so nere the king by the furtherance of Carantius the kings brother (whome they made priuie also vnto their intent) that finding all things correspondent vnto their purpose (one day as the king hunted) the one began to feed him with a tale of the hatred which the Ilanders bare towards him, whereto he gaue verie good care, whilst the other smote him to the heart with a iaveline, & so leaving the iron sticking in his bodie, he fled away in hast with his traitorous companion and fellow. Those that were nere, seeing what had happened, some of them ran to him, to see if they might relieue him as then struggling with the pangs of death; others followed the murderers, and overtaking them, brought them backe to receive their meed according to that which they had iustlie deserued; being also examined, they confessed how they were procured vnto it, not onelie by Donald of the Iles, but also by Carantius the kings owne brother. Who of set purpose being out of the way at that present, and hauing knowledge that he was accused of the kings death, fled out of the countrie as a banished man, first into Britaine, from whence (after he had remained there for a time) he went vnto Rome, and seruing in the wars vnder the emperours, Aurelius Probus, Carus, and Dioclesianus, he became a tight famous and a verie skillfull capitaine.

But if this report be true that Caraulus (of whom Eutropius maketh mention) were descended of so high parentage, maruell it is, that neither the same Eutropius, nor anie other of the Romane writers, could at no time come to the knowledge thereof, which if they had done, no doubt they would haue spoken somewhat of the same; for although he might happilie vpon the consideration aforesaid counterfeite himselfe to be bozne of some base kindred, and so for a time to dissemble that he was, yet afterwards that he attained vnto so high degre of honour, as to usurpe the imperiall robes of purple, and to possesse the dominion of Britaine, it is not like but that to aduance his credit and authoritie colall, he would haue set forth to the vttermost the nobilitie of his birth, if he had bene come of anie, and that so aparantie to the world, that aswell his enemies as friends should both haue knowen and spoken of it.

Findocke being thus slaine in the tenth yeare of his reigne, and buried with great lamentation of the people at Duntatage, his brother Donald, the thirde son to Athirco, was admitted to the kingdome, who immediatlie vpon his entring into the estate, prepared to go into the Iles against Donald that common enimie of Scotland. But this Donald himselfe deliuered the king of a great peece of that trauell: for so soone as he heard that the murder by him contriued was executed, he assembled a mightie power of the Iland-men, and transporting with them ouer into Kosse, proclaimed himselfe king, persecuting with fire and sword all such as denied him obedience. King Donald being aduertised of that attempt of his aduersarie, speedilie marsheth forth with such power as he had already assembled, sending proclamations abroad, that all other

appointed to serue, should folloie him with speed.

Thus comming into Murray land, he pitched downe his tents, purposing there to abide the coming of the residue of his armie. But Donald of the Iles vnderstanding all his demeanour and whole intention, thought it best to assaile him within his campe, before all his power should come vnto him, and being thus resolu'd, he set forward in the night time, and was vpon his enemies, before that his comming towards them was once signified in their campe. The king then vnderstanding his aduersaries to be at hand, bringeth forth his men, setteth them in arraie, and exhorteth them with many pithie words to receiue their enemies with manlie stomachs. But the Iland-men encouraged also by their capitaine, gaue the onset so roundlie, that the Scottishmen had not leasure to occupie their shot, but were enforced euen at the first to loine at hand-blows, which were bestowed in such furious sort, that in the end the Scots being oppressed with multitude, were constrained to giue backe some sauing themselves by flight, and some standing at defense till they were beaten downe and killed in the place. There were slaine on the kings part three thousand men, and two thousand taken prisoners; amongst whom were thirtie personages of honorable estate, together with the king himselfe being wounded so sore, that he died within three daies after the battell, rather through anguish of mind than of his hurts (as some haue written) in the same yeare that he began his reigne. Donald of the Iles hauing thus got the victorie, took vpon him as king, accordinglie as he had caused himselfe at the first to be proclaimed.

But because he came to the estate thus by blood, he continued still in doubt and feare of new conspiracies, being guiltie in conscience of his wrongfull usurpation. Those prisoners also, which he had taken in the battell, he kept in perpetuall captiuitie, menacing them present death, if anie of their friends and allies attempted anie stirre against him. Whereouer he nourished priuie factions amongst the nobilitie, supposing thereby that their powers would be the more feeble in anie publike exploit that was to be moued against him; finally, if anie mischief happened amongst them, he caused the matter thoroughlie to be looked vpon, but with such regard that he alwaies intiched his owne cofers with the forfeitures and penalties which he took vpon amongst them. He seldome times went abroad, and when he stirred forth anie whither, he had his gaird about him, appointed with weapons in warlike sort for dout of treason. He aduanced diuers of base condition to great wealth and honor, and behaued himselfe so in sundrie sorts with his misdeedsfull crueltie, that manie there were which bread him, and but a few that loued him, so that in the end being in a manner run into the deadlie hatred of all men, he was murdered one night at Ennerlochthe (whither he was come to haue passed ouer into the Iles) by certeine that had conspired his death in the twelfth yeare of his reigne.

The chiefe of the conspirators was one Crathlint the sonne of king Findocke, who immediatlie after the deed done, conueied himselfe secretlie out of the chamber, and repairing vnto certeine nobles and gentlemen inhabiting nere hand in the countrie, he declared vnto them the whole matter, exhorting them to aid him, in reuenging the injuries done not onelie to them priuatlie, as he knewe verie well, but also to the whole state of the Scottish common welth, by the naughtie suggestion of diuers of the kings complices, who as yet vnderstood nothing of their maisters death, but were all quiet in their beds, as men suspecting nothing lesse than that which was

Donald of the
Iles suddenly
setteth vpon
the enimies.

Crath.

Crathlin
made ki

The Scots
ouerthowen.

Donald dyeth
this
woyld.

Donald of the
Iles taken
vpon him as
king.

Donald.

A guiltie con-
science.

The
and fr
Done
Iles
secure

The
gouern
of Cr

Crath-
lin
the
son
of
Findocke
the
king
of
Scotland
was
murdered
in
the
twelfth
yeare
of
his
reigne

Donald of the
Iles is mur-
dered.

Anno Christi
273. H.B.

Crathlint
chief conspir-
ator to the
murdering
of Donald.

Crathlint pro-
cureth the no-
bles of the
countrie to
opprelle the
seruants of
king Donald.

Crath-
lin
the
son
of
Findocke
the
king
of
Scotland
was
murdered
in
the
twelfth
yeare
of
his
reigne

now happened.

The gentlemen hearing the newes, and reioicing greatly thereat, got them to their weapons, and earlie in the mornie dawning of the day, coming vpon the kings household meane, they slew aboute two hundred of them in the place where they lodged, the residue escaping forth of the house, and thinking to saue themselves, were beaten downe in the countrie as they passed by the people, who bare so deadlie and mortall hatred vnto the late king, that they not onelie reioiced much at his death, but thought themselves sufficientlie reuenged, when they could kill anie that did belong vnto him.

Crathlint

Crathlint is making.

After this, Crathlint being certaine in the knowe to be the sonne of king Findocke, by such evident tokens as were shewed by him that brought him vp, was (partlie in respect of his tust title, and partlie for consideration of his good seruice in deliuering his countrie of so detestable a tyrant) aduanced to the gouernement of the kingdome, by consent of all the estates, and so being confirmed king, he perswaded the people that all the lineage of the late tyrant Donald might be plucked vp, euen as it were a tree by the roots, least anie of them happlie remaining aliue, should find meanes afterwards to disturbe the common wealtie. The people consented lightlie herevnto, as they that beside the mortall hate which they bare towards Donald, were now suddenly in loue with Crathlint, not onelie for his wit and other qualities of the mind, but also by reason of his comelie personage and passing beaultie, setting forth all his doings greatly to his high praise and commendation.

The issue therefore with other the kinsmen and allies of Donald were sought for, and those that were found, without anie difference or respect of age or sex, were cruelle put to death. Which done, Crathlint appointed forth iudges and other administrators of iustice to see the lawes executed, and the countries gouerned in god and quiet order, euerie man being assigned to his owne proper circuit. These he chose out of the most ancient peers and barons of his realme. The younger sort he referred to attend vpon his person.

The politike gouernment of Crathlint.

When he had taken direction in this wise for the rule of his kingdome, he went vp into the mountains of Grangebene, there to passe the time for a while in hunting the hart, and other wild beasts, whither came vnto him ambassadors from Thelargus king of the Picts, declaring the ioy which their master had conceiued for the slaughter of Donald, and the restoring of the right blood againe vnto the estate, requiring that the ancient league betwixt the Picts and Scottishmen might be once againe renewed. Crathlint receiued these ambassadors most iollilie, giuing them heartie thanks on the behalfe of their master for this signification of his good will shewed by their coming, and herewith promised, that during his life he would gladlie obserue the old ancient amitie established betwixt the two nations: according to the tene of the old league. Moreover, when the said ambassadors should depart, he toke vnto them to deliuer from him as a present vnto their master certeine hoxses, with hounds and greihounds, such as he thought that king Thelargus wanted.

Crathlint pzo miserly to observe the ancient amitie betwixt the Scottishmen and Picts. The present sent by Crathlint vnto the king of the Picts.

Divers Pictish lords come to Crathlint to hunt and make merie with him. In paise of the Scottish dogs.

And shortly after the returne of these ambassadors into their countrie, diuerse young gentlemen of the Pictish nobilitie repaired vnto king Crathlint, to hunt and make merie with him: but when they should depart homewards, perceiving that the Scottish dogs did farre excell theirs, both in fairnesse, swiftnesse, hardinesse, and also in long standing vp and holding out, they got diuerse both dogs and bit-

ches of the best kinds for byred to be giuen them by the Scottish lords, and yet not so contented, they stole one belonging to the king from his keeper, being more esteemed of him than all the other which he had about him. The master of the leash being informed hereof, pursued after them which had stolen that dog, thinking in deed to haue taken him from them, but they not willing to depart with him, fell at altercation, and in the end, chanced to strike the master of the leash through with their borespeares that he died presentlie, wherevpon a noise and crie being raised in the countrie by his seruants, diuerse of the Scots as they were going home from hunting, returned, and falling vpon the Picts to reuenge the death of their fellow, there ensued a thewed bickering betwixt them, so that of the Scots there died thre score gentlemen, besides a great number of the commons, not one of them understanding (till all was done) what the matter ment. Of the Picts there were about an hundred slaine.

The kinsmen and friends of the Scots that were thus slaine, were wonderfullie moued with the iniurie committed, inasmuch that without commandment of king or capitaine, they assembled in great numbers together, and entring into the Pictish countie, they began to rob, spoile and kill after the manner of warre, wherewith the Picts being set in a rage, came forth together into the field, and encountering with the Scots, there was fought a fore battle betwixt them, without capitaine, order, or standard, till at length the victorie remained with the Picts, of whom were slaine notwithstanding the day went on their sides, about two thousand men, but of the Scots there died about thre thousand, or more, as was supposed. Thus vpon a light occasion was the league broken betwixt these two nations, who had continued as friends, the one still ready to aid the other, euer sith the daies of king Kenneth, being the 7 in number that reigned after Ferguse.

These two nations being thus fallen at debate, it was wonder to vnderstand with what crueltie the one sought to destitoe the other. No pitie might moue their cruell hearts to spare either man, woman or child that fell into their hands: such was their inordinate and like desire which they had to shed each others blood. At last Thelargus king of the Picts being a verie aged man, and perceiving what mischiefe was happened through the follie of a few wilfull persons, appointed certeine of his counsell to go as ambassadors vnto king Crathlint, to find some means to haue the matter taken vp, for the auoiding of the imminent danger that was like to insue to both nations. They according to their instructions coming to the place where Crathlint as then sojourned, had much ado to get licence to come vnto his presence: but at length being admitted, they used such humble perswasions grounded vpon reasonable considerations, that although no peace could be fullie concluded, yet a truce was granted them for thre moneths space, which was but sozlie obserued, for deadly hatred and inward desire of reuenge was entred so farre into the breasts of the commons on both sides, that neither commandment nor punishment might stae them from the inuading of one anothers confines, mauer their princes and all their fore restraints.

In this meane time was the estate of the Roman empire in Britaine brought into trouble by Carantius, of whome a little before mention hath bene made. Eutropius nameth him Carausius: he would not be acknowne at his coming to Rome of what lineage he was descended, and so he was reputed to come of some base stocke, but yet through his worthie seruice in the warres, he attained vnto great

The Picts stole one of the kings best greihounds.

The Scots & Picts fight for a greihound.

What mischief ensued vpon so light an occasion as the stealing of a dog.

This chanced about the yere of Christ 888, as lo. Ma. noteth.

The Scots rob the Pictish borders. The Scots & Picts encounter in battell.

The Scots discomfited by the Picts. What continuance the league was betwixt the Scots and Picts, & how broken about a small matter as begun about a dog.

Cruell wars

Thelargus king of the Picts being an aged man, desireth to haue peace, and therevpon sendeth his ambassadors vnto Crathlint.

A truce granted.

Carantius named by Eutropius Carausius, troubleth the estate of Britaine.

Donald of the Picts suddenly cetterh vpon the Englishes.

The Scots murthered.

Donald departed this world.

Donald of the Picts taketh vpon him as king.

Donald.

Ignitie commience.

Donald of the Picts is murdered. Anno Christi. 730. H.B.

Crathlint isle conspites to the uttering Donald.

Crathlint pzo reth the newes of the unrie to pze the ruants of ng Donald.

The wilie
practice of
Carantius.

Carantius
seereth to come
to make an-
swer to such
matters as he
was charged
with.
Carantius
reueling com-
meth into
Westmerland,
e causeth the
people there
to take his
part against
the Romans.

Carantius
sendeth mes-
sengers unto
king Crath-
lint, in exco-
municating his fault
for his brother
Findoche's
death.
Carantius
requereth to
be aided a-
gainst the
Romans.

Crathlint re-
ioiceth to heer
that Caranti-
us was aliue.

Crathlint re-
ioiceth to aid
Carantius, &
certifieth him
of the same.

The king of
the Picts also
promiseth to
aid Caranti-
us.

Crathlint
king of the
Scots and
Carantius
come to talke
together.

Crathlint and
the king of the
Picts come to
a communica-
tion by Caran-
tius means, who
transleth to
let them at one

great honor, and was appointed by Dioclesian to haue the soueraine regard ouer the coasts of the French ocean, to defend the same from pirates of the Saxons and other Germans, that soe molested the same in those daies. But for that he bled to suffer those rousers to take spoiles and pyles, to the end he might in their returne take the same from them againe, and conuert the gaine wholie to his owne vse, without restoring that which was due to the owners, or sending any portion thereof to the Romaine emperour, he was complained vpon, and sent for; but for that he doubted to come to his answer, as one which knew himselfe guiltie, he furnished his nauie with men, vittels and ordinance, and with the same toke his course about the west parts of Britaine, and landed in Westmerland, where he easlie procured the people there to submit themselves to be vnder his rule and obedience, and promised to deliver them from the greivous yoke and bondage of the Romans.

Thus hauing begun the foundation of that which he purposed to achieve, for his further advancement therein, he sent ambassadoers vnto his nephew king Crathlint, both declaring what he was, and also excusing the trespasses committed against him, for being of counsell touching the murder of his brother Findoche, father to the same Crathlint: and therefore if in putting away all mistrust of his innocencie in that behalfe, he would aid him against the Romans, he doubted not but that he should in short time vnterlie expell them out of all Britaine, and enioy all those prouinces within the same (which as then they possessed) vnto his owne vse, and this he said should be more honor and gaine both to the Scottishmen & Picts, if they could be contented to renew friendship, and ioine with them in aid against their common enemies, than to seeke to destitute one another, as he lately vnderstood they had done for a dog.

Crathlint hearing the words of these ambassadoers, reioiced not a little, that his vnckle Carantius was not onelie aliue, but also had through his baliance attained so high renowne as to be accounted one of the worthiest warriors amongst all the Romaine captains. And herevpon with good aduise he determined to aid him in that his enterprize for the conquest of Britaine to the uttermost of his power. Adding further, that if it were not for the warres which he doubted to haue with the Picts, he would not onelie send him aid of men, but also come with them himselfe: and hereof he assured the ambassadoers both by word of mouth and letters. Who returning with such answer vnto their master Carantius, he reioiced not a little, to vnderstand how well they had sped, and so much the more, for that he received about the same time the like answer from the king of Picts.

Shortlie after he came to an interuiew with the king of Scots at the water of Elke, where after he had purged himselfe with manie words of excuse, touching the murder of his brother Findoche, there was an assured friendship concluded betwixt them. And at the motion of Carantius, Crathlint was contented to come to a communication with the king of Picts, for the conclusion of a peace, to the intent that both of them might ioine their powers together, in aid of Carantius against the Romans. At this communication both the kings met, and Carantius likewise was there, as a man indifferent betwixt them both, to do what he could to linke them both in amitie. And verelie his presence there vnto stood so much in freed, that chieslie through his perswasion grounded vpon great reasons and weightie considerations, they agreed to conclude a peace, and to renew the old league in such manner and forme, and with such conditions, as should be thought re-

quisite by the aduise and discret order of eight ancient persons: foure to be chosen on the one part, and foure on the other. Which eight persons taking the matter in hand, did so aduisedlie giue order for the auoiding of all causes of grudge and hatred, that both parts held them satisfied with their arbitrement and direction, so that a full peace was confirmed, and all variance vnterlie quenched.

In this meane time Quintus Bassianus the Romaine lieutenant in Britaine, vnderstanding how Carantius was thus reuolted, and had not onelie caused them of Westmerland to rebell, but also slaine and chased the Romans out of that countrie, he was not a little disquieted, and determined with all speed to go against him, and to reuenge these injuries. Within a few daies after, hauing his armie readie, he entered into Westmerland: but hearing that his enemies were already come to York, and had wonne the citie by surrender, he turned his force thitherward, in purpose to fight with them, though he vnderstood they were in the great battels, as the Scots in one, the Picts in another, and those of Carantius retinue in the third. He lodged that night within a verie strong place, fenced about with marshes.

But Carantius vnderstanding all the manner of his enemies by his espials, and being in campe within ten miles of them or thereabout, in the same night he raised his field without any great bryte, and by the leading of certeine guides he marched straight toward the place where Bassianus was incamped, so that anon after the spring of the day he came thither: whereof Bassianus being aduertised, and perceiuing he should haue battell, maketh readie for the same, giuing the best exhortation he could vnto his people to plaie the men: but for so much as the most part of his armie were Britains, all his words nothing anailed for they desirous to see the utter ruine of all the Romaine power, even at the verie point when the battels should haue ioined, withdrew themselves apart without any stroke stricken, and got them by into the next mounteins, to see what would ensue. The residue of the Romaine armie, seeing themselves thus forsaken of their fellows, and their sides left bare and open for the enemy to enter vpon them, fell to plaine running away, but by reason of the marshy ground compassing them in on each side, seruing well to purpose for the Scots, and other the confederates, a great number of the Romans, and other of their part were overtaken and slaine. Amongst whom Bassianus himselfe was one, and Virgilius the emperours procurator an other.

The Britains (who as is said refused to fight in the beginning of the battell) yielded themselves vnto Carantius, and swore to be his true liegemen and subiects. In like manner Carantius appointed all such of the nobilitie as were betwixt twentie yeeres and threescore, to remaine with him in hostage: but the spoile of the field he diuided amongst his people equally, so that as well the Scottishmen and Picts, as also his owne souldiers held them well contented and satisfied therewith. After this victorie Carantius caused himselfe to be proclaimed king of Britaine, usurping the gouernment therof wholie to himselfe, and reteining two thousand of the Scots and Picts to attend vpon the safeguard of his person, sent the residue home laden with riches of the enemies spoile. He sent also with them his ambassadoers, to render thanks vnto both the kings for their aid in this so prosperous a victorie, assigning vnto them as a portion of the conquest, the countiees of Westmerland and Cumberland, with all that region which lay betwixt Adrians wall, and the citie of York, to inioy as their owne proper patrimonie for

Peace confirmed
against the
Scottishmen
and Picts.

Quintus
Bassianus
entrencheth into
Westmerland,
but hearing
that his ene-
mies were at
York he turneth
thitherwards.

The Brit-
tains betray
the Romans.

The Romans
are discomfited.

The slaugh-
ter of the
Romans.

The Brit-
tains yield
themselves
vnto Car-
antius.

Carantius as
Emperour ma-
meth him,
usurpeth the
kingdome of
Britaine.

Carantius
hauing got the
victorie, di-
uideth the gaine
in assigning to
his confederates
their true
portions.

The perfec-
ution of the
christians by
Dioclesian.

Constant
persecuteth
the christi-
ans.

Aganist
of
Britains
to the
to auoid
secution.
Crathlin
droweth ti
temples &
false gods
in Agan.

The first
shops for
Scottish
Sodoren
ecclesia,
Crathlin
parterch
this too.

Finco
mark

Amphyl

The ch
of S. S.
at
leth Sod
ecclesia

Culdei

What
Finco
began
reigne.

for evermore. Finally the said Carantius was slain by his companion Alexus, as in the English historie ye may find more at large.

After this, Crathlint king of Scots deliuered from troubles against the Romans, deuised sundrie good ordinances for the quiet state of the Scottish common-wealth, causing the peace to be diligentlie obserued betwixt him and the Picts. Also in his daies the persecution of the christians chanced, which the emperor Dioclesian commanded to be executed in most furions wise, so that there were few partes of the world (where anie christians were knowne to inhabit) that tasted not of that his cruell ordinance and scourge in that behalfe. In Britaine also, as well as in other places, there was no small quantitie of innocent blood shed, with most vnnmercifull murder committed, to the great triumph of Christs crosse, that glorious ensigne of our religion.

In which time Constantius Chlorus father to Constantine the great, was resident in Britaine, who abiding the Scots to be a people whole giuen to pillage and slaughter, as they were in deed, determined with himselfe to haue brought them to subiection. But per he could atchieue any notable enterprise, he died, leaving behind him the fame of a right gentle and worthy prince, sauing that in one point he sore stained his honor, for that he was one of the chiefe that persecuted the christian flocke vnder Dioclesian, forcing no small number of the faithfull amongst the Britains, to flee vnto the Scots and Picts to avoid his persecution. Whome Crathlint receiued for his part most louinglie, and assigned vnto them (as the Scots say) the Ile of Man for a place of habitation, destroing all such temples of the heathens religion belonging to the Druides, which had continued there since the beginning; and vntil he abolished all the superstitious rites and customs of the same Druides, with their whole order and brotherhood. He erected a temple there, which he dedicated vnto Iesus Christ our sauour, wherein the christians might celebrate their diuine seruice, according to their profession. This church being richlie indownd, was the first bishops see amongst the Scots, and thereupon was taken for the mother church of the realme. It is now called the church of saint Saviour. Finally Crathlint departed out of this life, after he had reigned 24 yeeres, being much praised as well for his politike government, as for his great and earnest zeale which he bare toward the aduancement of the true christian religion.

Fincomarke that was his vnckles sonne, succeded him in the kingdome, & was placed on the stone of marble, to the great reioicing of all the estates, who wished him a prosperous reigne; and long to continue therein. There lived in king Crathlints daies a noble christian called Amphibalus, a Britaine borne, who fleeing from the persecution then raised in his countrie, came vnto the same Crathlint, and by him was created the first bishop of saint Saviours church in Man: this Amphibalus did be-
 rie much good amongst the Scots and Britains in setting forth the word of life, and rooting out of their hearts all superstitious errors of blind gentilitie. There were other also of right famous memorie about the same time, that ceased not in preaching, and instructing the people in the right beliefe, as Spodocus, Priscus, Calanus, Ferranus, Ambianus, and Carnocus, called by an old ancient name in the Scottish tong Culdei, that is to understand, Cultores Dei, or as you would say in English, the worshippers of God.

But now to the purpose touching Fincomarke, ye shall understand, that he began his reigne in the

yeere (as W. Harison saith) after the birth of our sauour 325, after the creation of the world 4292, and from the first establishing of the Scottish kingdome 652, and in the 20 yeere of Constantine the emperor. It chanced that Ottauius king of the Britains was vanquished by Traherus a Romane capteine, and forced for his refuge to flee vnto this Fincomarke then king of Scots, who receiued him as a friend. And furthermore though he were required by Traherus to deliuer him into his hands, as a traitor and a rebell vnto the Romane empire, yet Fincomarke refused so to do, choosing rather to suffer all Traherus his malice, and to haue warres with the Romane emperor, than to betray his friend who had put his life into his hands vpon an especiall trust of safeguard.

Herewith Traherus being not a little moued, assembled his power, and entred into Westmerland, the which countrie had remained in the Scottish mens hands euer since Carantius deliuered it ouer vnto them. Fincomarke hearing that the Romans would thus make him wars, had likewise raised a puissant armie to resist them, so that he had at the least 60 thousand persons together in one armie, as 30 thousand of his owne countrymen, 20 thousand Picts, & ten thousand of such Britains as followed after Ottauius. Fincomarke being thus furnished, hastened forth to encounter with his enemies, because they should haue time to do any notable damage vnto his subiects, & so comming within sight of them, sent an herald vnto Traherus, to vnderstand the cause why he thus invaded his countrie, but receiuing fro him an vntoward answer, he brought forth his people into the field in order readie to giue battell, and so joining with the enemy, there was fought a right sore and cruell conflict, which continued for a time with vnnmercifull murder and slaughter on both parts.

Finally, when the Romans were at a point to haue got the vpper hand, they were suddenlie put in such feare with the sight of a number of husbandmen, who had got together their cattell and were dining the same a waie, that supposing they had bene some new succors comming to aid their enemies, they immediatlie fled vpon the same, leaving the victorie to their aduersaries: howbeit of the Scots side were slain (as their chronicles report) fiftene thousand men, and on the Romane part about sixtene thousand. Traherus himselfe escaped vnto Dorke, but hearing that Fincomarke and Ottauius pursued after him, he forsooke that citie, and got him into places of more suertie, so that when the enemies came thither, the citizens yielded themselves, and receiued Ottauius as their prince, offering from thenceforth to be vnder his rule and gouernement. The newes of these atchieued victories being bruted throughout the realme, caused a great number of the nobles to come in vnto Ottauius, who receiued them most thankfullie; & to conclude, wrought so by their support, that he was shortly after restored to the gouernance of the whole realme, and established therein according to his owne wish.

This done Fincomarke returned into his countrie, as well himselfe as other of his nobles and men of warre, being highlie rewarded for their paines and trauell sustained in that iourne. There was also promise made and confirmed by solemn oath, that the countrie of Westmerland, with such other parts as were assigned to his predecessour king Crathlint, by order of Carantius at the time of their joining together in league against the Romans, should for ever remaine vnto Fincomarke, & to his successors the Scottish kings, without any claime or title to be made to the same by any of the Britains:

322. H.B.
 5490. H.B.
 655. H.B.
 First of Constantine H.B.
 Ottauius is vanquished, & fleeth into Scotland.

Traherus invadeth westmerland.

Fincomarke raiseth his power.

Fincomarke joineth in battell with Traherus.

The Romans flee.

The number is slain.

York is yielded vnto Ottauius.

Ottavias obtaineth the rule of Britaine.

Westmerland assigned to the Scottishmen.

Peace confirmed againe betwixt the Britons and Picts.

Constantius assembling strength into Westmerland, he hearing at his enemies were at the turne thitherwards.

The persecution of the christians by Dioclesian.

Constantius persecuteth the christians.

Some of the Britains flee to the Scots to avoid persecution. Crathlint deliuereth the temples of the false gods in Man.

he Britains betray the Romans.

The first bishops see in Scotland. Sodorensis ecclesia. Crathlint departed out of this world.

he Romans discomfited.

ye slaughter of the mans.

Fincomarke.

Amphibalus.

ye Britons yielded themselves to Ottavias.

The church of saint Saviour, otherwise called Sodorensis ecclesia.

Constantius or Ottavias, as proprius nameth him, repeth the godme of itaine.

Culdei.

Constantius having got the ope, desired the gaine signifying to celebrat the true.

what yeere Fincomarke began his reigne.

*A counsell
kept at York.*

*Octavius
couereth to
inlarge his
dominion.*

*The Bri-
tains invade
Westmerland.*

*Craberus
returneth
into Britain.
Octavius is
vanquished by
Craberus.*

*Craberus by
a conspiracie
is murdered.
Octavius is
reconciled
with Fin-
comarke.*

*Octavius
entrench into
amrie with
the Britissh
king.*

*Octavius be-
commeth
tributarie
vnto the Ro-
man emperour.
17 of Constantine
emperor. H.B.
Fincomarke
deceased.
358. H.B.*

*Eugenius &
Ethodius
sons to Fin-
comarke.*

*Romacus,
Fethelmacus
and Angustanus
sonnes to
three severall
brethren pre-
tend a right
to the estate.*

Britains: but this promise was not long kept, for shortly after that Octavius had once chased all the Romans forth of the Britissh confines, and that Craberus was fled over into France, there was a counsell called at York, where it was not onely ordeined, that from thenceforth there should neuer any stranger be suffered to reigne over the Britains, but also that the bounds of the realme should be extended forth beyond the wall made (as before is recited) by the emperor Adrian, even vnto the old ancient bounds and limits, expelling forth the inhabitants of foreyn nations.

Such an immoderate lust of enlarging his dominion inflamed the hart of Octavius, that neither regard of his oth, nor remembrance of benefits received, might staie him from seeking to wzng the same, whose aid had resozed him vnto his former estate and dignitie, as before we haue rehearsed. For hereupon there were ten thousand men of war sent into Westmerland, to the intent to conquer the same out of the Scottisshmens hands: but being incoun- tred with a power of Scottisshmen & Picts, they were sharpelie repelled & quicklie put to flight. About the same time also, Craberus returned out of France with two legions of Romans and twentie thousand of other aids: and giuing battell vnto Octavius, he vanquished his armie, and constrained him for his refuge to flee vnto the mouth of Humber, where he got certeine vessels, and sailed into Forwaite, there to saue his life, because that Scotland was now no sure refuge for him. Thus was Craberus againe in possession of Britaine as lieutenant to Constantine the emperor: but shortly after he was by certeine conspirators in fauour of Octavius murdered, and then Octavius returned againe: as in the English chronicle is mentioned more at large.

Immediatlie vpon his returne, he reconciled himselfe with Fincomarke the Scottissh king, and was contented that he should quietlie inioy the countries of Westmerland and Cumberland, with such other territories as Carantius had granted in former time vnto Crathlint. He likewise sent vnto the king of the Picts, and concluded a friendship with him, to the intent he might haue aid from him also, if it chanced the Romans estones to invade his countrie, as shortly after they did, not ceasing till they had so wearied him with continuall wars, that in the end to be at rest (as his age and other necessities then required) he deliuered into their hands certeine castles and fortresses, and also became tributarie to the emperor, on condition that he might vse the office and name of a king all the residue of his daies. These things being thus quieted in Albion, the Romans, Britains, Scottisshmen and Picts, continued in friendlie peace without any notable trouble, till the ninth yeare of the reigne of Valentinian emperor of Rome: & first of Damasus the pope. In the which yeare Fincomarke king of Scots departed this life, after he had gouerned the estate about 47 yeeres. This was in the yeare of our redemption 172. This Fincomarke left behind him two sonnes, the one named Eugenius, being as then about 18 yeeres of age; the other hight Ethodius, and was yonger than his brother by one yeare, so that neither of them might succeed their father, by reason they were not of yeeres sufficient to rule, according to the ancient ordinance.

Hereupon a counsell was called in Argile, where there was hard hold betwixt the three nephews to king Crathlint, that were begotten by three of his brethren, which of them should gouerne the land: their names were Romacus, Fethelmacus, and Angustanus. Romacus had a Pictissh ladie of the bloud roiall of that nation to his mother, and for that his

father was eldest brother next vnto Crathlint, he looked to be preferred, though he himselfe was yonger in yeeres than either Fethelmacus or Angustanus. Fethelmacus gaue his consent with such voices as he had vnto Angustanus, wherewith Romacus being not a little offended, sought meanes to haue destroyed them both: but his practise being discovered, caused manie to withdraw their good wills from him, whereby his aduersaries were the more encouraged: and thereupon the counsell brake vp, either part deuising how to strengthen themselves against the others practises. But forasmuch as Angustanus vsed plaine meanes without any fraudulent dealing, he got the more friends, so that Romacus was constrained in the end to require aid of the king of Picts, who being nere of kin to him, might not denie his request. Angustanus therefore vnderstanding what danger he was in, if he fell into his aduersaries hands, got together an armie of such fauoured his cause, and in countering with him in battell was put flight, and forced to flee into the Westerne Isles with his counsell Fethelmacus, where remaining for a while, at length he was aduertised that the inhabitants had conspired against him, for doubt whereof he got him ouer into Ireland.

Angustanus being thus chased out of the relme, Romacus was receiued by the most part of the nobles and commons for their king. But as the accustomed manner of tyrants, comming thus to the gouernment of a realme through euill meanes, is to rule with crueltie, so did he behaue himselfe, according to that semblable rate, so soone as he thought himselfe to be sure of the estate. Wherefore such as had borne any euill will to Fincomarke, and were out of fauour in his daies, those did Romacus call vnto him, and afterward vsed their counsell aboue all other mens, aduancing them also to most high rule and rich offices. Againe, those which had bene in fauour with Fincomarke, or bare any affection toward his issue, he sought couertlie to bereaue them both of life, lands and goods, so that by such his doings, there was gathered no light suspicion, that he would likewise ver long find meanes to dispatch Ethodius and Eugenius the sons of the same Fincomarke, thereby to be the more assured of the crowne & kingdome it selfe. The two children also fearing as much on their owne behalfe, by the aduise and helpe of their trustie friends, consued themselves into Westmerland, and after ouer into the Ile of Man, where they remained looking for a date.

When began banishments, confiscations of goods, and slaughter of such as were thought to be fauourers of Angustanus cause, without respect either of sex or age, till the nobles of the realme being not a little moued with such his cruell doings, and tyrannicall gouernment, conspired together by secret meanes how to deliuer their countrie of so pernicious a tyrant. And to bring this their purpose the more speedilie to passe, they wrought so closelie, that they had assembled a great armie, and were come with the same within ten miles of the place where he then laie, yet he had any vnderstanding of their enterprize, so that whereas he (being vnprovided of resistance) assailed by sight towards Pictland to haue escaped their hands, it preuailed him nothing, for he was taken by the waie, and receiued such end as his former past life had verie well deserved, in the fourth yeare of his reigne: his head was set vpon the end of a pole, and carried about to be shewed vnto the people to their great reioysing. There were slain at the same time beside him, diuers Scots & Picts, of counsell with him in all his cruell practises.

After which execution done, they sent for Angustanus, who returned into Scotland, & was proclaimed king.

*Romacus
seeketh meanes
to destroye his
cousins.*

*Angustanus
with bright
dealing pur-
cheth the
more friend-
ship.*

*Romacus
vanquisheth
Angustanus.*

*Octavius
king of the
Picts make
the warres
vpon the
Scots.*

*Romacus
Romacus is
receiued for
king.*

*The Picts
discuss the
Scots.*

*Octavius
sires of r
venge.*

*The Scotts
lordis conspire
against Ro-
macus.*

*Octavius
sires the
Scots.*

*Romacus
apprehended
and put to
death.*

*Angustanus
proclaimed
king.*

king, as well by consent of the lords, as fauour of the commons. About the same time, because the Britains had slain the Roman lieutenant, the emperor Constantine sent one Aparimus thither to chastise the rebels, with whom the same Aparimus in countering in battell, gaue them a great overthrow. And within three daies after Octavius king of the Britains, through græfe, age, and long sickness, being consumed to the last point, departed this life. He left a sonne behind him named also Octavius, who doubting to fall into the hands of the Romans, fled into the Ile of Man, and remained there certaine yeeres unknowne with Eugenius and Etheodius, the sonnes of Fincomarke. The Britains also persisting in their rebellion, were oftentimes discomfited in battell by Aparimus, and soze by him persecuted, till he had brought them againe to their full subiection.

While these troubles continued in Britaine, Augustinus R. of Scots was soze disquieted by Pectanus king of Picts, who enforced himselfe to reuenge the death of his consine Romacus, making sundrie rodes & forraies into the Scotish confines, and greatlie indamaged the countrie, by spoiling of goods, murthering of the inhabitants, and burning of towne with villages; and in the end hauing his power increased by the aid of certaine Scotish men, which had borne good will vnto Romacus, he preased soze vpon Augustinus, that he had no remedie but to trie the hazard of battell in a pitched field; for no friendlie persuasions to haue peace or anie agreement could be heard, though Augustinus made humble sute to haue purchased the same. Wherefore perceiuing no hope of attonement, he prepared an armie, and met his enemies in the field, where (after soze fight and much slaughter) the victorie remained with Augustinus and Pectanus with his Picts were chased and forced to saue themselves by flight.

Pectanus himselfe neuer rested till he came vnto Camelon, where he called a counsell of his nobles to haue their aduise by what meanes he might be reuenged of the iniuries received by the Scots, whereof he was most desirous, not regarding into what danger he brought his owne realme, so he might somewhat ease his rancour and displeasure, which he had thus conceived against his enemies the Scots. Neither wanted there diuers great personages in that assemblie, which (to content his mind and to win fauour of him) set forward the matter in such earnest tosse that (notwithstanding what other could say to the contrarie) it was ordeined that with all speed an armie should be leuied, and led south into the Scotish borders. Pectanus hauing thus the consent of his nobles to invade the Scots anew, called men of warre to be taken by through all the parties of his dominion, and that of the choicest men that might be got; the which being once assembled, he staid not long but set forward with them, and entred into Balendar wood, spoiling and destroying all afoze him at his owne will and pleasure.

Augustinus vnderstanding his furie, and doubting least the Britains through letting on of the Romans should sette to ioine with the Picts, to the destruction of the Scots, thought good to assaie if by anie friendlie meanes he might bring Pectanus to fall vnto some reasonable point, rather than by the waies to indanger both the Pictish and Scotish estates, in putting the same in aduenture to fall into the hands of their ancient enemies the Romans and the Britains. Herevpon therefore he wrote vnto Pectanus a gentle letter, declaring therein all such dangers and inconueniences as might inuey this warre thus by him attempted. And againe,

how necessarie it were for both the nations to haue peace together as then, considering how it was not to be thought that Aparimus the Roman legat (hauing now all the Britains at his commandement) would rest (if occasion were offered) till that he had fullie subdued both the Scots and Picts: for the auoiding of which perill he offered for his part, to accept anie reasonable conditions of peace, that should by him be prescribed.

But Pectanus in no wise would giue eare to anie treatie of peace, so that Augustinus being forced to giue battell for defense of his subiects, brought his people into the field, and exhorting them to plaie the men with sundrie comfortable wordes, he placed them in order of battell. On the other part Pectanus likewise encouraged his folkes to doe valiantlie, so that the archers on both sides stepped forward, letting their arrowes flie frae one at an other, untill at length comming to handblowes they stroke on freshlie, beating downe and killing without sparing on either side, so that a good space the victorie was doubtfull. At length Augustinus perceiuing his people to be put to the worst, rushed south into the thicket of the prease amongst his enemies, where he was quicklie espied, oppressed with prease, and slaine out of hand. The most part of his people missing him, & not vnderstanding what was become of him, supposed that he had bene fled, and therefore fell also to running away; but the residue that stood still at their defense were slaine downe right. Thus the victorie remained with the Picts, but neither part had anie cause to reioice, for the captiues on both sides were slaine, besides manie thousands of other; so that aswell the one nation as the other departed from the place right pensife and sorrowfull, gaining manie a soze curse vnto such as had bene the procurers and nourishers of such detestable hatred betwixt those two nations, which had so long a time bene contained in the faithfull band of amitie, to the great quiet and wealth of both the countries. After this bloodie battell, aswell the Scots as Picts sat still for a season, not attempting anie enterprise of importance the one against the other.

Augustinus reigned not past two yeares before he was slaine thus in the field, as before ye haue heard, in whose place succeeded his consine Fethelmacus with little better successe: for in the second yeare of his reigne, desirous to be reuenged of the Picts, he assembled an armie, and entring into Angus, began to spoile & lea downe right all that was before him, without regard to impotent, aged, tender infants, or other. The Picts also being kindled herewith, gathered their power together, and incourting with the Scots, there was a soze battell fought betwixt them; but the Scots first putting the wings of their enemies host to flight, at length discomfited their maine battell also, being left naked on both sides of all aid or succour, great slaughter was made in the chase of the Picts as they fled hither and thither to saue themselves. So that among other, their king named Pectanus, brother to the aboue remembred Pectanus, being wounded with an arrow, died within three daies after this cruell conflict was ended. The courage of the Scots now being advanced with this their prosperous successe, they passed forthwith ouer the riuer of Taie, to rob, harrie, and spoile the countrie of Fife.

The Picts, perceiuing themselves not to be strong enough to match with their enemies in plaine field at hand-strokes, determined yet with skirmishes and light incounterings (if it were possible) to keepe them off from the winning of anie of their fenced towne, castles or strong holds. And to be the more able to mainteine themselves in this their purposed

Pectanus refused all offers of peace.

Augustinus and Pectanus ioine in battell south their armies.

Augustinus is slaine.

The Scots are discomfited.

Pectanus is also slaine.

Fethelmacus.

The Scots discomfit the Picts.

In other Pectanus king of the Picts dieth of hurts received in the fight with the Scots.

Romacus or hering or hering cousin.

Augustinus is by right reeling pursued the soze friends.

Romacus is by right reeling pursued the soze friends.

Romacus is by right reeling pursued the soze friends.

Romacus is by right reeling pursued the soze friends.

he Scotch do conspire against Romacus.

macus presented by put to rest.

Augustinus ordered ng.

Heirgust is
chosin king
of the Picts.

He pretended
treason.

Fethelmacus
is murdered
in his bed.

In the fift
yeare of the
emperour
Constantinus.

269. H.B.

Saint Kene
commeth into
Fife, then a
part of Pict-
land, and now
of Scotland.

The Scots
send into the
Iles of Man,
for Finco-
marke his
sonnes.

Eugenius.

Eugenius is
inued king.

The practice
of Marimus
to destroy the
Scots.

intention, they did chose on Heirgust to their king, a man of subtil nature and craftie imagination. This Heirgust devising how to deliuer his countrie of such an intollerable enimie as Fethelmacus was, procured two sic fellows Picts by nation, to counterfeit themselves for Scots, and for that they were cunning throwers of the dart, in which kind of exercise the same Fethelmacus toke great pleasure, they were appointed to make sute to be in seruice with him, to the intent that when they might espie their time, they should slea him, by one kind of meane or other.

They (according as they were instructed, comming into Scotland) found meanes not onelie to haue place in the kings house, but also to corrupt one of his musicians an harper, and to bying him to be of counsell with them in this their wicked purpose. By reason whereof, in one night as he laie at Carrike, where he was busie to make his prouision there for the warres against the Picts, the same musician (hauing place in the kings bed-chamber till he had brought him asleepe) did let in those two Pictish traitors, who soothwith slea him euen as he laie so sleeping: but the king growiing grauouslie at the death stroke, some of them that watched before the chamber dore perceiuing what was happened, followed after the murderers, who fled with all speed vnto the next mounteins, where they sought to defend themselves with hurling downe stones, vpon them that came vp towards them: but in the end, being taken, and confessing the deed, with the whole manner of the same, they were drawen in peeces with wild horses: the musician also being apprehended and convict of the treason, suffered semblable the like kind of death. Fethelmacus came to his end in the third yeare of his reigne, being the second yeare after the death of the emperour Valentinian.

In this season (as in times past hath bene belated) certeine bones of the apostle saint Andrew were brought forth of Achaia, a prouince in Grecia, into Scotland by a Greekish monke named Regulus Albatas, commonlie called S. Kene, a man in those daies highlie esteemed, for the opinion which the world had conceiued of him for his holie and vertuous life, to whome king Heirgust gaue his palace that stood in that part of Fife, where the same Regulus first landed; at whose contemplation also, he erected a church in old time called Kirkruill, that is, the church of S. Kene, afterwards named the old church of S. Andrews, standing in the abbie churchyard, where the chanons were wont to be buried. But to leaue this matter to the further report and credit of the Scottish chronicles, we will proceed with our purpose. After the death of Fethelmacus, the nobles and commons of the Scottish nation sent into the Ile of Man for Eugenius the sonne of king Fincomarke, where he with his brother Ethodius had remained, during the daies of the thre last remembered kings, Romacus, Angustanus, and Fethelmacus.

This Eugenius at his comming into Albanie was inued king of the Scots by common consent of all the nation. About the same season, Marimus the Romane lieutenant in Britaine, vnderstanding of the late dissention betwixt the Scottishmen and Picts, deuised which waies he might best subdue both those nations, thereby not onelie to enlarge the bounds of the Romane empire, and to deliuer the Britains from inuasions of those so cruell enimies, but also to haue the south part of the Ile more obedient and loiall vnto the same empire than heretofore it had bene. He thought god therefore in the beginning to assaie if he might ioint in friendship with the one of the nations, till he had destroy-

ed the other: for he considered it would be an hard peece of worke to haue to doe with them both at one instant. Wherevpon directing his letters vnto Heirgust king of the Picts, he required to renew the old league with him and his people, promising to aid him against the Scots, common enimies not onelie to the Pictish nation, but also to all such people as loved rest and quietnesse, as might easilie be persecuted by their continuall practise and vsage, euer seeking to disturbe their neighbors with roades & forraies, so that it stood with a generall commonwealth to haue them bitterlie destroyed and extirped.

Heirgust right iofull of these newes, gaue hartie thanks vnto almightie God, that had moued the Romane lieutenant to make such offer vnto him, whereby the furious rage of the Scots might be once repressed, and put away from his people; & therefore willing to confirme a friendship with the same lieutenant, he promised to renew the league betwixt the Romans and Picts, vpon anie reasonable conditions which he should deuise, not onelie requiring aid at this time against the said Scots, but also at all other, as occasion should demand. Marimus hauing receiued this answer, he found means also to come to a communication with Heirgust nere to Forke, where the league was confirmed betwixt them, and therein the Scots not onelie adiuaged for common enimies, both to the Romans and Britains, but also to the Picts: And further therewith were certeine orders appointed how the war should be pursued with all expedition against them. These things thus finished, and both the princes returned to their homes, Marimus sent an herald vnto Eugenius the Scottish king, commanding him on the behalfe of the Romane empire, to make restitution for all wrongs and iniuries done vnto the Pictish nation: And further, to deliuer into the hands of Heirgust the King of the Picts, the authors of the same wrongs and iniuries to be punished at his discretion, or if he would refuse thus to doe, that then he should looke to haue the emperour and the Romane people enimies vnto him and all his nation.

Eugenius for answer herevnto, declared that since he entred into the government of the Scottish estate, he had done nothing that might be thought prejudiciall either to the Romans or to the Britains their subiects: and as for the Picts, he would be glad to haue peace with them, if there might be amends made for all displeasures done on either part, according as should be thought to stand with equitie and reason. Neither did he see what cause the Romans should haue to make warres for the Picts against those that had done them no displeasure: but if it were so that he must needs haue wars, he would do what in him lay to defend the libertie of the Scottish nation, trusting chieflie in the succours of almightie God, who vsed to fauour the cause of the iust and innocent, against such as sought to wrong them vpon feined quarrels, without occasion giuen. Marimus receiuing this answer from Eugenius, assembled with all speed a strong & mightie armie of Romans, Britains, and Frenchmen, with the which entring into Westmerland, he spoiled that countrie most miserablie, taking diuers castles and strong holds by force, the which he furnished with garrisons of his people, and then passing into Arandale, burned and harried the same; from thence he entred into Galloway, omitting no kind of tyrannie that might be helmed against the inhabitants, so that the feare was great throughout all the countrie: for of manye yeares before, so great an armie had not bene seene in those parties.

Eugenius notwithstanding, gathering his power together, determined to trie the fortune of battell,

He senteth
vnto Heirgust
king of the
Picts.

Heirgust his
answere vnto
Marimus
his message.

Marimus
and Heirgust
ioint in friend-
ship, and the
Scots pro-
claimed eni-
mies to them
both.

In herald
sent from
Marimus
vnto Euge-
nius.

The answer
of Eugenius
vnto the he-
rald.

Marimus
raiseth a
mightie ar-
mie. He inuadeth
the Scottish
regions.

Crucifixion

Eugenius
gathering his
and

sendeth
to the
gust
of the
cra.

power fight
with his
enemies, and
in confusion.

The Romans
following to
the castle, re-
ceive damage.

Eugenius
breatheth up
his armie.

gust his
were unto
timus
message.

timus
being
in friend-
and the
to pro-
ced eni-
to them

Rebellion in
Kent.

could
rom
timus
Eugenius

inwere
genius
je he:

The Scots
damage the
Romans.

Marinus
distanced
genius.

Marinus
distances in-
suddenly the
Scots.

Eugenius
prepareth an
armie to de-
fend his coun-
trie.

women used
to the warres.

The number
of the Scottish
armie.

The approach
of Marinus
towards the
Scots.

the
ing his

and so joining with his enemies nere unto the wa-
ter of Cree, his people were quicklie put to flight,
and chased, by reason that they were much inferior
in number. But the Romans pursuing the chase,
happened to light amongst them of Argile, which
had not bene at the battell, but were coming to-
wards it, and now fiercelie incountring with such
as pursued their friends, they caused them to retire
backe with some losse, wherupon the other Scots al-
so (which were chased) returned, & gaue a fresh onset,
so that if night had not come on the sooner, there had
bene a far greater multitude of the Romans slaine
in that bickering than they themselves did thinke
of. Wherupon the Romans, doubting that their eni-
mies intended to doe, they fortified their campe that
night verie strongly; but Eugenius understanding
that a multitude of his folks were slaine in the bat-
tell, so that the verie streame of the water of Cree
was stopped up with dead carcases, he thought best
(with the advice of the pæres) to licence his people to
depart to their homes, and not to fight with his
enemies any more for that time.

Which being done, he himselfe repaired the same
night unto Carrike, where he remained for a sea-
son, making provision for defense of his realme the
best he could devise. Marinus having knowledge
in the morning how the Scots were quite gone
their waies, he determined to haue followed them;
but being certified of a rebellion amongst the
Britains in Kent, he changed his purpose, and re-
turned thitherwards, to appease that tumult, leaving
in Galloway a good part of his armie to keepe such
holds as he had got in that voiage. The yeare fol-
lowing, Marinus was so busied in the south parts
of Britaine, that he could not attend unto the
warres against the Scots, otherwise than in main-
teining such garrisons as he had placed in their
countries, by reason whereof sundrie bickerings
happened betwixt them of the same garrisons and
the Scots, who laboured not onelie to deliuer their
owne countrie out of the hands of all forrainers, but
also to invade and destroye Scotland, so that they har-
ried the countrie of Fife, with part of Menteith and
Sutherland, burning & waiking townes, castles,
and houses most cruelle.

Whereof Marinus being certified, made sen-
sible as though he were sore grieved therewith,
but inwardlie he could haue reioiced at nothing
more than to heare of the injuries don by the Scots
unto the Picts, supposing it to make chiefe for his
purpose; and hereupon preparing an armie against
the next summer, when he had disposed all things in
a quiet order amongst the Britains, he set forward
with the same towards Galloway, where being ar-
riued, there was no kind of crueltie spared against
the poore inhabitants. Eugenius in the meane time
understanding the coming of his enemies, mu-
stered his people, and appointed the assemblee to be
made in the countrie of Aile, which way he heard
that his enemies would trauell. Whither came also
not onlie all the able men of the Scottish dominions,
but likewise a great number of lustie & strong wo-
men apt to beare armour according to the old ac-
customed guise of their nation, so that there were
numbered in this armie fiftie thousand persons right
fierce and hardie, desirous either to vanquish the
enemie with dint of sword, or else to die presentlie in
the place.

Marinus hearing that the Scots were thus in-
camped in Aile, marched towards them, and lod-
ged the same night not far off from the riuer of
Gunda, where knowledge was giuen unto Euge-
nius, that Marinus was come within fife miles of
him, with a greater armie than he had at his last in-

countring with him in Galloway. The aduertise-
ments caused no small feare to be raised in the campe,
some being stricken with present feare: where other
contrariwise moued with high indignation, desired
nothing so much as to ioin in battell with the Ro-
mans, whose cruell tyrannie they much detested.
Eugenius himselfe shewed no countenance of feare
at all, but encouraging his people with comfortible
words, he brought them straight in order of battell,
divided into three wards, committing one of them
to the leading of his brother Ethodius, the second
to Doalus the gouernour of Argile, & reseruing the
third to himselfe. This done, he made unto them a
pithie oration, declaring how necessarie it was for
them to plaie the men, considering that in victorie
consisted the onelie hope of libertie; and in being
vanquished, their countrie was endangered to be
brought into perpetuall bondage for ever, for the
onelie marke which the Romans shot at, was to op-
presse the libertie of the whole Island, and to reduce
the same into the forme of a province, to be gover-
ned at the will of the victors, to the breach of all
their old ancient lawes & long continued customs.

With these and manie other like reasons he went
about to incourage the minds of his subjects in such
wise, that in manner the most part of them determi-
ned rather to die with honor, than to liue in such mi-
serie as they feared would ensue, if the victorie should
rest vpon the Romans side. And as they were in
such talke together, suddentlie commeth in one of
their scouts with newes, that Marinus with his ar-
mie was euen at hand. This was in the morning,
anon after the sunne was up, where he was not lo-
ked for till the evening following, in such way that
the same his sudder arrivall, chancing so farre contra-
rie to their former expectations, troubled all their
heads, and brought them into a great maze, for that
hereby they were constrained to change the order of
their battels to haue the sunne on their backs, as
they had prouided at the first it should haue bene, if
the enemies had not come untill the after none. Yet
notwithstanding, they had no sooner changed their
place, and gotten themselves into araic of battell
again, but that with great violence they pressed
forward to giue the onset vpon the Romans. Which
Marinus perceiuing, made all the speed he could to
set his men in order of battell, that he might receiue
his enemies coming thus to incounter him. So
both sides being fullie bent to battell, and approached
with in danger of shot, they let see the same most e-
gerlie, albeit that though hastie forth to ioin at
hand strokes, there was little hurt done with bolles
or darts.

The Scots crying vpon the name of their wor-
thy and famous ancesor king Gald, did late about
them, most fiercelie, after they came once to the ioi-
ning: and likewise the Romans, being incouraged
with the cherefull words of the lieutenant Parti-
mus, boldlie incountered them, so that it was doub-
full at the first whether part should haue the worse
end of the strife. But shortly there followed variable
success, for on the one part, they of Kesse and Par,
being appointed vnder Ethodius to incounter that
wing of the enemies where the Picts were, fought
so egerlie and with such fierce wils, that they easie-
ly put the Picts vnto flight, beating downe a great
number of them as they would haue passed the wa-
ter of Dune, but straightwaies after falling to the
spoile, they were slaine downe right by a legion of
such Romans as were sent by Marinus unto the
succours of the Picts.

On the other side, in the least wing those of Argile,
Cantire, Aile, and Coningham, who were matched
with the Britains, Frenchmen, and Germans, after
a long

Eugenius
comforteth
his people.

The sudder
arrivall of
Marinus.

The Scots
giue the onset.

The battels
ioine.

Doubtfull
fight.

Ethodius
overthroweth
the Picts.

The Scots
having van-
quished the
Picts, are
slaine by the
Romans.

long and cruell fight were there slaine in the place, greatlie to their fame and glozie for ever, so that by this means the maine battell of the Scottishmen, wherein Eugenius himselfe stood amongst his people, was left bare & naked on both the sides. Which Sparimus perceiuing, he caused the same to be assailed on each part with such violence, that in the end longer resistance preuailed not, but that their maine battell must needs be opened perforce, by means whereof Eugenius choosing rather to die in the place, than either to saue his life by flight, or by rendering himself into his enemies hands to liue in miserie, &c. was there slaine, together with a great number of his nobles and gentlemen, hauing determined by the example of their maister to die rather speedilie with hono^r, than longer to liue with shame and reproch. Thus Eugenius lost his life with his kingdome, in the third yere after his first entering to the rule, hauing inioied few good daies in rest during the said time.

The Scottish battell is ouerthrowne.

Eugenius is slaine.

The furious rage of the Scottish carsters.

Such of the Scots also as were appointed to keepe the cartage and trusse of the field, seeing their lords and maisters thus slaine, rushed forth with such weapons as they had at hand, in purpose to slea some number of their enemies, not passing though it should cost them also their owne liues, so that they might die reuenged. The slaughter was great which at the first was made, more through an obstinate desire of reuenge, than by anie valiant activitie: but this companie being anon broken in sunder, and driven backe, they were finally slaine & beaten downe. Whereouer, the Romans that pursued in chase after their enemies, when the battell was done, encountered with great numbers of such women and aged persons as followed a farre off, to vnderstand the successe of the field, doubting what hap might fall to their children and kinsfolks, whose slaughter when they perceiued, like people enraged they slue vpon such Romans as they met with; but being easilie banquished, and refusing to slea, they were also slaine and cut in peeces in a most miserable manner.

The Romans hauing thus rid the fields of all kind of enemies, lodged that night abroad here and there at their pleasure, where they might heare the dolefull groanings, and lamentable complaints of them that lay wounded, and as yet not dead, cursing most bitterlie the cruell tyrannie and conetous ambition of the Romans, with that most detestable disloyaltie of the Picts, procuring this murder and destruction of those people that had deserued farre otherwise at their hands. When the morning was come, & the light appeared, Sparimus the lieutenant caused the spoile of the dead bodies to be gathered, & equallie diuided amongst his men of warre. And such as were found sore wounded and not dead, to shew some token of clemencie, according to the old accustomed manner of the ancient Romans, he commanded surgeons to see to the cure of them. The other being dead, he suffered to be buried, causing the corps of Eugenius himselfe to be interred in most solemne and pompous sort, after the vsage of the Romanie princes.

The spoile diuided amongst the souldiers.

The buriall of the dead bodies by appointment of Sparimus.

Ethodius sore wounded, is committed to the cure of surgeons.

His brother Ethodius being found mangled in most pitifull wise, and in maner halfe dead, was also taken vp by commandment of the same Sparimus, and surgeons charged to haue the ordering of him, and to shew their diligence for the cure of his hurts in most speedie and gentle wise. The victorie thus atchiued, Sparimus surueteth the countries of Bille, Carrike, and Coningham, with that also of Calidone, and seizeth the same into his hands, suffering the inhabitants to inioy both gods and lands in peace and quietnesse vpon their othes of allegiance, without anie further molestation. Heirguist

king of the Picts with other the nobles of that nation, were nothing contented therewith, desirous to see the utter destruction of all the Scottish race. Wherevnto Sparimus at the first would not agree, alledging the ancient custome of the Romans, who sought rather to banquish by benefitts, than by the sword, euer vsing to spare such as submitted themselves, and in no wise to spot the honour or maiestie of their empire with crueltie.

Heirguist desirous to see the utter destruction of the Scots.

But the Picts not satisfied herewith, went about earnestlie to persuaide him in no condition to suffer the Scots to haue anie abiding within the confines of Britaine, if he wished anie quietnes in the estate thereof, for their delight (said the Picts) was onelie set to seeke occasion how to disturbe the peace, to liue by the pillage and spoile of their neighbours, and namely of the Picts, vnto whose confusion (as the prophetes spake) they were begotten and borne. Finally when all their earnest sute missed the wished effect, they fell to and assaied if they might bying that to passe by wicked meed and thorough corrupting bribes, the which they could not do by other means. And euen as it oftentimes chanceth in such cases, where words are but spent in wast, gifts yet preuaile: so also came it to passe euen here, for at length a proclamation came forth by procurement of the Picts, that all such as were naturall Scottishmen, should by a certeine daie auoid out of those countries that they possessed in Brittain, vpon paine of losing life and goods, & to deliuer by their houses and lands vnto such Britains and Picts as were appointed by the Romans for to inioy the same.

The earnest sute of the Picts to haue the Scottishmen banished and expelled out of the countrie.

Where sworbes saile, gifts preuaile.

The proclamation action for the auoiding of all Scottishmen forth of the whole Island of Brittain.

The Scots perceiuing themselves not able to make anie resistance, obeyed this commandment, some of them passing ouer into Ireland, some into the westerne Isles, and some of them got ouer also into Norwaie, and Denmarke, and manie there were that got intertainment amongst the Romans souldiers, and went ouer with them into France, as yet Gallia, to serue in the warres there, and in other places vnder the emperors ensignes. The Picts were so cruell and diligent to see all the Scottish lineage confined, that they would not consent that a certeine number of gentlewomen should remaine behind, who had their husbands slaine in the last warres, and made intercession in most lamentable wise vnto Sparimus, that they might be permitted to abide in their native countrie all the residue of their liues, though in seruile estate, to the end that they might be buried after the same were once ended in graues with their slaine husbands.

The Scots plagued for their headlie crueltie.

The cruell dealing of the Picts.

Whereouer, where Cartandis queene of the Scots, late wife vnto Eugenius, was brought vnto Sparimus, with two gentlewomen and a grome from the towne of hir husband, where she had remained euer sith his buriall in continuall mourning, forsomuch as she was a Brittain, and descended by lineage from the princes of Wales; Sparimus lamenting hir miserable case, assigned the citie of Carrike vnto hir, with certeine other reuenues for the maintenance of hir estate. But after she had taken leaue of such as had the conduction of hir, and was come into a villiage not farre from Carrike aforesaid, it chanced that a sort of Pictish riders, or (as I may call them) robbers, met with hir, small to hir profit, and lesse to their owne ease, for they did not onelie slea hir grome, but also beat hir gentlewomen, and stripped both them and hir of all that they had, whereof Sparimus being informed, caused them that had done so vile a deed to be apprehended & executed by death, according as they had deserued. The queene hirselfe being brought backe vnto Sparimus, and honorable intreated, had all hir substance restored vnto hir againe, so nere as it was possible.

Cartandis queene of Scots.

The Picts offend Sparimus

Cartandis lamenting her estate.

The mirth of the builted banthe Scottish monks

The title of the Scots were confirmed

5547.

379.

710.

The few years of the state. H. Stranbition. Swoop. Sweep. in the air

It rain birds.

Ethodius lined in Denma

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he bitter
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Dr. 18.

The Picts
allied with
Maximus.

Cartandis
lamenteth his
infortunate
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The monas-
tic of Iona
built by
banished
Scottish
monks.

The time that
the Scots
were thus
confined.

5547. H.B.

379. H.B.

710. H.B.

The second
year of Ju-
lian the Apo-
stata. H. B.
Strange
visions.
Swords and
weapons seen
in the aire.

It raineth
birds.

Ethodius con-
fined into
Denmarke.

But the Picts being offended herewith, and spe-
ciallie for putting to death of their men, sundrie of
their nobilitie came vnto Maximus, and began to
make a soze complaint in that behalfe, declaring
that the defects of their nation had not bene such fo-
ward the Romane empire, as to haue their people
put to execution for a womans sake, being both an
enemie and a prisoner, therefore they required that
the might be confined into Britaine, and according
to the tenor of the prescription, spoiled of all his
goods. Here Cartandis being present his selfe, be-
gan to make pittifull lamentation, bewailing his
most unhappie state, in that contrarie to the order of
his wretched case and present miserable fortune, he
should now be forced to turne againe into his coun-
trie: wishing rather than he should be enforced so
to do, that he might offer vp his life as a sacrifice
in the place of his husbands buriall: and therefore
holding vp his hands vnto Maximus in most pittifull
wise, he besought him instantlie, that it might
please him, either to suffer him to passe the residue of
his life after such sort as he thought best agreed with
his widowlike estate, or else to take the same from
his presentlie by some violent meanes of execution.

There was not a man other than the Picts, that
saw and heard him at that instant, but lamented his
woofull distresse, so that in the end the request of the
Picts was disallowed, & Cartandis hauing liuing
assigned him for the maintenance of his degree, was
licensed to depart into what place he thought expe-
dient, there to liue as he thought best without let or
disturbance. The same time the Scottish bishops and
priests, being banished as well as the other sort of
the Scottish people, a number of their monks got
them into the Ile of Iona, now called Colnehill,
where they erected a monastirie for their owne habi-
tation, the worthinesse whereof hath bene right fa-
mous, even vnto these our daies, as that which was
afterward indolued with manie faire reuenues by
diuers of the Scottish kings, who had their burials
there after the returne of the Scots into Albanie as
shall be hereafter exprest.

The yere in the which the Scottishmen were thus
vanquished by the Romans and Picts, and finalie
confined out of their seats, was from the creation
of the world 4319, after the birth of our saviour 352,
from the begynning of the Scottish kingdome 679,
and the third yere of Maxentius. The same yere
before Eugenius gaue battell vnto Maximus, ma-
nie strange sights were scene in the furthest part of
Albion, striking a wonderfull dread in manie mens
harts. In the night season in the aire were scene
fierie swords and other weapons moving in a long
ranke, after comming together on a heape, and be-
ing changed into an huge flame as it had been a fire-
brand, it then vanished awaie. The waters of the
riuier of Dune ran with blood, the banks of the same
riuier flashed oft times as they had bene all on a fire.
There were scene also a number of small birds fall
out of the aire so thicke, that it seemed it had rained
birds, and incontinentlie came a great number of
rauenes that deuoured by the same.

Certaine witches and soothsaiers, declaring that
these things betokened the destruction of the Sco-
tish kingdome, were commanded by the priests to
hold their peace on paine of death, as they that told
nothing but lies & fables, though afterwards their
tales proued most true. But to returne to our hi-
storie, Ethodius the brother of Eugenius being cur-
red (as is said) by commandement of Maximus,
was yet banished amongst the residue, and constrain-
ned to take an oth, that he should immediatlie re-
paire into Denmarke, and hereafter not to approch
nearer vnto the coasts of Albion, for doubt of some

new attempt that might be made by the Scots tho-
rough his meanes, thereby to returne into their
countrie againe, & to recouer their former state. But
this staied not them of the weserne Isles, but that
assembling themselves together, and chusing one
Gillo to their capitaine, they passed ouer into Argile,
where in the end they were incountred by such Picts
as were set there to defend that countrie, and slaine
each others souer. Their vessels were also taken
and brought into sundrie hauens of the countrie, to
serue for defense of the coasts vpon any new enter-
prise which the Scots should chance to make: but the
other Scots, perceiuing they were not able to sur-
uive forth a new armie in the Isles by any aid they
might purchase there, sailed ouer into Ireland, where
presenting themselves vnto the king of that region,
they declared vnto him from point to point all their
infortunate chances and lamentable calamities,
which were hapened vnto them of late through the
tyrannicall puissance of the Romans, and malicious
enue of the Picts, in such sort as nothing could be
more miserable than their present estate, considering
the ruine of so mightie a kingdome, and the finall
banishment of the inhabitants from their houses
and lands, which had bene in possession of them and
their elders, by the space almost of seuen hundred
yeres.

The Irish king with his nobles moued with pitie
to heare and vnderstand so dolefull calamities to
haue chanced vnto that nation, whose god or had hap-
could not but touch them verie nere, considering
they were descended both of one progenie, comforted
these Scottishmen to the best of their power, and in
the end concluded to aid them with ten thousand
men, and to furnish them forth with ships, vittels,
and munitions to passe into Albanie for recouerie
of their countrie. This aid being put in a readines,
and the ships rigged and decked as was requisite
for such an enterpryse, they took the sea, and landing
in Cantire, chanced to meet with Heirdasfane bro-
ther to Heirgud king of the Picts, accompanied
with a great number of Picts and Britains assem-
bled to defend the countrie, but being sharpelie af-
fected of the Scots and Irishmen, they were quicklie
put to flight, & such as were overtaken died on the
sword, to the great terror of all the new inhabitants
that were planted on their parts.

This victorie thus atchieued, there were that gaue
counsell not to attempt fortune ouer farre, but to
take such booties of goods and prisoners as they had
got in the countrie, and to returne therewith into
Ireland. Other were of a contrarie opinion, suppo-
sing it best to follow the victorie, and either to re-
couer againe their ancient seats, or else to die in the
bailiant attempt thereof. Which aduise was follo-
wed as the best, though it proued otherwise: for be-
fore they could come to any conclusion of that enter-
pryse, the Romans, Picts, and Britains gathered
themselves together, and gaue battell againe to the
Scottish and Irish companie, wherein they ouer-
threw them, to their bitter ruine and destruction.

The newes of this infortunate incounter being
brought into Ireland, put the king and his nobles
there in such feare of the Romans, that they thought
it best with all speed to send ambassadors vnto Ma-
ximus to sue vnto him for peace. They that were sent
at the first were soze blamed and checked by Ma-
ximus, for that they had aided the Scottishmen in the
last inuasion made into Albion: but at length accep-
ting their excuse, he granted a peace vpon certaine
conditions, whereof the most principall article was,
that in no wise they should receiue aid, or succor any
enemie to the Romane empire. This Maximus, ha-
uing got a quiet peace on each side, vsed all meanes
possible

Gillo chosen
captaine of the
banished
Scots in the
weserne Isles
comming into
Argile is ban-
quished by
the Picts.

The Scots
repaire into
Ireland.

The king of
Ireland with
his nobles
lament the
Scottishmens
case.
The Irish-
men conclude
to aid the
Scottishmen.

The Scots
and Irishmen
land in Can-
tire.
The Picts
incounter
with the
Scots and
Irishmen and
are discom-
fited.

The Scots
and Irishmen
are ouer-
throwne.

The king of
Ireland see-
keth for peace.
Maximus
granteth
peace to the
Irishmen.
Maximus
seeketh by his
bounteous
liberality to
win the peo-
ples fauour.

possible how to procure the loue of his souldiours and men of warre, shewing himselfe not onelie gentle, courtous and make towards them, but also so libe-
 rall and free, that his bounteous gifts passed all un-
 derstanding: in somuch that (as is reported by writ-
 ters) he bestowed in one daie nere hand as much in
 rewards, as the reuenues of Britaine yielded to the
 empire in a whole yere.

Maximus is
 chosen emper-
 or in Bri-
 taine.

Maximus re-
 lics the estate
 of Britaine 17
 yeres.

The emperor
 Gratian is
 slaine by
 Maximus.

This franke liberalitie and courtous behauior
 he vsed not onelie towards the Romans, and his o-
 ther men of warre, but also towards the Britains
 and Picts, conforming himselfe so nere vnto their
 maners & fashions, that at his comming into Pic-
 land, he laid a waie his Romane apparell, and araied
 himselfe in garments after the Pictish guise. By
 this manner of meanes therefore he wan him such
 loue and fauor, as well amongst his souldiours, as al-
 so amongst the Picts and Britains, that in the end
 by common consent they chose him for emperor, in
 the 38 yere after Christ, protesting generallie, that
 they would owe onelie their obessance vnto him as
 to their supreme gonernor. Here the Scottish chon-
 cles somewhat varie from other writers, who affirme
 that Maximus was thus aduanced to the imperiall
 dignitie, rather by constraint of his men of warre,
 than by anie meanes which he of himselfe vsed to at-
 taine vnto the same. Where the said chonicles re-
 uert themselves shew, that it came chieflie to passe by his
 olone seeking, procuring certelie persons to worke
 for him as instruments to frame other to this his
 purposed intent. He held the dominion of the empire
 being thus preferred to the imperiall state, the space
 of fife yeres, all the countries and people of Albion
 being at his commandement without contradi-
 ction: which had not chanced vnto anie one man befoze
 his time, since the Isle was first inhabited. At length
 desirous of moze empire, he passed ouer into France
 with a great armie, in purpose to subdue all France
 and Italie, with such other countries as were obedi-
 ent vnto Gratian as then emperor of Rome. But
 how prosperoulie he sped in the beginning, and how
 at length he was slaine at Aquilia in Italie, ye shall
 find in the historie of England a great deale moze at
 large.

By reason of such trouble in the estate of the Ro-
 mane empire, Maximus the sonne of Maximus late
 king of the Britains, the which (as before is said) fled
 into the Isle of Spain, & after departing from thence,
 got ouer into France, returned now into Britaine,
 and did so much there, that the Britains receiued him
 to their king: but shortly after he was constrained
 to agree with the Romane emperor Theodosius, so
 that the Britains should paie their wonted tribute,
 and lue vnder such lawes as by the emperor should
 be to them prescribed. In all other respects, Maximus
 should be reputed during his life for king. Immedi-
 atlie hereupon two lieutenants were sent from
 Theodosius, of whom the one named Spartian sojor-
 ned at London, and the other called Victorine at
 Poike. And with all expedition they began to put the
 Romane lawes in practice, abolishing the old British
 lawes, to the great offense of manie that could not
 well brooke strange ordinances; & namelie the Picts
 repined soze therat, and vsed most an end their olone
 lawes and constitutions, greatlie to the contempt of
 the Romane estate. Whereof Victorine, the one of
 the Romane lieutenants hauing knowledge, gaue
 strenght commandement vnto Veyrgust the Pictish
 king, that in no wise he should suffer the old lawes
 and rude ordinances of his countrie, to be vsed anie
 longer amongst his subiects, vpon paine that might
 insue for disobedience shewed towards the maiestie
 of the Romane empire.

Veyrgust now perceiuing into that shalldome

and miserie his countrie was brought, by meanes of
 the warres which he had procured against his neigh-
 bours the Scottishmen, as a man soze repenting his
 passed follie, and seeing no readie meane present how
 to reforme the same, being aged and soze broken with
 continuall sicknesse, he got himselfe secretlie into
 his priuie chamber, where immediatlie he slue him-
 selfe, to be rid of the sight of that present seruile
 state, into the which he saw both him and his whole
 countrie reduced. Whose death being once knowne,
 Victorine commanded that the Picts should not
 chose anie other from thenceforth to reigne as king
 ouer them, nor to obeie anie other magistrates but
 onlie such as should be appointed to haue the goner-
 nment of them, by commandement and commission
 of the Romane emperor. For it was agreed, as he al-
 leged, by the tenor of the league, concluded betwixt
 Veyrgust and Spartian, that after the deceasse of
 the same Veyrgust, all his dominions should be go-
 uerned by Romane officers in forme of a prouince.
 Howbeit the Picts nothing regarded the words of
 Victorine, but by common agreement did chose one
 Durstus the second sonne of Veyrgust to be their
 king.

Veyrgust dar-
 est himselfe.

The Picts
 are forbidden
 to create a
 king.

Durstus is
 chosen king
 of the Picts.

Whereupon Victorine being informed of their do-
 ings, raised a power, and made such speed towards
 them, that he was gotten so nere vnto the citie of
 Camelon, yer they had anie knowledge of his ap-
 proch, that Durstus with eicher of the nobles, being
 as then within the same, could not haue space to es-
 cape their waies, but being forthwith besieged with-
 in it, at length they were taken by force of assalt, and
 the citie sacked, to the great enriching of the Romane
 armie, and bitter vndowing of the poore inhabitants.
 Durstus with other the chieffest prisoners were first
 had vnto London, & from thence conueied to Rome,
 there to haue iudgement by decre of the senat. The
 residue of the nobles that were taken there, suffered
 in the market place at Camelon. Thus was that tri-
 mult appeased, and the Picts commanded to paie
 yearlie vnto the emperors procurator the fourth part
 of all their reuenues growing of their corne and cat-
 tell. Beside this tribute he charged them also with di-
 uerse base seruices, as to laboz in mettall mines, to
 dig stoness forth of the quarries, and to make hycke
 to be sent into Britaine, or into other places whi-
 ther it pleased him to command it.

Durstus is
 besieged of the
 Romans.

Durstus is
 brought pri-
 soner to London

The Picts
 become tri-
 butaries.

They are put
 to their base
 seruices.

The cause why he burdened them in such sort, was
 (as he said) to teach them to know themselves. For
 they were become so lottie, since the departure of the
 Scottishmen out of the Isle, that if they were not re-
 strained in time by authoritie of the Romane posses-
 sance, the whole British nation were like to be short-
 lie disquieted by their wilfull meanes and insolent
 presumptions. Neither was it thought sufficient vnto
 Victorine, to charge the Picts in maner as is be-
 fore specified; but to their further graunce he deu-
 sed an other waie, whereby to bring them in the end
 vnto utter destruction, which was this: he constrain-
 ed them together with their wiues, children, & whole
 families, to remoue beyond the water of Forth, and
 to leaue all the countries on this side the same wa-
 ter, as well those which they ancientlie had inhabited,
 as the other which of late appertained to the Scots,
 and were assigned to them by Spartian to possesse,
 after that the Scots were expelled.

The Picts
 are com-
 manded to dwell
 beyond the
 water of
 Forth.

All which countries thus by the Picts now less
 void, were appointed by Victorine to the Britains,
 as subiects to the empire, to be inhabited. And for a
 perfect diuision betwixt the Picts and the same Bri-
 tains, he commanded a wall to be made, & a trench
 to be cast alongst by the same, from Abircone
 through the territoie of Glasgow vnto Alcluth, or
 Aldecluth, now called Dunbarton, so running from
 the

A wall made
 to diuise the
 Britains
 from the
 Picts.

The Picts
 forbidden
 passe one
 yond that

The Se-
 line in on
 countrie;

Ethodius
 brother to
 Eugenius
 late king
 of Scotland

Ethodius
 son of E-
 thodius
 late king
 of Scotland

The Ro-
 mane an-
 tion of
 the empi-
 Rome.

Fergule
 sent to a
 Gotthys

Rome is

Fergule
 a captiue
 der Mar-
 and the
 kings of
 Gothes.
 Fergule
 is sent
 against the
 Picts in
 Dunbarton

D. Picti

The Picts
forbiden to
pass ouer be-
yond that wall

the east sea to the west. Hereof proclamation was made, that if anie of the Pictish nation did enter-
pise to passe this wall, and to enter into the British
confines without licence of the magistrats, he should
die for it. Whilste the Picts throug their owne fault
are thus brought into most miserable subiection of
the Romans, the Scottisshmen (as is said) being ban-
nished the land, liued in other countries by thylking
out the time so well as they might, some continuing
with their wiues and children, got a poze liuing with
their hands, exercising some science or occupation.
Other there were that followed the warres, and ser-
ued vnder sundrie worthie captains here and there,
as occasion serued.

The Scots
liue in other
countries.

Ethodius
brother vnto
Eugenius,
late king of
Scotland.

Ethas the
son of Etho-
dus begot
Fergule.

The Gotthes
make an expe-
dition against
the empire of
Rome.

Fergule was
sent to aid the
Gotthes.

Rome sacked.

Fergule was
captaine vnder
Alarike and
Athaulfe
kings of the
Gotthes.

Fergule with
hane returned
again from
Italy into
Denmarke.

St. Pinnian.

But Ethodius the brother of Eugenius comman-
ded (as is said) to go into Denmarke, was iustlie
receiued of the king there; who also gaue him an of-
fice, therewith to mainteine his degree, so that he li-
ued there certeine yeres in right honorable estate,
and begat of his wiue whome he brought thither with
him forth of Albanie, a sonne named Erthus, who
after his fathers deceasse had issue by his wiue called
Rochea (a labe of high parentage amongst the no-
bles of Denmarke, as daughter to one Roichus, se-
cond person of the realme) a sonne named Fergule,
whose chance was afterwards to restore the Sco-
tish nation againe to their former estate and king-
dome. In his pong yeres he was appointed to serue
vnder Alarike the Gotthish king in that famous voi-
age which he toke in hand against the Romane em-
pire. For such was the hate as then of all the noz-
therne regions & kingdoms towards the Romane
name, that by generall agrément they conspired to-
gether to the utter ruine and final destruction there-
of. And so ech of them sent forth a powe in aid of the
said Alarike, chosen by common consent as generall
of the whole enterprise.

Fergule being set forth by the king of Denmarke
with a powe of Danes, and with a chosen number
of such Scottisshmen as were withyrdone into those
parties, went with the better will, for that beside the
common quarell, he bare a priuate grudge towards
the Romans for the viling of his ancestors so cruellie
in expelling them out of their owne homes and na-
tue countrie. This Fergule was present with the
Gotthes at the winning of Rome, in the sacking
whereof, amongst other spoiles, he got (as is repor-
ted) a certeine chest full of booke, the which some hold
opinion he brought afterwards into the westerne
Iles, and caused them to be kept in Jona, now Col-
mekill, within a librarie there builded for the same
intent. Which booke (as is to be supposed) were cer-
teine histories or monuments of old antiquities.
But the same were so defaced in the daies of Hec-
tor Boetius (who, as he himselfe writeth, caused them
to be brought ouer to him to Aberdine) that it could
not be understood of what matter they intreated.

It is written moreover of Fergule, that he conti-
nued with Alarike in all his enterprises, so long as
he liued, and afterwards serued vnder his successor
Athaulfus, to his great fame, and in such honorable
estimation, as few were found comparable vnto
him in those daies. At length requiring a safe con-
duct to returne into Denmarke, he was licensed to
depart with high and right bountifull rewards, as
in part of recompense of his good and faithfull ser-
uice theued, during the time of the warres, as well
in the life time of the said Athaulfus, as also in the
daies of his predecessor the foresaid Alarike. About
the same season, the bishops se of Candida casa, o-
therwise called Dubitterne, was first instituted by
one Pinnian a preacher, that toke great paines (as
the report hath gone) to instruct the Picts and Wyl-
tains in the christian faith. He was afterwards re-

puted a saint, and the place of his burfall had in such
veneration, that manie fled to resort thither for de-
uotion sake, as the manner in times past was when
pilgrimage-goings were vsed.

But now to returne where we left touching the
Picts, and to shew the maner how the Scots retur-
ned againe into Albanie; ye shall vnderstand, that
the Picts being brought into seruile bondage (as
before we haue partlie declared) and doubting daile
of worse to insue, they sent secret messengers vnto
such Scots as remained in erile in the westerne
Iles, in Forwaie, and in other parts of the world,
promising them, if they would giue the attempt for
recoverye of their ancient dwelling places in Alba-
nie, they should be sure of all the aid that in them
laie, being readie to spend their liues to reuenge the
injuries which they daile sustained at the Romans
hands, whose continuall practise euer was, how to
opresse the ancient liberties of all such nations as
came vnder their subiection. The experience where-
of they now felt to their insufferable graenance,
looking for nothing else but thortlie to be expelled out
of their countrie, and dxiuen to go seke them other
places to inhabit in strange countries after the ma-
ner of outlawes, as it had chanced already to the
Scots by commandement of Spartinus, as before is
expresed.

Fergule, vnto whom amongst other this message
was chieflie directed, reioiced greatlie of the newes;
and first conferring with the king of Denmarke,
of whose aid he knew himselfe assured, by his aduise
he sent letters abroad forthwith into Forwaie, Wyl-
nie, the westerne Iles, and into Ireland, vnto such
of the Scottisshmen as dwelt in those places, to br-
derstand their minds herein. And being certified
that they were vniuersallie agreed, not onlie to
trie their chance for recoverye of their former state
and kingdome; but also had chosen him to be gouer-
nour and generall capteine in that enterprise; he
prepared partlie at his owne costs, and partlie at the
charges of the king of Denmarke and other of his
friends and alies there, a great multitude both of
men of warre and ships, in purpose to passe ouer in-
to Albanie to recover his grandfather's estate, which
as it was thought might now be the more easilie
brought to passe, sith the Picts would aid him there-
to, vpon an earnest desire which they had to reuenge
their owne injuries receiued at the Romans hands,
and to deliuer themselves from such thraldome as
they daile felt themselves oppressed with, doubting
withall thortlie to be quite expelled out of their
whole countrie, as they had bene forced to forgo a
great and the better part thereof already.

In this meane time, one Gratian descended of
the British blood, by consent of the Romane legat
Spartius (both of them going against their allegi-
ance) usurped the gouernance of Britaine by his
owne priuat authoritie; but thortlie after, they two
falling at variance together, the one of them slue the
other. And then the souldiers not staling till they vnder-
stood the pleasure of Honorius the emperour,
chose one Constantine to succeed in the place of
Spartius, who passing ouer into France, was slaine
there by Constantine one of the captians of the said
Honorius. Victorie the other of the Romane le-
gats hearing of the death both of Spartius and Con-
stantine, removed from Forke vnto London, the
better to prouide for the safe keeping of the land to
the emperour Honorius his vse; for that he doubted
sundrie dangers which might chance, by reason the
countrie was as then unprouided of men of warre,
the most part of them being transported ouer into
France with the fornamed Constantine, and not a-
gaine returned.

The Picts
sent into for-
ren countries
to call home
the Scots.

Fergule sent
vnto the
Scots dispe-
sed.

Fergule pro-
posed himselfe
to warre.

Gratian blas-
phemed the gouer-
nance of Wyl-
taine.

Spartius
slaine.

Constantine
succeedeth
Spartius.
Constantine
is slaine.
The lieute-
nant of the
north com-
meth to Lon-
don.

The

The Picts
send speedie
unto Fer-
guse.

Ferguse arri-
ued with his
ships in Mur-
rey firch.

The Picts
infullie re-
cieve Ferguse.

The Picts
crave pardon
excusing
themselves.

Ferguse.

The Picts
punished for
their un-
truthes.

The ancient
league renewed
againe be-
twixt the
Scots and
Picts.

The Scots
returned to
their coun-
tries.

Ferguse.

Ferguse is
conueied into
Argile, and
there inuested
king.

The Picts informed of these things, sent word with all speed unto Ferguse, requiring him to make hast, sith if he should have wished for a convenient time, a better could not be deuised; considering the present state of things as well in Brittain, as in other parts of the Romane empire, the people euerie where being ready to moue rebellion. Ferguse vnderstanding the whole, by such messengers as still came one after another vnto him from the Picts, he hastened to depart with all diligence; and when all things were ready, he toke the sea with his armie, and within eight daies after, he arriued in safetie within the firch of Murrey land with all his vessels and people; where taking land, & word thereof being brought into Ireland, into Dikerie, and into the westerne Isles, all such of the Scottish linage as liued in those parties in exile, came with their wiues, children, and whole families in most speedie wise vnto him; as though the countrie had bene already recovered out of the enemies hands, without all doubts of further perill or businesse.

The Picts also reioicing greatlie at the newes of his comming, repaired vnto him, and shewed him all the honor that might be deuised, beseeching him to pardon and forget all iniuries and displeasures by them wrought and continued in times past against the Scottish nation, sith now they were ready for the aduancement thereof to spend their lines against such as were enemies to the same. Neither was the fault theirs, in that Helrgust had consented with the Romans to banish the Scottish people, but in their ancestors, who being blinded through the faire words and sweet promises of the Romans, saw not the mischief which they brought vpon their owne heads and their posterities. Wherefore they desired him to renew againe the league betwixt the Pictish and Scottish nations, with such conditions of appointment as it should please him to prescribe.

Ferguse by consent of his nobles answered, that he was content to establish the league with them, even according to the tenor of the ancient agreement, and to ioin his power with theirs to helpe to restore them vnto their former estate and liberties, so that they would be contented to surrender vp into the Scottish mens hands, all such townes and countries, from the which they had bene expelled by great fraud and iniurie. And as for the displeasures done to the Scottishmen in times past by aiding the Romans against them (as he thought) the Picts had felt punishment enough for the same already, being reduced into most seruile & miserable bondage, as iustlie rewarded by almightie God for their great untruthes, used and shewed towards their neighbors, faithfull friends and allies. The Picts were throughlie pleased and satisfied with Ferguse his words, so that within few daies after, their king (whome they had lately chosen since the time that the Scottishmen were thus returned) came vnto Ferguse, and ratified the league with him, according to the articles of that other which in time past had bene obserued on the behalfe of the Scottish and Pictish nations, with such solemne othes and assurance, as betwixt princes in semblable cases of custome is requisite and necessarie. Then were those countries restored to the Scottishmen againe, out of the which they had bene expelled by the Romane power.

Ad Ferguse then being conueied with a right honorable companie of lords, gentlemen, and commons into Argile, was there placed on the chaire of marble, and proclaimed king with all such accustomed pompe and ceremonies as to him appertained. This was in the 45 yeare after the Scots had bene driven forth of Albanie, and after the birth of our sauour 424, in the yeare after the death of Ho-

norius the emperor, and from the first erection of the Scottish kingdom 750 yeares complet. All such castles also and fortresses as the Picts held within anie of those countries, which belonged vnto the Scots, were surrendered into their hands in peaceable wise; but the residue which the Romans kept were earnestlie defended for a while, though at length through want of victuals and other necessities, they likewise were deliuered. ¶ If I should here say what I thinke, and that mine opinion might passe for current coine, I would not sticke to affirme that either now first (or not long before their late supposed expulsion from hence) the Scots settled themselves to inhabit here within this Ile, and that they had no certaine seats in the same till then: but that comming either forth of Ireland, or from the westerne Isles, where they before inhabited, they used to make often inuasions into this land, greatlie molesting as well the Britains, the ancient inhabitants thereof, as the Romans that then held the Ile vnder their subiection. For I can neither persuade my selfe, nor with others to beleue, that there was anie such continuance in succession of kings, as their histories doe make mention; & as we haue here before set downe in following the same histories, because we will not willingleie seeme to offer iniurie to their nation, which peradventure are otherwise persuaded, and thinke the same succession to be most true, where other perchance may coniecture (and not moued thereto without good reason) that such kings as in their histories are auouched to reigne one after another here in this Ile, either reigned in Ireland, or in the out Isles, and that verelie not successiuelie, but diuerse of them at one season, and in diuerse places. Which mistaking of the course of histories hath bred errors, not onelie amongst the Scottish writers, but even amongst some of the British and English writers also, as to the learned and well aduised readers may plainelie appeare. And as for Cald, and some other hapilie which they take to be kings of Scots, although they reigned in that part of this Ile which afterwards was possessed by Scots, and after them named Scotland, yet were they mere Britains, and had little to doe with Scots; except perchance we may thinke that they held the out Isles in subiection, where the Scots were then inhabiting, far longer time perhaps (before their settling in Brittain) than their histories make mention.

But now to returne where we left. After that Alaozine the Romane legat was aduertised of all the fore-remembred doings of the Scottishmen and Picts, he caused an armie to be leued with all speed, and basted forth with the same vnto Forke, where being arriued, he attempted by an herald at armes to persuade the Picts to forsake their confederacie lately concluded with the Scots: but perceiving he could not bring it to passe, he determined to pursue both those nations with open warre: and so there, vpon setting forthward, he passed forth till he came nere Camelon, where he incamped with his whole armie, hauing therein (as the report went) about fiftie thousand persons at the least. Ferguse being aduertised hereof, & hauing in like maner already assembled a mightie huge host both of Scottishmen and Picts, came therewith ouer the Forth, & marched forth with all speed in the night season, in purpose to haue set on his enemies verie earlie in the dawning of the next morning. But Alaozine hauing knowledge thereof, commanded his men to be arranged and set in order of battell by the third watch of the same night, so that being ready to receiue the Scots vpon their first approach, there was fought a right sore and cruell battell, with such slaughter on both parts, that the riuer of Carron (nere vnto the which

422. H.B.
396. Io. Ma.
The 18 yeare
of the empe-
rour Honor-
rius. H.B.
755. H.B.

When the
Scots first
got certaine
seats here in
this Ile of
Brittain as
some thinke,

The
Carro-
neth is
bloud.

The
b
seuer
reason
creep:

The
ll
nant
fr
thing
d
hold,
neth
in
Acnt.

The
A
Picts
by the
camp.

Whole
ned to
Picts.

The
E
caus
b
appoint
of Alao-
zine
make a

The
E
men
&
inuer-
making
that was

Groune
wile
cal
Graham
his luns

Ferguse
with a
big
host

Diuerse
opinions
ching
the
ginal
being
of it
Graham

H.B.
o. Ma.
pece
npe-
nos
.B.
I.B.

he
first
cine
re in
of
ie as
nke,

The river of
Garon run-
neth with
blond.

The battell
secured by
reason of a
cramp.

The lieuten-
ant furni-
shing diuerse
holdes, retur-
neth into
Aunt.

The Scots &
Picts beate
up their
camps.

Whole offi-
ned to the
Pigs.

The Wile-
dams by the
appointment
of Vitorine
make a wall.

The Scottish
men & Picts
interrupt the
making of
that wall.

Graine, other
wise called
Graham, and
his lineage.

Fergus mar-
ried a daugh-
ter of Graine.

Diuerſitie of
opinions con-
cerning the ori-
ginall begin-
ning of the
Grains.

which their battels ioined) was well nere filled with dead bodies, and the water thereof so changed into a ruddie hue, that it seemed as though it had run al- together with blood.

In the end (whilst as yet it was doubtful to whether side the victorie would incline) there came such a sudden shower of raine, mixed with such great abundance of haillestones, that neither part was able to haue sight of other, so that by reason of the violent rage of that huge storme and tempest, either side was faine to withdraue from the other. There were slain in this battell such great numbers of men, as well on the one side as the other, that they had small lust to ioine in battell againe for certeine yeeres after. For the Roman lieutenant vnderstanding what losse of people he had sustained, without attempting anie further exploit, appointed certeine of his companies to lie in garrison within sundrie fortresses in Brittain, & with the residue he returned into Aent. In like sort the Scots with their confederates the Picts, perceiving themselves not able as then to make anie further attempt against their enemies, brake up their armie, and deuised onelie how they might defend that which they had already in possession.

And forasmuch as the Pictish nation was increas- ed vnto a greater multitude of people, than those countries which they then held were able to find with sufficient sustentance (considering what a great position of their ancient seats the Britains and Ro- mans kept from them) it was agreed by the Scots that they should inioy the countrie of Athole, with other lands bordering nere vnto the same, lieng without the compass of the mountaine of Oranzen- ben. The Picts then being placed in Athole, increas- ed there wonderfullie, and builded manie faire ca- stles and towers in those parties, to the great beautifing of that countrie. In which meane while, Vito- rine the Roman lieutenant commanded the Brit- tains to make haile with the wall (whereof ye haue heard) made of turf, and sustained with certeine posts of timber passing ouerthwart the borders be- twixt them and their enemies, beginning (as ye haue heard) at Abercorne, and so stretching south by Glas- co, and Kirkpatrick, euen vnto Aboluch, now Dun- blithon, 80 miles more northward than the other wall, which the emperor Adrian caused (as is said) to be made.

Whereof the Scots and Picts being informed, they assembled themselves together, & vnder the lea- ding of a noble man called Graine, they set vpon the Britains, as they were busie in working about the same, and slue not onelie a great number of la- bourers and souldiers, which were set to labour and defend the wourke, but also entering into the British borders, fetched from thence a great botie of cattell and other riches, which they found dispersed abroad in the countrie. This Graine (who as I said was chiefe in this enterprize) was brother vnto the Scottish quene, the wife of king Fergus, he was borne in Denmarke (as some hold opinion) in the time of the Scottismens banishment, and had a Scottishman to his father descended of a noble house, and a Da- nish ladie to his mother. He himselfe also married a noble woman of that nation, and had by hir a daugh- ter, whom Fergus by the persuation of the king of Denmarke took to wife, and had issue by hir (afors his coming into Scotland) three sonnes, Euge- nius, Dongarus, and Constantius, of whom here- after in their place mention shall be made, as occa- sion serueth. Wher there be, that affirme how this Graine was a Britaine borne, & that through hate which he bare towards the Romans for their cruell gouernement, he fled south of his native countrie,

and continued euer after amongst the Scots, as first in Denmarke, and afterwards in Albion, euer rea- die to do what displeasures he could deuise against the Romans & other their friends or subiects. Of this Graine those Scots, which vnto this day beare that surname, are said to be descended.

But now to the purpose. Ye shall vnderstand, that after that it was knowne in forein countries, how the Scots had got fort againe within those regions in Albion, which their elders in ancient time had pos- sessed, there came daile diuerse companies of that nation out of Spaine, France, Germanie, and Ita- lie (where during the time of their banishment they had serued vnder sundrie capitaines) vnto Fergus to aid him, in recouerie of their countrie and ancient seats, out of the which they had bene most cruelle expelled. So that Fergus now seeing his power thus not a little augmented by their coming, ente- red into the borders of Kile, Carike, and Coning- ham, spoiling and harrieng those countries on eu- rie side: but shortly thereupon commeth the armie of the Romans, with whom the Scots encounte- ring in battell, receiued no lesse damage than they minded to haue done vnto their aduersaries. Whe- reupon being forced to leaue that countrie, they drew backe into Argile, where Fergus wintered so, that part of the yeere which yet remained.

When summer was come, he was counselled to haue effrones offered battell vnto Vitorine, who as then was entered Gallowaie: and rather to trie the vttermost point of fortunes chance against him, than to susteine such displeasures and injuries at the Romans hands, as by them were daile done vnto him and his people. But there were other that gaue other aduice, alleging how the danger was great to leaue againe in battell with the Romans, be- ing men of such skill & practise in the seats of wars, considering what losse had chanced in the two for- mer battels. Again, there was great likelihood, that if he could be contented to forbear for a time, and seeke to defend the borders of his countrie, so well as he might without giuing battell, it must needs come to passe that shortly the Roman empire should be brought vnto such ruinous decate, by reason of the multitude of enemies, which as then inuaded the same on each side, that in the end Vitorine doubting his owne suertie, would conueie himselfe with his men of warre out of the countrie, and then should it be an easie matter for the Scots and Picts to reco- uer againe all such countries as ancientlie belonged to their elders, and wholie to restore the estates of their common-wealths vnto their former dignities.

This aduice was followed as the best and most likelie, so that making sundrie roads into the bor- ders of their enemies countries so to keepe them still occupied, Fergus and the Scots refused utterly to come to anie soughten field with them. Shortly af- ter also it chanced, that Vitorine was accused vnto the emperor Vponius of some secret practise against his maiestie, as to be about to blurpe the crowne of Britaine, wherevnto he was compelled in deed by the souldiers (whose hearts he had wonne through his bountious liberalitie sundrie waies declared to- wards them) and vnderstanding at this present, that he was minded to haue fled his waies for doubt of the said information made against him, they did moue him with such earnest persuasions to take vpon him the imperiall dignitie, promising euen to liue and die with him in defense thereof, as well against Vponius, as all other, that in the end he con- sented vnto their desires, and so was proclaimed em- peror, and clothed in purple, being thereto all the o- ther imperiall ornaments, as if he had bene empe- ro; indeed. But afterwards when one Heracianus was

The Scottish
men returne
into their
countrie.

Fergus in-
dueth the
confines of
the Britains.

The Scots
put to the
wilde.

Vitorine in-
dueth Gal-
loway.

Fergus is
induced to
fight with the
Romans.

The Roman
empire inua-
ded by barba-
rous nations.

Vitorine was
accused vnto
Vponius.

Vitorine tak-
eth vpon him
the name and
authoritie of
emperor in
Britaine.

Heracianus
is sent against
Altozine.

Altozine is
delivered into
the hands of
Heracianus.
Heracianus
is sent into
Africke.

Placidus
lieutenant of
Britaine.

The warre
renews by the
Scots.

The Scots
and Picts in-
vade the bor-
ders of their
enemies.

Placidus ga-
thereth a
power.
He encounte-
reth with his
enemies.

Placidus re-
couereth the
overthrow.
He flyeth to
York.

Placidus see-
keth to haue
peace.

A league con-
cluded be-
twixt Scots,
Picts, and
Romans.

Fergus di-
videth the land
in parts.

was sent with an armie by Honorius into Britaine against this Altozine, the most part of the souldiers, with those Britains which had acknowledged him for their supreme gouernour, began to feare the sequel of the matter, and afterwarde requiring pardon for their offenses, they took Altozine, and delivered him prisoner vnto the same Heracianus, with diuers other of his confederats, and so by this means was the estate of Britaine recovered vnto the behoofe of Honorius, who shortly after sent for Heracianus, minding to send him into Africke against one Athalus, who vsurped there against the Romane empire.

At his departure south of Britaine, he left one Placidus as lieutenant and generall of the Romane armie in those parties: a man of no great courage, and lesse skill, which being perceiued of the Scots, gaue occasion to Fergus their king to renew the warre. And first he procured Darfus king of the Picts, being the third of that name, to ioin with him in that enterprise, according to the articles of the league. Who consenting thereto, when their powers were once assembled, they entered into the marches of their enemies, ouerrunning the most part of Mide, Carrik, and Conningham, and after they had taken their pleasure there, they entered into Galloway, destroying all before them, which way sooner they passed. Then turning into Pictland, they subdued the whole region, and expelled all such Romans and Britains as inhabit the same.

Placidus being aduertised hereof, gathered a great power, and cometh forward towards them, with whom encountering in battell, after long fight, his horsemen chanced to be put to flight, so that the legions of his footmen being left naked on the sides, were so sore beaten with the shot of arrowes, and hurling of darts, that in the end they were forced to breake their arraie, & so being chased left to the Scots and Picts a great and full victorie. Placidus himselfe escapeth vnto York, whither the Scots were minded to haue pursued him, had not the want of such numbers as they had lost at the battell, somewhat abated their couragious intents. In the meane time Placidus not onely moued with this overthrow, but also weleng with himselfe after what sort the Romane empire was afflicted, with the invasion of the barbarous nations in Germanie, France, Spaine, Italie, and Africke, thought it good to conclude some peace with the Scots and Picts, for doubt of further mishaps that might insue. And so by such means as he made, shortly after a league was concluded betwixt the Scots, Picts, and Romans, with these conditions: that the Scots and Picts should injoy and keepe their ancient seates and regions, which they had now recovered, & hereafter not to make anie rodes or forreies into the prouince belonging to the Romans, and that the same Romans contenting themselves with the British confines, should not moue anie warre or hostilitie towards the Scots or Picts.

This league being thus concluded and ratified, the Scottishmen and Picts inducoured themselves to reduce the state of their common-wealth into the ancient forme and order. Fergus made partition of lands and grounds throughout all his kingdome, and assigned the same south vnto his subiects the Scottishmen, and to such other strangers as were come into Albion, to serue him in the wars against his enemies, and were minded now to remaine there. The other that were desirous to depart againe into their countries, he gaue them honorable rewards, with safe conducts to passe their waies at their owne pleasures. At this time also were the names of diuerse countries & people changed in the

parties of Scotland, vpon sundrie considerations: as Cornana a part of Scotland, lieng in the furthest end of all the countrie, took a new name of one Cathus a valiant capteine, and of the promontorie there shooting south into the sea called Fesse: so that being compound together, that countrie was cleped Cathnesse. Also of certeine Irishmen called Rossians, the countrie of Rosse took that name, being afore named Lugia.

That part of the countrie ancientlie called Thezalia, which lieth on the sea coast, began to be called Buthquhane, of the tribute used to be paid there for sheepe, of the which kind of cattell there is great store in that prouince. For Buthane in the old Scottish tongue signified tribute: and Buth, a flocke of sheepe. The other part of Thezalia, lieng into the landward, was called Bogdale, of the riuer named Bog, which runneth through the middelt of it. Louchquhaber took the name of a great meare or water, into the which the riuer of Dubaber falleth, and passeth through the same; notable by reason of the great plenty of lamons taken therein. Some other countries there be, which keepe their ancient names euen vnto this day, as Athole, and Murray land. And some names remaine a little changed by length of time, as Argile, for Argathile; Spar, for Sparthea; and such like.

Fergus also repaired such temples and churches as the warres had defaced, and restored againe churchmen vnto their former livings: and further increased the same where he saw cause, and builded certeine celles and chapels for religious persons to inhabit in, assigning vnto them large reuenues for their finding. He also laid the foundation of that famous abbey within the Ile of Iona, now Colmeckill, appointing the same for the buriall of kings, with certeine ordinances and customes to be used about the same. Moreover, in the time of peace he was not negligent in providing for the defense of his realme. Such castles as were decayed and overthrowne by the enemies in the warre time, he repaired; and in those which stood towards the borders of the British countries, he placed sundrie garrisons of such souldiers as wanted trades to get their living now in the time of peace, assigning them sufficient stipends to liue vpon.

In this meane time, Honorius the emperor being dead, and the estate of the Romane empire daily falling into decaye, it chanced also that Placidus the lieutenant of Britaine departed out of this life, by reason whereof the Scottishmen and Picts took occasion to renew the warres, making as it were a claime vnto the countries of Westmerland & Cumberland, which their elders in times past had held and possessed. Entering therefore into those countries, they take, spoile, and destroy all such of the British nation as went about to destroy them; neither spared they impotent, aged, or others, but shewed great crueltie against all such as came in their waies. Spaine an honest woman they rauished and misused after a most villanous manner. The Romane souldiers, after the decesse of Placidus, ordeined one Cassius to succeed in his roome, who being aduertised of this enterprise of the Scottishmen and Picts, doubted least (as the truth was) that Dionethus the sonne of Otauius sometime king of the Britains, in hope to attaine the crowne of Britaine, as due to him by inheritance, should now seeke to aid the Scottish king Fergus, whose sister he had in marriage. Cassius therefore more desirous of peace than of warres, sent south a messenger at armes vnto king Fergus, requiring him to remember the league made betwixt him and the Romans, and to withhold his power south of the prouinces, which were

The names
of diuers pla-
ces in Scot-
land changed.
Cathnesse,
whereof it is
now named.

Rosse.

Buthquhane.

The signifi-
cation of the
name of Buth
quhane.
Bogdale.

Louchquha-
ber.

Athole, Mur-
ray land.

Argile, for Ar-
gathile: and
Spar, for Spar-
thea.

Fergus re-
paired church-
es, and pro-
vided livings
for religious
persons.
The first foun-
dation of the
abbey within
the Ile of Jo-
na now
Colmeckill.

Fergus re-
paired his
castles.

Placidus the
lieutenant of
Britaine dieth.

The Scots &
Picts renew
the warre.

The crueltie
of the Scots
and Picts.

Cassius orde-
ined lieut-
enant of Bri-
taine.
Dionethus,
or Dionotus,
as some books
haue.

Cassius sent
south vnto
Fergus.

The
of
gall.

Cassius
sent
south.

Dionethus
sometime
the
against
Roma.

The
some
li.

The
gine
bi.

The
follow
chafe
t
vallyie

Dionethus
procla-
ming
of
taine.

Etius
nant
of
Roman
Franc
Gallie.

Maxim
sent
on
Britan

Maxim
causeth
Britaine
to
go
ag
the
Scot

were subiect vnto the same Romans, without proceeding anie further in that vnlawfull attempt, either else he should be sure to feele the puissant force of those people readie bent against him, by whom his elders had bene driven out of their countries, and banished quite forth of all their dwellings and places of habitation in Albion.

But hereto vnto was answer made with great indignation, that as for the league thus alledged, ceased by the death of Placidus; and as for peace, there was no cause why he should looke for anie; vntill the whole prouinces, both of Westmerland and Cumberland, were restored againe into the hands of the Scottishmen and Brits, according as of reason they ought to be. The like answer also was made by Durestus king of the Brits, vnto whom Cassius had sent a like message. Wherewithall the said Cassius being not a little moued, assemblith an armie, and with all speed marcheth forth toward his enemies: but before his entering into Westmerland, where they were as then lodged in campe, he had perfect knowledge how Dionethus with his Welshmen (for his lands late in Wales) was already iointed with the Scots.

Which newes soe appalled the hearts of the Brits, but yet being incouraged with comfortable wordes of their captains to proceed, forward they go together with the Romans, and within three daies after, they came within sight of their enemies, being ranged in battell readie to receive them, so that straightwaies buckeling together, there was a right fierce and cruell battell fought betwixt them, till finally the multitude of the Scottish archers and kernes so compassed in the battels of the Romans on each side, and speciallie on the backes, that in the end, and by reason of the losse of their generall Cassius (who was slaine there amongst them) those of the middle ward being discomfited, brake their array and fled.

Whereupon the residue likewise followed: the Scots, Brits, and Welshmen pursuing so egerlie without all order, that there was no small number of them distressed by the Romans, the which in their giuing backe, kept themselves close together, readie to defend themselves, and to beat downe such of there enemies as followed more rashlie than warlike in the chase, not once regarding to keepe any order of battell; but yet by other companies that pursued more orderlie together for their most advantage, there was great slaughter made, both of Romans and Brits.

After this victorie thus atchined, Dionethus was proclaimed king of Britaine, and soe warres continued in the land by the pursuit of the Welshmen, Scots, & Brits, to the great hazard of the prouince, and likelie expelling of all the Romans quite out of the same. About this time also there remained in France, one Clius lieutenant to the emperor Valentianus, who vnderstanding all these things by letters and messengers sent from the captiues which yet remained aliue in Britaine, appointed one Sparimianus being of kin to the emperor, to passe with an armie in all hast ouer into Britaine, to aid and succore the Romans, and such Brits there, as still continued in their allegiance which they had promised vnto the Romane empire.

This Sparimianus at his arrivall in the Island was most iollilie receiued by the follozors and subjects of the foresaid empire. All the lords and nobles of the countrie resorted also vnto him, shewing themselves most glad of his comming, & promising what aid soeuer they were able to make, to go with him against their enemies. Whereupon, procuring them to assemble their powers, and to ioint the same with his, which he had brought ouer with him, he passed through the countrie vnto Dyke, and so from

thence marched forth towards the Scots, being already assembled in campe to defend the countie of Westmerland against him. There were both the kings of Scots and Brits, Fergus and Durestus, with Dionethus, naming himselfe king of the Brits, who had brought with him, beside the Welshmen, a great number of those Brits that inhabited in the countries now accounted the marches of Wales, the which onelie amongst all other the Brits acknowledged him for king.

When both the armies were come nere together, they camped for that night the one in sight of the other, and in the morning following they prepared themselves to battell. Fergus first making an earnest oration vnto his people, to incourage them the more boldlie to giue the onset, declared amongst other things how the right was on their sides, which alwaies ought to minister hope of god successe in them that enterpryse anie thing in defense thereof; where contrarie all such as attempted to disquiet other by iniurie and wrong doing, could not but looke for an euill conclusion of their malicious intents and purposes. Neither were other of his captains negligent in their duties, but that both in exhorting their bands, they used most comfortable wordes, and in disposing them in good order of battell, they shewed most readie and earnest diligence.

On the other side, Sparimianus with his captains and officers of bands were as buisie on their side to array their battels most for their advantage, as they saw cause and occasion, so that both the armies being readie to fight, the onset was giuen, and that in most furious wise, the Romans being at the first sore annoyed with arrowes and darts, which flew so thicke from each side, that their sight was in manner taken from them, the skie seeming as it had been covered ouer with a pentife. So that Sparimianus perceiving this disadvantage, he caused a fresh legion of his soldiers to aduance forward to the succour of their fellows; by reason whereof the battell was forthwith most cruellie renewed, the hindermost wings of the Romans soe preasing vpon their enemies, so that in the end passing quite through their battels, they caused a great disorder and feare amongst those Scots and other their confederats, which were placed in the hindermost ranks. But yet casting themselves in a ring, they made great & stout resistance for a space, and at length a great number euen of the most valiant personages of the whole host, closed themselves together, and with maine force assailed to haue broken through the thickest prease of their enemies, but being inuironed about on each part, they were there slaine ech mothers sonne. Whilste the Romans drew together to resist on that side, other of the Scottishmen, Brits, Brits, & Welshmen, found a waie to get forth through their enemies on the other side, and so being gotten past them, made awaie as fast as their feet might beare them: but a great number being notwithstanding overtaken, were slaine and beaten downe right pittifullie.

Fergus the Scottish king, and Durestus king of the Brits were slaine in this most fall battell together, with the most part of all their nobilitie. Dionethus being sore wounded escaped to the sea side, and there getting a ship, passed ouer into Wales. This ouerthrow soe diminished both the Scottish and British nations, who looked for nothing more than present expulsion out of their countries, for Sparimianus pursuing the victorie, burst into Galloway, most cruellie waiking and spoiling the same. And when he had made an end there, he entred into Anandale, and into the Pictish confines, destroying all before him with fire and sword. Camelon was besieged, taken by force, and miserable put to sacke and spoile, with

The Scots and Brits assembled against the Romans.

The armies prepare to battell.

Fergus exhorteth his people to do valiantlie. Right ministereth hope of god successe.

The onset is giuen.

Sparimianus perceiving the disadvantage, poureth to remedie the same.

The Scots disordered.

The two kings Fergus and Durestus are slaine. Dionethus escapeth.

Sparimianus pursueth the victorie.

Camelon taken by force.

e names were pla- in Scot- changed, hiesle, reof it is imed.

The answer of king Fer- gus.

byquane,

signifi- n of the e of Duch ne, Dale,

chquy-

le, Dyr- ind,

le, for J; le: and, for thea, ruc re- h chur- and pro- h iuings hious ns, first foun n of the e Scottish le of Jo- no skil,

use re- y his s.

was the rant of in deth

Scots & renews rre.

ruellie Scots is s.

o cadet ite- Bri-

thick, vnto, e buds

ser- ro le.

Cassius rais- ing an armie.

Dionethus iointh with the Scots against the Romans.

The armies ioint in battell.

The Romans gae backe.

The Scots follow in the chase to rashlie.

Dionethus proclaimed king of Brit- tain.

Clius lieuten- ant of the Romans in France of Gallie.

Sparimianus sent ouer into Britaine.

Sparimianus causeth the Britains to ioint with him to go against the Scots.

The Scots
and Picts
withdrew be-
yond the wall
of Abircoyne.

dinerse other notable towne and places, as well be-
longing to the Picts as Scots. Neither was there
anic end of these cruell doings, till both the Scots &
Picts for their refuge were generallie constrained
to withdraw themselves beyond the wall of Abir-
coyne, which (as before is said) a few yeres passed
was begun by the Britains, and stretched from A-
bircoyne afore said, overthwart the land unto Alcluth
now Dunbarton.

Marinianus having thus driven his enemies be-
yond this wall, caused them to make assurance by
their oath of covenant, neuer to passe the same againe
by waie of hostilitie, either against the Britains or
Romans. There were that counselled Marinius
either bitterlie to haue destroyed both the Scots and
Picts, either els to haue driven them out of the whole
Ile. But he being satisfied with that which was alrea-
die done, thought good to returne vnto Rome, and
there to winter, that in the beginning of the next
spring he might go into Wales, to chastise Dione-
thus and other of that countrie for their rebellion,
in aiding the enemies of the empire. But when the time
came that he should haue set forward on that tour-
nie, he heard such newes from the parties of beyond
the seas, into what ruinous decaye the empire was
fallen, without anie likelihood of recouerie, that chan-
ging his purpose, he minded to usurpe the crowne of
Britaine as absolute king thereof himselfe. And to
haue the more fauor of the British nation without a-
nie impediment in the beginning of his reigne, he
tooke to wife one of the daughters of Dionethus,
being the elder of those two, which he onelie had with-
out issue male, by the sister of king Fergus. She
that was thus coupled in marriage with Marinius
was called Mithila, & the other daughter named U-
sula was professed a nun in an house of religion, to
the intent that the whole right which Dionethus pre-
tended to the realme, might remaine to the wife of
Marinianus. Then was Dionethus made second
person of the realme, as well in degree of honor, as
in publike gouernment.

Marinianus
taketh vpon
him the abso-
lute gouer-
nance of Bri-
taine, with the
imperiall
title.
He marrieth
Mithila the
daughter of
Dionethus.
Dionethus
reputed for se-
cond person of
the realme.

Eugenius.
Eugenius
created king
of Scots.

420. H.B.
760. H.B.

The bodie of
Fergus is
buried in the
abbey of Iona,
otherwise called
Colmekill.

Marinianus
granteth
peace to the
Scottishmen.

And whilste these things were thus a doing in
Britaine, the Scottish lords had created Euge-
nius the sonne of Fergus, king of their realme, as
due to him by rightfull succession from his father,
who had gouerned the same by the space of 16 yeres
per he was slaine (as before is specified) in the last
mentioned battell. This Eugenius began his reigne
(as we find) in the yere of our Lord 440, after the
first beginning of the Scottish kingdome 767. His
fathers corps, which at the first was secretlie buried,
as occasion suffered, whilste the Romans were yet
in the countrie, he caused to be taken vp, and conuei-
ed ouer into the Ile of Iona, otherwise called Col-
mekill, where, with all sollemne pompe and ceremo-
nies it was intumulated, according to the ordinance
which he himselfe had deuised in his life time, within
the abbey there.

In like manner Marinius, to the intent to es-
tablish himselfe the more quietlie in the estate of
Britaine, and to deliuer his subjects the Britains,
which bordered vpon the Scottish dominions, from all
trouble of warres, was contented to make peace
with the Scots vpon light sute made vnto him for
the same. After this also, he being once fullie establi-
shed in the estate of Britaine, coveted also to attaine
to the type in gouernment of the whole empire, and
therefore assembling all the forces of the British
youth, called into Gallia, causing himselfe to be pro-
claimed emperor, and so usurped that title; as in the
English and Italian historie you maie find more
largelie exprest. He left behind him in Britaine his
father in law Dionethus as chiefe gouernor there,
with one legion of Romane soldiors. After this did

Etius the emperors lieutenant in France, send for
such Romans as Marinius had left in Britaine,
who reuolting from their othes of allegiance giuen
vnto the same Marinius, obeyed Etius, as one
that supplied the roome of their rightfull lord and mas-
ter the emperor Valentinian. So that in this wise
was Britaine dispurued of all manner of able men
for defense, whereof the Scots and Picts took good
occasion to inuade the British borders, not sparing
to pursue with fire and sword all such of the Britains
as did yet continue in obissance to Marinius.

They first drove thole Britains out of all the coun-
tries, which had bene taken from them by the same
Marinius, and by other of the Romans and Bri-
tains, as Pictland, Kile, Carrick, and Coningham,
Galloway, the Marches, and Northumberland. This
done, they entered into Cumberland, Westmer-
land, and Kendall, not ceassing till they had spoiled
and desaced all those countries, with the most part of
all Yorkshire, in such cruell wise, that they made all
those quarters barren both of coyne and cattell, which
waie soeuer they passed. The Britains perceiving in-
to what danger they were brought, if some good re-
medie were not found in time, sent ouer with all speed
vnto Rome for succor to be had at the emperor Va-
lentinians hands, for Marinius was otherwise
occupied. Valentinian desirous to deliuer the Bri-
tains from such cruell enemies as the Scots & Picts
shelued themselves to be, least through their meanes
all the whole Ile should reuolt from the obedience of
the Romans, appointed one Gallio borne in Rauenn-
na, and as then sojournig about Paris in France,
with a legion of soldiors to passe ouer into Britaine,
to drive backe the Scots and Picts from further mo-
lestering the subjects of the empire.

The Scots and Picts, vpon knowledge had of
this Gallios arriuall, drew backe into their coun-
tries, not minding to fight with the Romans, whose
force they doubted, and not without cause, hauing
had in times past so manie ouerthrowes and slaugh-
ters at their hands. But Gallio pursued them euen
vnto the water of Forth, where in sundrie skirmi-
shes he slue no small number of them: and for that
he knew he should be sent for hostilie to returne a-
gaine into France, to helpe to resist such barbarous
nations as warred in the same, for the better defense
of the Britains against their enemies the Scots and
Picts (whome he knew would not be anie while in
quiet after he was once gone) he caused the wall to
be newlie made vp betwixt Abircoyne & the mouth
of Clude water, thereby to defend the Romane po-
uince from all sudden inuasions of the enemies. This
wall was earst made of turffe, but now repaired
with stone, and strengthened with great posts or
piles of wood, dyuen in betwixt in places most need-
full. It was also 8 foot broad, and 12 foot high. And in
certeine turrets cast forth vpon this wall, Gallio ap-
pointed watch & ward to be kept, that vpon the eni-
mies approach towards the same, warning might be
giuen by fire in the night, and by smoke in the day,
vnto such of the Britains as dwelled nere vpon those
borders (commandement being giuen vpon paine
of death for being found in the contrarie) that eue-
rie man vpon such knowledge had, should resort im-
mediatlie to the place appointed, with such armour
and weapen as for him was requist.

When Gallio had thus giuen order for the surteie
of the Britains, and deliuered them at that present
from the cruell hands of their enemies, he returned
into France with the armie that he brought with
him, according to the commandement which he had
from Etius the emperours lieutenant there. His
departure out of Britaine was no longer knowne of
the Scots and Picts, but that with all their maine
force

The Scots
and Picts in-
uade the Bri-
tains.

The proge-
rons successe
of the Sco-
tishmen.

The Bri-
tains require
aid of Valen-
tinian the em-
peror.

Gallio Ra-
uennas is
sent ouer into
Britaine.

The Scots
and Picts re-
fuse to giue
battell to the
Romans.

Gallio pursue
th the Scots
and Picts.

Gallio causeth
the wall of
Abircoyne to
be repaired.

The manner
of the build-
ing of that
wall.

The ordina-
tion of Gallio
for watch to
be kept of the
wall.

Gallio return
eth into
France.

The S
and P
inua
Brit
gaine.

The B
tains re
to the w
Bricor
defend it

The S
and P
proued
wall to
it.

Grain
teth the

The we
ouerth

The B
tains see
Pictlan
get their
felous on
the riuer
Tine.

The wa
Bricor
pared by
Britain

The cou
tries lie
north fro
the wall
dian di
amongst
Scots a
Picts.

The B
tains req
aid at th
hands of
tius.

The Scots
and Picts de-
termined to
maide the
Britains as
guile.

The Brit-
tains resort
to the wall of
Abircoyne to
defend it.

The Scots
and Picts ap-
proched the
wall to assault
it.

Graindike
with the wall.

The wall is
overthrowen.

The Brit-
tains leue
Pictland and
get them-
selues ouer
the riuer of
Tine.

The wall of
Adrian is re-
paired by the
Britains.

The coun-
tries lying
north from
the wall of A-
drian diuided
amongst the
Scots and
Picts.

The Brit-
tains require
aid at the
hands of E-
tius.

force they determined to set upon the Britains againe. So that assembling their powers together, the kings of both those nations exhorted their men to do valiantly. Eugenius the king of the Scotts men incouraged them through hope of high rewards and spoile. The Pictish king likewise for his part promised the lieutenantship of Cornet (an office of most honor amongst them) unto him that first should passe the wall of Abircoyne. Whereupon the Britains being aduertised of their enemies intentions according to the ordinance before appointed, drew in defendible wise unto that part of the wall, where they understood the Scots and Picts were minded to assault.

At length when the Scottish and Pictish kings were come to the wall, and had their people ready to giue the approach, they themselves stood apart somewhat out of danger of shot: and such bands as were appointed to assault, advanced forth of the maine battels vnder the leading of that Graime, the which (as ye haue heard) was chiefe in expelling the Britains when they had first made the same wall by continuall demerit of Marcian the Roman lieutenant. After they showed he leste proofe of his valiance at this time than he had don before. For though the Britains made earnest resistance, so far as their power would extend, yet at the length by great force the wall was undermined and thowen downe in sundrie places, so that the whole number of the Scots and Picts entered by the same into Pictland, beating downe the Britains on eche side that went about to make resistance, for none escaped their hands, but such as saved themselves by flight.

There came also an other power of Scots and Picts by water out of Fife, and landing in Pictland, pursued the Britains with more crueltie than the kings did themselves. Both houses and people persecuted by fire and sword, inasmuch that all such of the Britains as could get away, withdrew forth of the countrie, not staid till they came beyond the riuer of Tine; by reason whereof, all the countrie which lieth betwixt Tine and Tine was deliuered by appointment of the kings vnto the souldiers, to spoile and vse at their pleasure, whereupon followed manie notorious examples of crueltie, enuie, couetousnesse, wrath & malice. In the meane time, whilst the Scottish and Pictish men of warre applied there market, the Britains with all diligence repaired and newlie fortified the other wall begun (as is said) by the emperor Adrian, shooting ouerthrow the countrie from the riuer of Tine, vnto the riuer of Esk.

Howbeit the Scots and Picts, because winter approached, made no further attempt against the Britains at that time, but diuiding those countries which lie by north from the foresaid wall of Adrian, among themselves, according to the order in that behalfe appointed by their kings, they fortified certein castles and holds for defense of the same countries, as it were to countergarison such Britains as continuallie kept watch and ward vpon the foresaid wall. The Britains therefore mistrusting least so soon as the spring were come, the Scots would inuade their countries which lay on the south part of the same wall, breaking in by force through it, as they had done the yere before through the other wall of Abircoyne, they sent ambassadors vnto Etius the Roman lieutenant, gouerning Gallia now called France, vnder the emperor Valentinian, requiring to haue some aid and succour at his hands, whereby to resist such fierce and cruell enemies, as sought to destroy and expell out of their lands and houses, all such of the Britains as acknowledged themselves in anie manner of wise subjects vnto the

emperor. But Etius, whether he would not, or rather because he conuenientlie should not (for that he was in therwise occupied in defense of Gallia against the French men) made a direct answer that he had no men of warre in those to send ouer into Britaine, and therefore willed them to do what they could for their owne defense, for as of him they might none haue. The messengers returned home with this answer, and made report thereof in a publick assembly of all the British nobilitie, being as then gathered together at London to consult there for the estate and order of their countrie. Where after long deliberation (notwithstanding that they perceived they should haue no more aid from the Romans) it was yet determined, that to resist the enemies, the whole puissance of the British nation should be mustered; as well men as women, being able to do anie feat of seruice available in defense of their countrie, rather to trie the bettermost point of fortunes chance, than to suffer themselves to be ouerrun without resistance. But Conanus Camber, a prince of great authoritie amongst them, as one that was descended of the blood of Marcian sometime king of Britaine, went about with earnest persuasions to remove the residue of the nobilitie from this determination, aduising them to seeke for peace at the Scottish mens hands, rather than to trie the doubtful chance of Wars his iudgement, considering the feeblenesse of their whole force now, euer since that the tyrant Maximianus had in manner emptied and dispeopled the land of all such able men as were apt for seruice in the warres. But this aduise of Conanus was verie euill taken, & moued the multitude that heard him, to be greatly offended with his words, not sparing to say that he spake like no true man nor louer of his countrie; so that the former ordinance (that is to say, to seeke an end of the wars by dint of sword) was allowed for the best.

Whereupon there were musters taken, armour and weapon provided, and both day and place appointed, where they should assemble together to march forth towards the enimie. Conanus forelamenting their doings, called almightie God to record, that that which he had said, was spoken onelie for the loue & zeale which he bore to his countrie, & since his aduise might not be followed, he doubted greatly least the ruine of the British state by some fatall appointment drew fast vpon them. The people hearing him speake thus, some wilfull wicked persons fell vpon him, and slue him there presentlie amongst them: wherewith other being sore moued to indignation, set vpon the murderers, there to haue reuenged his death immediatlie. Whereupon began taking of parts, and together they went by the eares in such a furious wise, that sundrie amongst them being slaine, the magistrats had much adoe to appease the state.

In this meane time, whilst the Britains were thus busied in sending of their ambassadors to the Romans, & consulting together for defense of their countrie, the Scots first raced downe the wall of Abircoyne, not leauing one piece thereof whole, so that a few tokens excepted, nothing remaineth to be seene at this day of all that huge and wonderfull worke, it is called now in these daies Graindike, because that Graime was not onelie (as ye haue heard) chiefe in expelling the Britains from the same, but also at this time in the racing of it to the ground he was the greatest doer. Which being accomplished, the Scottish and Pictish kings assembled their powers, and ouerthrew all such fortresses as had not bene destroyed the yere before, standing on the northside of Adrians wall, the which wall the Brit-

Etius refused
to aid the
Britains and
sent no
aid.

The Brit-
tains for lacke
of the Ro-
mans, deter-
mine yet to
make resis-
tance.

Conanus
Camber
conueniently
the Britains
to seeke peace
at the Scottish
mens hands.

Britaine dis-
peopled of
warlike men by
Maximianus.

Conanus
counsel is re-
fused.

The Brit-
tains make
their appeals
to go against
the Scots.

Conanus is
slaine as-
mongst the
Britains.

The Scots
raze the wall
of Abircoyne.

Graindike.

The Scottish
and Pictish
kings inuade
the British
borderers.

Britains well
undermined
and over-
thrown.

Crueltie of
Scots.

The lords
of Britaine
take new ad-
vise.

Soe more
herof in
England.
The tenour of
the letters
sent unto Ce-
sius from the
Britains, as
is written by
Hec. Boetius.

faine had welolie fortified, but yet were not able to defend the same from the power of the enemies, who now bet upon the Britains with maine force; in so much that undermining the foundations of that wall in divers places; at length sundrie parts thereof were fencled into the ditch, so that the soldiers breaking in by the same; cruelly beate downe the Britains which stood at defence.

The entrie being thus made, both the kings with their powers marched forth into the south countries, commandment being given that no man should paine of death should kill any woman or child, aged person, or otherwise impotent and not able to beare armour. But this commandment in some places was but slenderlie obied; such desire of revenge was planted in the Scottish mens hearts, by reason of the remembrance of old injuries, that underneath they misdislike either of age or sex. To be short, all those countries which lie betwixt the rivers of Tyne and Humber, were wasted & spoiled, the whole number of the inhabitants (such as could make shift to escape the enemies hands) got them over the foresaid river of Humber, there to remaine as further out of danger. The report of which mischiefe being brought to London, the lords there (who as ye have heard were not all of one accord together) they took new advise, to redresse the present mischiefe in this manner. First they thought it best to send forth two ambassadors, one to the Scots & Picts to require a peace; & an other with letters to Ctesius the Romane lieutenant in France, for fresh aid and succour. The tenour of which letters as then sent unto Ctesius here insueth.

The lamentable complaints of the Britains unto Ctesius thise consist. At that time our elders became subjects unto the Romans, they understood by worthie proofes and notable examples, that the senate was a most safe refuge and haven, to be wished of all such as fled to the same for support. But we their posteritie by the pernicious working of the legat Maximianus, tending whole to our destruction, being spoiled both of force and substance, and therefore remaining in great danger of losing both kingdom and liues, through the sore and terrible invasion of our most cruell enemies the Scots and Picts, making humble sute for succours unto the Romane empire, according to the loiall trust and most assured confidence, the which ever like true and faithfull subjects we have reposed in the same, are yet neglected, & nothing regarded, but deliuered as a prey unto the barbarous nations to be spoiled, destroyed, and slaine in most pitious wise, which can not but be an euident signe, that either the Romans have changed their most commendable maners into the worst that may be deuised, either els their most large empire, thorough the wrath and high displeasure of almighty God, is now giuen for a prey unto other foren nations. But if it be so, that the fatal force of the time present doth require, that without all remedie the land of the Britains being taken awaie from the Romans, must needs be brought vnder the subiection of some barbarous nation, we neither abhorre nor refuse the gouernement of any people or nation, the Scots and Picts (the most cruell of all other) onelie excepted, whose crueltie we having long since too much tasted, are at this present brought unto that point by their late increased puissance, that we know not now after the losse of our gods and cattell, which way to safe gard our liues, for the turke walls being pulled downe, and the ditches filled up with earth, which aforesaid did somewhat staie them, now breaking in upon vs without letting passe any one kind of crueltie, they haue destroyed our fields, burned by our houses, towncs &

villages, beaten downe & rased euen to the ground our castles and towres; with such other places of defence; not sparing to put to the sword as well the innocent children, women, and impotent aged, as such other innumerable numbers of men, which they haue slaine standing at defence with weapon in hand. And as for vs, which are the residue of our decayed nation, they haue giuen euery one of vs a side, and from thence (because we cannot passe ouer) we are put backe vpon our enemies againe. And hereof proceed two kinds of our destruction; for either we are drowned in the raging floods; either els slaine most vnmisericordie by our cruel enemies. Therefore if the honor of the Romane people, if our assured loialtie and love, which we beare to the empire of Rome, now continued for the space of these 500 yeares of the reborn, may moue you to rue on our miseries, we humbly pray and beseech you, not to suffer vs longer to be trodden vnder foot of these our most beaustie and cruell enemies, but send vnto vs some conuenable succours and that with all speed, least we seeme to be more crueltie betrayed of the Romans, than brought to destruction by these barbarous people, and that we be not set forth as a notable example for all other to beware, how they put confidence hereafter either in the rule or friendship of the Romans.

Paulus Diaconus, Beda, Gessray of Monmouth, Veremound, and others make mention of these foresaid letters. Whereupon Ctesius answering, declared that those calamities, misfortunes and losses inflicted by the Britains were right displeasing vnto him, and so much the more, for that through the sundrie inuasions made; aswell into France as also into Italie itselfe; and into other parties of the Romane empire by people of sundrie nations, he could not as then spare any men of warre to send ouer vnto them, & therefore he willed the Britains to make the best shift they could to defend themselves for a time; till things were better quieted in other parties, and then should they see such redresse of their injuries provided, as they should thinke themselves to be verie well reuenged. About the same time that the ambassadors returned with this answer vnto London from Ctesius, the other also came backe forth of the north without hope of speed of that about the which they had bin sent, for the Scots & Picts would incline to no reasonable conditions of peace, vntill the Britains would whole submit themselves as subjects vnto them. The Britains hereat took such indignation, that by generall consent they agreed to trie it out with the enemies by maine force; & hereupon made their provision with all diligence. The Scots and Picts hearing of the Britains intent, gathered their people together with more speed than was thought possible for them to haue done, & forthwith rushed into the borders of their enemies countries in right puissant wise and most warlike order.

In the foreward went such as came forth of Galloway and Annandale, with those Picts which inhabited about the coasts of Barwicko. Then followed there a mighty battell of those which came forth of Argile, Athole, and other Picts inhabiting nere vnto the parties of Ialenbar and Camelone with them of Jife, and Angus. In the midst of this battell both the things kept their place with their choicest soldiers, and standards borne afore them. Then went the carriage and trusse of the armie, next whereunto a great number of noble men of both the nations followed in faire order of battell, with their servants and men of warre the best they could chose forth. And last of all (as the maner of those nations hath bene euen from the beginning) there came a great multitude of the commons closing by the back of the whole

The Brit-
ains doubt
to loine
with the
maine
armie of the
Scots and
Picts.

The Bri-
tains vpon
the Scot-
tish mens
refusal
to haue
per-
quire to
haue bat-
telle

The fierce
set giuen
by the
Britains

But not so
largely as
here is ex-
p-
sed.
The enuoy
of Ctesius.

Crimes a
shortie in
dering of
the
battell.

Chole of it
wellerne
I
coming to
the succours
the force wa
restored the
battell

The Bri-
tains run a
waie.

The numbe
of them that
were slaine
both sides.

The Bri-
tains make
humble sute
for peace.

Peace gran-
ted by the
Scots with
the conditor
of the same.

The Scots
and Picts
would agree
vpon no rea-
sonable con-
ditions of peace.

The Scots
and Picts
prepare a-
gainst the
Britains.

The order of
the Scots
and Picts
entring into
the lands of
the Britains.

whole aforesaid armie.

The Britains also comming forth into the field with their whole puissance to encounter their enemies, when they understood by espials the order and maine force of the Scots and Picts, they were halfe discouraged in their minds, and thought good therefore once againe to assaie if anie peace might be purchased. But sending forth their ambassadours unto the confederat kings, to that end their answer was, that except the Britains would yeld themselves, their wives and children, with all their goods and substance into the hands of their enemies, simple without all conditions, there would be no peace granted. When this was knowne abroad in the host of the Britains, that though kindeled fire on the one part, and soule despair on the other, pteuoking their minds to displeasure, they generallie upon charge of purpose required battell, euen all the whole number of them.

Whereof ensued a most cruell and mortall fight: for the Britains (as it were) resolved to die in defence of their countrie, and to reuenge their owne deaths upon their enemies, with more fiercenesse than is credible to be thought, gaue the onset, and notwithstanding a great number of their enemies, insomuch that those of Galloway and the Picts fighting in the fore ward with them of Argile, Athole, and such other as were in the battell with the kings, were in great danger to be put to the worke: which Graime perceiuing (by whome the most part of the armie was ruled, and that by commandement of both the kings) called forth a number of the Gallowaymen, who were appointed to attend the carriage, and sent them with all diligence to the fore ward to the succours of them of Galloway, being then at the point to haue sought refuge by flight. But by the comming of these Gallowaymen to their succours, they toke courage afresh, so that the battell was againe most fiercelie renewed, and so continued a space with great slaughter on both parts, till finally the Britains being oppressed with the multitude of their enemies, and not able longer to indure, fell to running abacke, thinking to saue themselves in certeine bogs, moasses, and marish grounds nere unto the place of the battell: but such coisellers, and other as remained with the Scottish carriage, seeing the discomfiture of their aduersaries, ran forth and pursued them into those marishes, killing and taking no small number of them. There were slaine in this battell of the Britains, about 15 thousand, and of the Scots and Picts nere hand foure thousand.

The Britains hauing recceiued this ouerthrow, saw no helpe which waie to recover their losses, but onelie to sue for peace at the victors hands. They sent therefore an orator vnto the Scottish & Pictish kings, beseeching them humble to grant them a peace, euen with what conditions it should please them to prescribe. The kings not moued onelie with the present fortune of the Britains, but also partlie with their owne, hauing lost no small number of right worthy personages in the battell, were contented to grant a peace vpon these conditions: That the Britains should in no wise receiue anie lieutenant or armie hereafter from Rome, nor suffer anie enemy of the Scottish and Pictish estates, of what nation soeuer he were, to passe through their countrie. They should enter into no league with anie citie or nation, nor be about to make anie warres without consent of the Scottish and Pictish kings, and further should be readie to serue them against all manner of enemies whensoever they should be sent for. Whereupon, they should remoue with their wives, children, and whole families out of all those countries, lieng betwixt Tyne and Humber, resigning

the possession of the same vnto the Scottishmen and Picts.

Also they should giue threescore thousand peeces of gold then current to the Scottish & Pictish kings, towards the dispatch of their soldiers wages, and further should yald as a tribute twentie thousand peeces of gold, to be paid yarelie vnto the seuerall vices of the victors. They should likewise deliuer one hundred hostages of such as the two kings should appoint, betwixt the age of eightene and thirtie yeres. These conditions of peace though they seemed verie strict & grauous to the British nobilitie, yet for that they understood not how to make a better bargaine, they persuaded the multitude to accept them, and so a league thereupon was concluded amongst those people, and the publike state of the land brought to a more quiet rule than it had bene before. Thus were the Britains made tributarie to the Scottishmen and Picts, about 500 yeres after Julius Cesar had brought them in subiection to the Romans, being in the yere after the birth of our Saviour 446, and of Eugenius his reigne ouer the Scottishmen the seventh.

In this season was the Ile of Albion soze infected with the heresie of the Pelagians, and therefore pope Celestine sent one Paladius a learned man vnto the Scots, to perserue them from that infection, and ordeined him bishop, the first in Scotland that had his inuestiture from Rome: for all the other before him were ordeined by the voices or suffrages of the people, choosing them forth among the monks and priests called Culdeis, as the Scottish chronicles do report. Paladius with right good and wholesome exhortations purged the Scots and Picts of sundrie superstitious rites of their old gentillish idolatrie, till those daies used amongst them, whereupon he is named and reputed for the Scottishmens apostle. He lieth at Fordune, a towne in Bernes, where his reliques remained, and were long after had in great estimation.

Whereupon he instituted one Seruan bishop of the Orkenies, that he might instruct the inhabitants there in the faith of Christ, which as yet they had not receiued: and one Teruan, whome he himselfe had baptised, he made archbishop of Pictland. In these daies also manie strange sights were seene in sundrie parts of Britaine before the last mentioned oratorholo: the moare being in plaine opposition to the sunne, when it should be most round, appeared in a quadrant figure. At Dorkie it rained blood: and trees in sundrie places being blasted, withered and died. The market place, or rather (if ye will so tearme it) Cheape side in London opened, so that a great hole appeared, and manie houses were swallowed vp. About the same season also (as is supposed) liued that huge personage Finnmacoell, a Scottishman borne of seven cubites in height. He was a great hunter, and soze feared of all men by reason of his mightie stature, and large lims: manie fables go abroad of him, not so agreeable to the likelihood of truth, as ought to be registred in an historie, and therefore here passed ouer with silence.

The Romane empire being brought into irrecoverable ruine by the Vandals, Gothes, Hunnes, Frenchmen, and other barbarous nations, occupying sundrie parts and portions thereof, put the Britains out of all hope to haue anie assistance from the emperors, which caused them to remaine in quiet certein yeres without attempting any exploit against the Scots or Picts, and so duellie paid their couenanted tribute, though soze against their wills, if they might otherwise haue remedied it. At the last about ten yeres after the conclusion of this last peace, it chanced that one Conanus the sonne of the aboue

60000 pound faith Balantine, after the rate of Scottish monie. 20000 pound faith the same Balantine, so that he esteemeth those peeces of gold to be of the value of French crownes.

The Britains tributarie to the Scots and Picts. 436. H.B.

The heresie of the Pelagians. Paladius sent into Scotland.

Of this Paladius take more in Ireland.

Paladius accomplished the apostle of Scotland.

Seruan bishop of Orkenie, and Teruan archbishop of Pictland. Unketh sights and strange wonders appeared.

Finnmacoell the great hunter.

Conanus & Britaine goeth about to persuaue his countreymen to break the peace concluded with the Scots and Picts.

The Britains doubt to come with the maine armie of the Scots and Picts.

The Britains upon the Scottish mens refusal to haue peace, require to haue battell.

The fierce onset giuen by the Britains.

Graines and thornie in ordering of the battell.

Those of the wellerne Isles comming to the succours of the fore ward, rescued the battell.

The Britains run abacke.

The number of them that were slaine on both sides.

The Britains make humble sute for peace.

Peace granted by the Scots with the conditions of the same.

Is as expected were

Is as expected were

Is as expected were

Is as expected were

Is as expected were

mentioned Conanus, descended of the blood of the Britains, sometimes kings of the Britains, foremaigned to see his countrie thus brought into thralldome of the Scottish nation, and devising how to find some redres, called together the most part of the British nobilitie, by secret message home to a manour place which he had within a thicke wood in the countrie of Kent, and there opening vnto them a great peece of his mind, perswaded them with the weightiest reasons he could imagine, to leue warre against the Scots and Picts, hauing at that present, meanes now since the last warres to mainteine it, as well by reason of their increase both of able men, as also of substance to furnish them withall.

The Britains hauing respect to their finnes & kinmen lieng in hostage should not agree to breake the peace.

The kings of the Scots & Picts offended with the conspyracie of the Britains, prescribe vnto them new articles to be performed.

Impudent seruilitie intruded vpon the Britains by the proud and cruel Scots, if it be true.

The commons of Britaine offended with their gouernours.

The commons of Britaine conspire against the nobles.

One estate of men cannot liue without helpe of another.

Where the nobles were of sundrie opinions: for some atwarred with the note of bondage, would gladly haue had warres: other hauing regard to their sons lieng in hostage with the enimies, would in no wise consent thereto: by reason whereof this counsell brake by without conclusion of anie effect. When eche man was returned to his home, there had bene some amongst them, that gaue knowledge to the confederate kings what motion had bene made, and what was intended against them. Whereupon they immediatlie determined, not onelie to cause the hostages to be executed, but also to pursue the rebels with fierce and cruell warres. Yet before they practised anie violence, they sent their ambassadoers vnto the Britains, to vnderstand their full meaning, and to declare vnto them further certeine articles which the said kings required to haue performed without all delaies, or else to looke for open warre out of hand.

The chiefeest points of which articles were these. First that the Britains should not assemble together in counsell without licence of the Scottish and Pictish kings, notwithstanding that their ancient lawes they might vse at their pleasure, but they should receiue no stranger into their countrie being a Roman or a Frenchman, neither merchant nor other. Their old hostages they should receiue home againe, and deliuer in exchange of them twise so manie in number of the like age and degree, as was couenanted by the former league. The commons of the land vnderstanding what was demanded by these ambassadoers, were in a wonderfull rage, and would haue made a great sturre if they had not bene quieted by the lords, who for their paines taken herein, got them an euill report amongst the inferior sort of people, as though through their want of stomach onlie, the common wealth was brought into such a miserable estate, that loke what it pleased the enimie to charge the British nation with, no man durst once speake against it.

This grudge of the commons increased so farre forth against their superiors, that after the Scottish and Pictish ambassadoers were returned home, with answer agreeable to their demandes, their arose incontinentlie a great commotion of the people, conspiring together the vtter destruction of the whole nobilitie. But their furie was repressed, so that they were ouerthrowne in battell at two severall times with great slaughter and bloodshed, whereupon they withdrew into the mounteins, and there kept themselves, making raises vpon the nobilitie, and setting boties awaite from the herds and flocks of cattell belonging to the lords and gentlemen: but finally through famine which began to oppresse both parties, they perceiued that need the one had of the others helpe, and so they agreed. This ciuill warre soe decayed the force of the Britains, for beside the great slaughter that was made betwixt them, by the anoyding of the commons out of their houses, the ground late butilled, thereof ensued a maruellous

great scarfitie and dearth of all things, by reason whereof an innumerable sort of people died. Yet shortly after followed such plentie, that those that were left alieue forgetting the passed miseries, gaue themselves to all kind of vice, which took such root in the hearts of the more part of them, that for anie man to vse anie manner of vertue amongst them, was a readie meane to procure great enuie and hatred.

Superfluous with occasion of vice.

Did sent into Britaine from the Britains.

In the meane time liued the Scottish and Pictish kings in god quiet and rest, applying their studies onelie how to instruat their people now after the warres were once ended, in laudable exercises and necessarie occupations, conuenient for the time of peace, whereby their realmes might flourish in welth and prosperitie without dread of anie foren power. For they saw such tokens of ruine in the British estate, as small likelithood appeared, that the same should at anie time be able to recouer againe the former force and dignitie. Finally the Scottish king Eugenius hauing aduanced the estate of his countrie vnto more felicitie and wealth than anie of his predecessors had euer done before him, after he had reigned thirtie yeeres, he ended his life about the fourth yeere of Leo, that usurped the empire of Constantinople.

The Scots apply themselves to peace.

Constantin proclaimed king of Britaine.

The assembly of the British armie.

The death of Eugenius the Scottish king.

But forsomuch as Eugenius left no issue behind him, his brother named Dongard succeeded in the estate. He began his reigne in the yeere 470, and his chiefeest studie was, according to his brothers example, to prouide for the maintenance of god order and iustice, appointing in euerie quarter men of god fame and report to haue the administration vnder him, with commandment that they should diligently foresee, that euerie man might intoy his owne. He himselfe took vpon him also to see to the repairing of such castles as were decayed, and to the building vp of new in places where he thought most expedient, specially nere to the British borders, for he well considered that peace increased riches, riches pride and presumption, with other finnes, which could not long indure without the plague of wars. Wherefore he doubting the changes of scofnell fortune, thought god in time of peace to prouide for the dangers of warre, when the same should happen vnto him.

Dongard.

Dongard king of Scots.

H.B. 461. The studie of Dongard for preservation of iustice and god orders.

The repairing of castles by Dongard.

The great earnestness of the Britains to recouer their libertie.

The Scots and Picts make their vessels. The Scots and Picts a good nere the Britains.

These ciuill policies and princelie prouisions for defense of his countrie and subjects increased the fame of Dongard mightilie, but that which he did towards the aduancement of religion did most excellently set forth his commendation. First, all such religious men as followed the trade of life taught by Basilidus and others, which came with him from Rome, he caused them to be highly reuerenced: and for the maintenance of their liuing, he assigned forth lands, houses, and other kinds of reuenues in diuers places of his realme, and granted not onelie vnto them, but also vnto all other, being within anie orders of clergie, sundrie priuileges, appointing that the churches & abbeies with other holie places should be infranchised and taken for sanctuaries, that all such as fled to the same for safegard of their liues, should be suffered to rest in peace, so long as they kept them within the same.

The boundions liberalitie of Dongard towards churchmen.

Sanctuaries.

Dongard exhorteth his people to lig mentalitie.

About the same time also, and whilst these things were thus aduing in Scotland, the Britains being awearied of their seruile estate, through the setting on of Conanus, conspired together, and took aduise by what meanes they might best seeke to deliuer themselves from the thralldome of Scots and Picts, and vpon aduise taken they concluded to send ouer into Britaine Armoz the some honorable ambassage vnto Androenus the king of that countrie for aid. Herewith was the archbishop of London appoint-

The Britains send into Britaine Armoz the some honorable ambassage vnto Androenus the king of that countrie for aid.

The kings the British armie are put backe.

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So sent into
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from the Br-
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tains.

Constantine
proclaimed
king of Brit-
taine.

The assemble
of the British
armie.

The great
enemies of
the Britains
to recover
their libertie.

The Scots
and Picts
make their ap-
proches.
The Scots
and Picts ap-
proch more to
the Britains.

Dongard ex-
horteth his
people to fight
manfullie.

The wings of
the British
armie are put
backe.

ted as chiefe ambassado: to go on that message, which archbishop used such diligence in the matter, that Constantine the sonne of the said Andronicus was appointed by his father with a competent power of men to go ouer into great Britaine to the aid of the British inhabitants there. Whereupon, when the men & ships with all necessarie provision were once ready, he embarked at Saint Palo, where the assemble was made, and taking the sea, sailed forth with prosperous wind and weather, which brought him safelie into great Britaine, where he landed at Eotnes in Denonshire, as you shall find in the chronicles of England. He was received with no small joy, and forthwith proclaimed king of Britaine, whereupon he promised to assaie to the uttermost of his power to recover againe their whole lands and liberties, and to mainteine them in the same according to their wished desires.

For the more speedie accomplishment hereof, commandement was first given, that all able men should be in a readinesse, and come together at a place appointed nere to the river of Humber within fortie daies after. Which order being taken by the assaie of the lords and nobles of the realme, the same was put in execution with such diligence, that few or none being apt to beare armor, withdrew themselves, euerie man in manner comming to the appointed place of the assemble, and offering to go against the enemies, so that it was a wonder to consider the consent of the people now ioined in one mind and will to recover their former libertie. When Constantine beheld such notable numbers of men, he supposed the same would haue sufficed not onelie to vanquish the Scots and Picts, but also utterlie to destroye & raze them out of all the confines of Albion.

When the newes of all this preparation for warres which the Britains made, was once signified to the Scots and Picts, they likewise made their apperres to meet with them in the field, and thereupon raising their powers, came forth with the same into Pothershire, and pitched their camps within foure miles where Constantine with his people was lodged, and the next day after, understanding how nere vnto the enemye they were, they raised and marched forthwards till they came within sight of him, as then incamped with his people aloft vpon certeine hills, nere to the aforesaid river side. Here both the kings of Scots and Picts lodging with their armies for that night, made readie for battell against the next day, and in the morning Dongard the Scottish king getting him to a little hill, called his men together, & there exhorted them by sundrie comfortable means of perswasion to put awaie all feare, and to fight valiantly, assuring them of victorie if they would keepe the order of battell by him appointed, and not rashlie breake forth of the same in following vpon the enemies when they fell to retiring backe.

He had scarce made an end of his words, but that diuerse of the standing watch came in, and declared how the Britains began to auale the hills where they had lodged, and that the Picts were got forth already in order of battell, and were marching forthwards to encounter them. Dongard shewing himselfe to be right iofull of these newes, commanded instantlie, that the standards should aduance forth, and euerie man to attend the same according to his appointed order. Also that no man should presume to take anie prisoner before the end of the battell, nor to yeld himselfe so long as life lasted. So that ioining with his enemies, there followed a verie fierce and cruell battell. At length both the wings of the Britains gaue backe from the Scottishmen & Picts, the middle ward abiding the brunt verie stoutlie. Where Constantine himselfe stood like a valiant

chieftaine, doing his endeavour to the uttermost of his power, vpon whome Dongard earnestlie preasing, and entering into the thickest throng of his enemies, was there beaten downe amongst the Armoirike Britains, and being about to get vp againe by helpe of his weapon, was againe felled to the earth, and slaine with manie a fore wound.

Winers of the Scots discomfited with this great mishap, fell to running awaie: other kindled with more wrath laid about them more egerlie. The Picts also, for their part fought most constantlie, so that the battell continuing vntill none daie with doubtfull successe, at length the Britains were constrained to fearfull flight, declared that the victorie remained with their enemies. There died in this mortall battell nere to the point of 16 thousand of the Britains, and of the Scots & Picts about 14 thousand, with Dongard and the Scottish king. Constantine the day next after the battell, withdrew southwards. The Scots carried away with them the corpes of their dead king, and conueieng it into the Ile of Iona, now called Colmekill, there buried it in kinglie wise. Dongard was thus slaine, in the first yere of his reigne, after the birth of our Sauio: 475 yeres, and about the second yere of Zeno the emperoz.

After him succeeded in gouernment of the Scottish kingdome Constantine the brother of the above rehearsed Eugenius, a prince unlike in noble vertues vnto his brother the said Eugenius. For though in him there appered some good tokens of commendable towardnesse, as he seemed outwardlie to shew, yet was he given more vnto wanton pleasure and lust, than to the regard of the good rule and gouernment of his subiects, a desolour of virgins, a rauiher of honest matrones, and aboue all, a fauourer of backbiters and slanderers; neuer shewing anie iofull countenance amongst his nobles, but amongst scoffing lechers and other vile persons he was as pleasant and merie as the iocundest man aliue. Thus though he represented the British king Constantine in name, yet in manners he far differed from him: for the British Constantine studieng to aduance the commonwealthe of his subiects, trained them in laudable exercises, & reduced them from their former euill vices vnto ciuill order and good customs. Contrariwise, the Scottish Constantine did nothing whereby praisse at all, after he was once instituted king, but followed still his owne inordinate lust and sensuall appetite.

He granted peace vnto the Britains they scarce requiring the same, releasing not onelie the tribute, but also deliuering vp into their hands by secret meanes diuers castles standing vpon the riuer of Humber. Manie other things he was about to haue done to the great prejudice and hinderance of the Scottish estate, had not the nobles of the realme the sooner withstood his rash and vnadvised attempts. Such malice also was ingendred in the hearts of the most part of the nobilitie towards him, that had it not bene through the wholesome admonition & perswasion of Dongall of Galloway, a noble man of right reuerend authoritie amongst them, they had leuiued ciuill wars against him, but the foresaid Dongall declaring to them the great danger and inconuenience that might thereof insue, restrained their wrathfull minds from enterprising anie thing against him by force, so that for certeine yeres they suffered and bare with this his misordered gouernment.

In the meane while the Picts noting the want of all vertuous qualitties thus in the king of Scots, and againe that tokens of valiant courage appered in the king of the Britains, doubted least if he should

Dongard is
slaine.

The Brit-
tains are put
to flight.

465. H.B.
8 of Leo. H.B.

Constantine.
Constantine
the first of that
name is crea-
ted king of
Scots.

Constantine
the Scottish
king nothing
like in noble
conditions
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stantine king
of the Brit-
tains.

Peace grant-
ed vnto the
Britains, and
diuers castles
deliuered into
their hands.

The good
counsel of
Dongall.

The Picts
stand in feare
of the king of
Britaine,
for he

take to revenge old injuries against them, they should be little able to match him without aid of the Scots (whereof they had small trust now), by reason of the insufficiency of the Scottish king) they devised a meane how to rid the British king out of the waie, and so appointing certaine sic fellows to go into Britaine for the accomplishment of their devised purpose, at length the same was brought to passe, as in the English chronicles ye shall find more at large, though in the same chronicles there is mention made but of one Pias that should worke this feat, where the Scottish writers record of divers, which nevertheless were apprehended, and after bound both hand and foot, were cast into a mightie great fire, and therein burnt to ashes in most miserable wise, as by the said Scottish writers it appeareth. The death of this Constantine king of Britains happened in the 15 yere of Constantine king of Scots, neither lived he long after: for having raulshed a noble mans daughter, borne in the Iwerterne Isles, he was slaine by his father in the night season, after he had reigned in great infamie for his reprochfull life, the space of 17 yeres.

Constantine the Scottish king is slaine by one whose daughter he had raulshed, Anno 481.

Dongall. Dongall the sonne of Dongard is made king of Scotland.

The politike rule of Dongall.

Then was Dongall his nephue, as sonne to his brother Dongard, proclaimed king, a prince of disposition indifferent either to peace or warre, though in the beginning of his reigne he shewed himselfe more desirous of peace than of warres, by reason the state of the common-wealth so required, considering how things stood not all in the best order, though his predecessors negligence. Dongall therefore desirous of a reformation, appointed men of great wisdom and good fame to be iudges and officers under him, who in redressing misorders, in punishing transgressions, & in deciding of all strifes and contentions betwixt partie & partie, did so well their endeavour, that peace and concord thereupon insuing, the people recovered peaceable rest and quietnesse, to their no small comfort and contentation.

Constantinus a monke elected king of Britaine.

Uostigerne treason. Constantinus murdered.

In this meane while that things passed thus among the Scots, by the procurement of one Uostigerne, Constantinus the eldest sonne of the late deceased Constantine king of Britains, was taken out of an abbey, where he was shorne a monke, and advanced to the kingdome: but being not meet of himselfe to gouverne, Uostigerne had the whole rule committed to his hands, whereupon he first caused the league to be renewed betwixt the Britains, the Scots, and Pias, and appointed a gard of the same Scots and Pias to be attendant on the kings person: in the end also he procured some of them to murder the king, and after put all the said Scots and Pias to death, as well the guiltie as the vnguiltie, and finally made himselfe king, as in the historie of England you shall find more at large expressed.

The Scots and Pias (for displeasure that their countrymen which had bene appointed to gard the person of Constantinus king of the Britains, were maliciously circumvented, & the more part of them wrongfullie executed) made sundrie roades and forraides into the British borders, neither sparing fire nor sword where they came. So that the said Uostigerne by a greivous report informed hereof, caused an armie with all speed to be lent, and appointed Guitellus the prince of Wales to haue the leading thereof against the enemies: whilke he (doubting least the people would not be ruled by him, for that it was known how he would haue made awaie Constantines children) kept him about London, & durst not commit himselfe so much to the sight of a multitude, as to go forth in that iourne in his owne person.

Guitellus general of the British army

Guitellus, in respect of the loue which he bare to his country, purposing to serue truelie in defense

thereof, chanced vpon his approach to the borders to take the number of five hundred of the enemies, being advanced from the residue to fetch a bottie. These Guitellus caused to be hanged, as condemned for robbers and pillers of the countrey afore anie outbreak of warre was denounced. Whereupon such other as escaped by flight, and had seene their fellows thus executed, declared vnto their gouernors what had happened vnto their fellows. The confederate kings, being in a great chafe herewith, gather together their people, and haste forward with all speed toward the enemies, who at the first shewed manifest tokens that they were sore afraid of the Scottish and British power: whereupon Guitellus their generall with comfortable words willed them to be of good courage, and not to doubt of victorie, hauing for iust cause to fight with truce-breakers, and such as were giuen more vnto pillage and spoile, than to anie other commendable exercise or practise of warre.

Cansteth five hundred of the enemies to be hanged.

The Scottish and British kings gather their people to resist the Britains. Guitellus encourages the appalled hearts of his men of warre with comfortable words.

With such and sundrie other the like words the Britains being emboldened, as might well appere by their change of countenances, Guitellus thereupon remoued his campe more nere vnto his enemies, so that at the first and for certaine daies together, there chanced onelic diuers skirmishes betwixt the parties, as occasion serued. But at length the one being sore moued against the other, they ioine in a pight field. The beginning of which battell was very fierce and doubtfull. For on that side where Dongall the Scottish king fought, the Britains hostlie began to preuaile, through the faint fighting of his people: which danger Calanus the British king quicklie perceiving, forthwith provided remedie: for taking with him certaine bands out of his owne battell, willing the residue to stand to it manfully, and in no wise to giue ground to the enimie, he himselfe with the said bands fetched a compasse about, and set vpon the backs of them that so had ouermatched the Scots.

The Britains ioine in a pight field with the Scots and Pias. The Scots are put backe. Calanus king of Pias forceth the Scots.

This sudden chance sore disordered the Britains, and immediatlie the Scots encouraged afresh, assailed their enemies with more eger minds than they had done at the first, so that maintanentlie both the wings of the British armie were utterlie discomfited. And herewith a certaine number of the Pias were commanded by their king to make haste to win the campe of the Britains, that such as sought to escape by flight, should find no refuge in the same. Thus the Britains being chased and slaine on euery side, they knew not whither to flee: so that in the end a great number of them throwing awaie their weapons, yelded themselves, most humble craving mercie at their enemies hands. There were slaine in this battell about twentie thousand of the Britains, together with their generall Guitellus, and a great number of other of the nobilitie. There died also of the Scots and Pias nere hand foure thousand. The prisoners with the spoile of the field were diuided by appointment of the kings amongst the souldiers. Which done, they marched forth into the countrey to conquire castles and townes, such as stood in their waie.

The wings of the Britains put in flight. The campe of the Britains won. The Britains chased, know not whither to flee. Guitellus with twentie thousand Britains slaine. Foure thousand Scots and Pias slaine.

In the meane time, the Britains being sore discomfited with the ouerthrow, assembled a councill at London, there to deuise by what meanes they might best defend their countrey from the imminent danger in the which it now stood. Uostigerne as one guiltie in conscience, doubted least through want of good will in his commons, he should not be able to withstand the mightie inuasion of his enemies, whereupon he was minded to haue auoided the realm, but there were of his councill that aduised him to the contrarie, holding, that better it was for him to trie the bittermost point of fortunes hap, than with

A councill holden at London.

Uostigerne doubting the hatred of his people, would haue fled out of his realm.

The Britains banqued. The Scots won and the Britains coward.

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Woztgerne to
counselled to
send for aid into
to Germanie.

Woztgerne and
Hengist were
retained in service
with Woztgerne.

The Saxons
together with
a power of
Britains are
first to the help-
ers of the
enemies coun-
tries.

The Saxons
in hope of good
success be-
gin the wars
against the
Scots with
honor.

The king of
Brits sendeth
his aid unto
the Scottish
king.

The king of
the Brits
broughteth
the Saxons
down upon
the Brits
and the Woz-
tgerne noted of
cowardise.

Woztgerne so to peck at the first blow of his forward
hand, considering the abundance of treasure which
he had in those, wherewith he might wage soldiers
and men of warre out of Germanie & other places,
in number sufficient to match with his enemies.
His counsell as the best was folloved; and messen-
gers with commission & sufficient instructions sent
with all speed into Germanie, to retaine a number
of Saxons, and to bring them over into Britaine, to
serve against the Scots and Brits in wages, with
Woztgerne.

At the same time there were amongst those Sax-
ons two brethren, defended by rightfull usage of
the paines of that nation, who being reputed for va-
liant captaines, appointed with the Brits commis-
saries for a certaine summe of monie to take by
their prescribed number of men, & to receive charge
of them as colonels, aswell for their conuoye over
into Britaine, as also for their service there; after
their arrival. The one of these two brethren was cal-
led Hengist or Engist, and the other Woztgerne, who ha-
ving their appointed numbers since filled, contain-
ing about ten thousand soldiers in the whole, they
bestowed them abroad in thirtie hulks, boies, and
platts, and in the same transported them over into
Britaine, in the 449 yeere after Christ, as our histo-
ries do affirme: where they were received with
great joy and gladnesse of Woztgerne, who trusted
by their aid to overcome his fierce and dreadfull eni-
mies.

Therefore when they had refreshed themselves
somewhat after their trauell by sea, they were sent
forth with an other armie which Woztgerne had as-
sembled of his owne subiects the Britains, to the
frontiers of the enmies countrie, where at their first
comming they passed over the river of Humber, be-
fore the Scots or Brits had knowledge that anie
such people were come in support of the Britains to
bid them battell. They being therefore amazed with
the strangenesse of the thing, some of them fled into
the inner parts of their countrie, & other that made
but soyle shift, fell into the hands of the Saxons, who
to begin their enterprize with blood, slay all such as
they could laie hands upon, without anie respect
of person. Great was the slaughter by them commit-
ted in all those parties where they passed, namelic a-
bout the river of Tine. And when they had made an
end there, they entred into Northumberland, and so
into the dales aboue Berwik, next adjoining unto
Widland, destroyng all before them with fire and
sword.

The British king in the meane time had sent un-
to Dongall the king of Scots to come with all speed
to support him against the dreadfull invasion of
the enemies, whose force being now increased with a
power of Saxons, would worke much mischief, if
the same were not the more speedie in the begin-
ning repressed: but hearing that the Saxons and
Britains daily approached, he thought not good to tar-
rie for the comming of the Scots, but hastned forth
with his owne power to encounter his adversaries,
and rashly giving battell, he was overcome, and
thereby lost no small number of his people. In this
confusion the Saxons won them a great name for
their high valiance, where contrarie the Britains
got them no small note of gillie cowardise, fighting
to faultie, that their captaines had much ado to cause
them to keepe their ground, being readie still to have
run awate: which their faintnesse of stomach being
noted of Hengist, even then put him in no small
confidence that it should be an easie matter for him
to conquere them at his pleasure, when time and oc-
casion might serue thereto.

The British nation having received this grievous

overthrow at the hands of their cruell enemies, sent
againe an other ambassage unto the Scottish king
Congall, to signifie to him by way of lamentation,
what losse had happened to them by that most cruell
people the Saxons void of all religion and merite,
and what mischiefes by the same people was inten-
ded, aswell against Scots as Brits, unto the great
danger of the utter ruine of both nations; if the eni-
mies in time were not resisted. They that wrote
sent, declared all this matter unto king Congall,
and as they had in commission, besought him of spee-
die succors. Congall not onlie moved for the harms
and losses of the Brits his friends and allies, but al-
so much more for the likelihood of the imminent dan-
ger and perill towarde himselfe and his whole peo-
ple, determined speedie to go to the helpe of his
people, and to the Brits, as fully resolved to pre-
uent that mischief which was like to follow, if the
bloot rage of the enemies were not the slier re-
sisted.

He sent word therefore to the British king, that
if he might keepe off the enemies by light skirmishes
and incursions for a small time, he would come to
his aid shortly, with all the whole puissance of his
realme. And herewithall he commanded by open
proclamation, that all those within his dominions,
which were able to beate armour should by the twen-
tith day after assemble together at the south side of
Callidon wood, all and euerie of them bringing ther
and there with them vittells sufficient to serue them
for two moneths. According to the which proclama-
tion, there came together at the day and place assig-
ned, about the number of 40000 able men, fit and
meet for the warres. On the morrow after, when
Congall had taken the musters & betw of his whole
numbers, he set forward towards the place where
he understood that the king of the Brits as then lod-
ged, who had likewise assembled his people, and in
campe taried for the comming of the Scottish armie.
On the fift day after, both the kings met together,
and shewed great tokens of intire loue and friend-
ship the one towards the other. After this they go to
beate diuine service, where they make their deuout
prayers unto almighty God for their good speed and
luckie success in that iourne: which being done,
they march forth toward the enemies, as then lieng
in campe not past ten miles from them. Here at the
first sight of the enemies, diuers of the Scots and
Brits being stricken with feare to behold so great a
multitude, as the like had not bene seene in those
parties manie a day before, they scale away and se-
cretlie hid themselves in the next woods. But the
kings, to giue example to other, caused them that
were thus shole away, to be sought out, & brought
again into the campe, where they were hanged in
open sight of all the armie.

The Saxons & Britains also upon the approach of
their enemies gathered their companies together, &
maintenantlie herewith the Saxons encouraged
with such comfortable speech as Hengist offered a-
mongest them, required to haue battell without de-
lay: whose example the Britains following, shewed
themselves also right willing therunto. Congall
the Scottish king perceiving the enemies to make
readie for battell, went likewise amongst his folks,
and exhorted them in best wise he could, to play the
men. The like also did Galanus the British king a-
mongest his people, omitting nothing that might
incourage them to fight manfully. After this, the
battell on both sides comming forward to some, the
arrows and darts flue freshlie betwixt them, but
neither part minding to giue place for all the shot,
at length they ioined at handblowes, first the Bri-
tains in the right wing with the Scots in the left
wing;

The Brits
effronces soli-
cit the Scots
for aid.

Congall promi-
sed to aid the
Brits.

Promission
made by the
Scots to aid
the Brits.

The Scottish
and British
kings assem-
ble together
with their
powers.

The Scots
and Brits
come within
sight of the
enemies.

The Scots,
through com-
fort of Hen-
gists exhorta-
tion desire
battell.

The Scottish
and British
kings exhort
their people to
fight valiant-
lie.

The battell
is begun.

The Brit-
tains are.

A great tem-
pest.

The Saxons
close them-
selves toge-
ther.

The Scots
and Picts
pursue the
Britains.

The Saxons
assault the
Scots and
Picts disor-
dered in pur-
sue of the
Britains.

Hengist pur-
sued at the
first to make
conquest of the
Britains.

Hengist retur-
ned to Lon-
don.

Hengist offer-
ed to send
for more aid
into Germa-
ny.

Hengist's of-
fers misliked
of some of the
nobilitie
of Britaine.

The hono-
r shewen unto
Hengist by
Mortimerne.

Britains sent
to defend the
borders, are
distressed.

living; but the Britains not able long to endure a-
gainst the force of the Scots; gave backe and fled.
In the meane while came a great shower of rainne,
mixt with such a tempest of haile, that the hardiest
there withed himselfe thence, the Sonne beating so
fast upon them, that one might breache see another,
so that the Scottishmen and Picts with not whether
theye better, to pursue the Britains that fled; or to
keepe their places.

At the other part, the Saxons according to their
manner in time of any present danger; closed them-
selves together, and drew nere unto their chiefest
stronghold; so that the tempest no longer began to
ceasse, but the Scots and Picts leaning their bodi-
es of battell, fell to follow the chase of the Britains,
supposing the victorie had bene wholie theirs; which
the Saxons, now after that the element began to
cleare up, plainly perceiuing, by commandement
of Hengist their generall, assailed the Scots and
Picts here and there dispersed about the spoile and
slaughter of the Britains, and made such murder
of them on euery side where they found them, that
pittie it was to behold. Those that escaped by flight,
neuer staid till they were gotten into places farre
enough out of danger. This was a blacke day with
the Scots and Picts. Neither was it verie ioyfull
to the Britains, of whome no small number died in
the place by the enemies sword lamentable to see.
Hengist hauing thus gotten the victorie, with-
drew to Dorke, leaving those countries betwixt
Eline and Ewed in the enemies handes, of purpose
ceasing from further indamaging them, that the
Britains might haue neighbours whome to feare:
for that (as he thought) should make much for his
purpose, already hauing determined to make a
conquest of this Ile.

When summer then was well nere passed, he pla-
ced his souldiers in harbrough to lodge for the win-
ter season; and went himselfe to London, where he
counselled Mortimerne to send of his owne people to
the borders of his enemies, to keepe the same from
their inuasions till the next spring, against which time
he promised to cause such notable numbers of his
countreymen to come to his aid, as should suffice not
onely to vanquish the Scottishmen and Picts, but
also utterly to destroy both the nations, or at least
to drive them forth of the whole countrie. This
offer vnto some of the nobilitie was not greatlie li-
ked, as euer suspecting that which followed, least in
time to come Hengist should take the dominion of
the realme in placing his owne people, and expel-
ling the former inhabitants. But Mortimerne did
not onely giue him most hartie thanks for those his
offers, but also shewed by the manner of his inter-
tainment, which he vsed towards him, that he
thought he could not do vnto him so much hono-
r for such notable seruice as he had done already, and
trusting he should do hereafter. According to Hen-
gist's aduise also, there was a cruoe of men of warre
of Britains sent vnto the borders to the number of
fine thousand, who shortly after their comming th-
ther, were quicklie dispatched and made aboate in
sundry skiffes and incounters with the Scots
and Picts, that assailed those places which they were
appointed to defend.

Shortly after was sent thither also an other com-
pante, double in number to the first, to reuenge the
deaths of their fellows; but they finding fortune as
froward vnto them as the former had done before,
sped much what a like, for in sundrie confli-
diers of them being slaine, and diuers other by treason
of the borderers themselves deliuered captiue into the
aduersaries hands, the residue that was left, per-
ceiuing in what danger they stood, sithence they

might not trust their owne countreymen, returned
backe into the inner parts of the land, and to lett the
borders altogether vnarmished. In this meane
while a new supplie of fine thousand Saxons; with
their wives and children, came ouer into this land
in eightene hoies; and amongst other chiefe Hen-
gist's wife and his daughter the ladie Morena. Short-
lie after King Mortimerne gaue vnto Hengist his
Saxons a great part of the countrie called Lind-
seie, with a castell of great strength called Thong-
castell. Some haue written that Hengist required
of Mortimerne so much ground as he might compas
with an ore hide, and hauing that granted, he toke
a mightie ore hide, and cut it into small thongs, and
so compassing about a right strong plot of ground
with those thongs line wise, began there the foun-
dation of a castell, which toke name of those thongs,
wherevnto the plot of ground was first measured,
and so was it called Thong-castell. But vpon what
consideration so euer it toke that name, certeine it
is by record of all the Scottish histories, that there the
Saxons first inhabited after their entring into Bri-
taine.

When Hengist had set things in order for the pla-
cing of his people there in dwellings (appointed
them by Mortimerne) according as seemed best vnto
his politike head and craftie foresight, he toke forth
the souldiers and men of warre, ordered vnder cer-
teine captains and officers of bands, and led them
forward by slow iournies as it were staling for the
comming of the Britains. Mortimerne had gathe-
red as then an huge host of his subjects, and appoint-
ed his generall lieutenant ouer them his sonne
Mortimerne, a yong man of great force and val-
ancie, but so that he should be ordered in all things
by the aduise and discretion of Hengist, whose au-
thoritie for the warres he commanded chiefe to be
followed.

When both the armies of Saxons and Britains
were met together, Hengist led them ouer the riuers
of Humber and Eline, marching directlie towards
the place where he thought the enemies laie. The
Scottish and Pictish kings, hauing knowledge of
such preparation made by the Britains, they gathe-
red their powers together, to the number of 60000
men, furnished with provision of vittells for a long
time. But before their comming to the riuers of
Eline, vpon knowledge had that the Saxons and
Britains were passed the same, they made straight
towards them, in purpose to haue giuen battell with-
out longer protracting of time: howbeit comming
to the place where they were lodged, they found them
so strongly incamped, that no aduantage could be
perceiued which waie they might be constrained to
raffe and come forth of their strength to receiue bat-
tell vpon some euery ground, which Hengist of pur-
pose for a time seemed to deferre.

Between them also and the armies of the two
kings there was a ballie, in the botome full of mires
and marshy grounds, which the Scottishmen & Picts
must needs passe, per they could find means to do
any notable displeasure to the enemies. Wherefore
at length they determined with turfe and fagots to
make passage ouer those mires. Which being accom-
plished in the night following, the next morning they
passed ouer and got them vnto certeine hilles lieng
right ouer against the Saxon and British camps,
some of them taking their lodgings vpon the hots
or front of an hill so nere to the lodgings of their
enemies, that they might throwe a dart into their
campe: and hereof they toke no small occasion to
wooke a feat against their aduersaries, to their great
annoiance and vexation.

There was growing in that place, where they
were

A new supplie
of Saxons
commonly ouer
into Britaine

A politike
the Scots

Thong ca-
stell, of Thong-
castell.

The Saxons
first inhabited
in Lindseie.

The tam
and leare
sed in the
campe of
Saxons
Hyperbole.

Hengist
led his
ple to fight

Mortimer
generall of the
Britains.

The Saxons
and Britains
against the
Scots and
Picts.

60000 of
Scots and
Picts come
to meet their
enemies.

Congals
baptism
the Scot

Hengist pro-
longeth time
to giue battell.

Hengist
led the
ons to fight

The Sax-
ons
the charge

The Sax-
ons in danger
have the o-
ther.

An ambu-
shes thou-
sand men.

were thus intamped, verie much of that kind of heath or ling, which the Scottishmen call hadder. Of which heath or hadder, they gathered a great quantitie together, and binding it in bundels like unto fagots, in the night season they set the same on fire, tumbling it downe the hill, on that side where the Sarons late. The wind in that instant being somewhat aloft, caused these bundels of ling to blase and burne vehementlie, and hereto standing that waies forth, drove the flame so streinable amongst the tents and cabins of the Sarons, that the fire catching in the straw and twigs which they had couched together vnder them in stead of beds, increased the feare amongst the souldiours wonderfullie, by reason that the blasing bundels of the ling or hadder, still coming downe the hill vpon them, seemed as though the same had fallen from above, and euen forth of the heauen it selfe.

Great was the tumult and noise throughout the whole campe, with such roying of beasts, and running vp and downe both of them and of the hostes which were there in the campe, that if heauen and earth had gone together, there could not haue bene a more terrible noise nor clamor. At length, when the souldiours had done what they could to quench the fire, and to appease the trouble, not without some uprore and disorder raised on each side, they got them with their armor and weapons forth into the next field, which Hengist himselfe perceluting (having first done what he could to stay them) inuironed with a companie of his choicest men of warre; he got him vp vnto a little hill next adioining, and there gaue knowledge by the sound of a trumpet that all his people should draw thither vnto him. After this, when they were come together, he disposed them in order of battell with all diligence, abiding for the spring of the daie, to vnderstand more certeinlie the meaning of his enemies.

The Scots and Picts supposing the enemies to be farre disordered, by reason of the fire descended downe from the hill, fullie determined to assaile them in their camps: but vpon their approch to the same, perceiuing how the Sarons were gotten forth, and stood readie in good order of battell, minding to defend their ground, both the kings thought it best to tarie till the morning, yer they made anie exploit, for doubt of perills that might befall thereof. In the breake of the daie Congall came amongst his people, exhorting them to remember their waye the elders, and by their example to chuse rather to die in defense of their countrie & ancient liberties, than by cowardize to saue a dishonest life, which if their chance was to be vanquished they should passe in great thraldome and miserie. The Pictish king also with like words encouraged his men to do valiantlie. Neither was Hengist slow in perswading his Sarons to plaie the men, that obtaining the victorie they might deliuer themselves from terrore of all enemies from thenceforth in Britaine.

Whilist he was thus exhorting his people, the Scots and Picts with great force and violence began to giue the charge vpon him, which whilist the Sarons and Britains went about to defend, they were beaten downe by heaps so fiercelie on each side, that the discomfiture had light vpon them forthwith, had not Hengist by sound of trumpet called forth about thre thousand fresh men to their succors, which he had placed in an ambush a little before the spring of the daie within a thicke groue of wood, fast by his campe, appointing them to remaine there in a readinesse, to come at his call, vpon that danger soeuer happened. These most fiercelie setting vpon the backs of the Scots, brought them straight out of all order: for they being occupied with the other Sar-

ons before, and now assailed of these behind, they had vnkneath come for anie aduantage to turne their weapons. In the meane time the Picts being matched with the Britains did put them to flight, and chased them out of the field, not ceassing to pursue them in the chase, till they came to a riuer in the which a great number of them were drowned, as they leaped to passe ouer the same, and to saue themselves by swimming. On the other side, the Scots being soe handled by the Sarons, both before and behind, were at the length constrained to giue ground and breake forth by flight, & so to escape the cruell hands of the enemies. Many were slaine in the chase, and some taken prisoners. The residue getting away, fled straight to the Picts: but Congall himselfe, through helpe of his household seruants escaped to the top of an high hill, and saued himselfe all wounded as he was.

The Picts returning from the chase, and vnderstanding how the Sarons had giuen the Scots the ouerthrow, and that they were now marching forward to incounter also with them, determined not to abide their coming at that time. And so night approaching yer the Sarons had got sight of them, order was giuen by commandement of their king, that all their carriage, and a great quantitie of logs and fagots, should be placed and piled together before them, and in the darke of the night to be set on fire, which being executed according to the appointment, when the fire was once kindled, the Picts with the Scots which were got vnto them, departed as secretly as they might, and feared not to make alvaie, till they were farre enough out of the danger of the Sarons. Hengist hauing thus got the victorie, and perceluting no enemy abroad to bid him battell, mustered his men, and found that he had lost in this iourne as good as foure thousand of one and other. After this, he withdreweth to Porke, and leauing his armie there, went himselfe vnto London, where he was receiued with ioy inough by king Hoptigern.

Shortlie after, vpon knowledge that Aurelius Ambrose, and Uter, the sonnes of king Constantine prepared to come ouer with a mightie armie of Armorike Britains, and other Frenchmen, to claime the crowne of Britaine, as lawfullie descended to them from their father: the Sarons were sent for out of the north parts, and had dwellings appointed vnto them in Kent, to be at hand if need were to resist anie such attempted inuasion. But shortlie after, for a policie, Hengist caused it to be bruited abroad, that the Scots and Picts meant euillnes to inuade the British confines, & therefore was there an other power of Sarons called into the land, and placed in the north parts, to defend the same against the Scots and Picts. Orca the sonne of Hengist had the leading of these Sarons, who brought them ouer, being ten thousand men of warre, in fiftie platts, and fiftie hoies. They brought with them also their wiues and children, and settled themselves in the north parts betwixt the riuer of Humber and the borders of the Pictish dominions. And euen then it began to take the name of Northumberland, which is as you would say, the land by north the riuer of Humber, and so it dooth continue.

Shortlie after, Hoptigern for saking his lawfull wife, married the ladie Korena or Kowen, Hengists daughter, to the high offense of God, and great displeasure of his subjects. And in the meane time, Orca not attempting anie exploit against the Scots and Picts, rather sought to get into his hands all the fortresses betwixt Tine and Humber, euen from the east sea to the west: which his purposed intent he greatlie advanced, winning castles and fortresses there

The Britains put to flight by the Picts.

The Scots forced to die.

Congall is wounded, but yet escapeth through helpe of his household seruants.

The policie of the Picts to escape out of danger.

Aurelius Ambrose & Uter, sons to king Constantine.

The Sarons placed in Kent.

A new power of Sarons came ouer with their captain Orca.

Northumberland when it first began to be so called.

Hoptigern married Hengists daughter.

A new power of Sarons cometh ouer into Britaine

A policie of the Picts.

Chwang call, or Chogwell.

The Sarons sit inhabited in Indre.

The tumult and feare raised in the campe of the Sarons.

Hengist call with his people together.

Optimer general of the Britains.

The Sarons and Britains attack the Scots and Picts.

1000 of Scots and 1000 of Britons met their miserie.

Hengist pro-yeeth time the battell.

Congall exhortation to the Scots.

Hengist exhorteth the Sarons to fight valiantlie.

The Scots & Picts giue the charge.

The Sarons in danger to haue the ouerthrow.

An ambush of thre thousand men.

Yorke in pos-
session of
Hengist.

Wortigerne
deposed by his
subjects.
Wortimer cho-
sen to gouerne
the Britains.
The Brit-
tains require
aid of the
Scots and
Picts a-
gainst the
Saxons.

The answer
of Congall
k. of Scots
vnto the Brit-
tish messen-
gers.

Vpon what
conditions
Congall co-
uenanted to
support the
Brittains.

A league con-
cluded be-
twixt Scots
Picts and
Brittains.

there in those parties, some by force, and some by fa-
uour: and amongst other places of importance, he
first got possession of Yorke, and feigning accusa-
tions against manie of the nobles and gentlemen,
surrendering that they would betray the countrie vnto
the Scots & Picts, he put diuerse of them to death,
some secretly, and others openly, as committed of such
offences as were forged and laid against them.

Hereupon the Britains for the stay of such mis-
chiefe as they saw at hand, deposed Wortigerne from
his kingly seat, and placed his sonne Wortimer in
his roome, which being done, ambassadoz were sent
both vnto the Scots and Picts, to require their aid
and support against the cruell oppression of the Sax-
ons, who sought not onelie by craftie meanes and
fraudulent waies to attaine the dominion of the
whole Ile, but also to extinguishe and utterly subuert
the faith of Christ, and the vse of his religion through-
out the same. Therefore they earnestlie desired the
Scottish and Pictish kings, to assist them against
such common enemies as had bene called into the
realme, not by publike consent of the nobles, but on-
lie by the priuate commandement and ordinance of
Wortimer, to helpe as well toward the suppressing of
the Scots and Picts, as also to repress all commo-
tions of the Britains, which they might happilie raise
against him for his wicked tyrannie vsed amongst
them, as his guiltie conscience might put him still in
feare of.

The Scottish king Congall (vnto whome first the
ambassadoz were sent) for answer declared, that he
was sozie to vnderstand into what danger the mis-
erable christians of Britaine were thus fallen, and
therefore if nothing else might moue him to ioinc
with the Britains against the Saxons, yet that
were sufficient cause to inforce him to do the best he
could, to helpe to deliuer the whole Ile from such an
eshynke generation, as not onelie vsed the rites and
ceremonies of their false religion, and that openlie
among the christians, with doing sacrifice in the ho-
no: and worship of their hellish gods, to the great
horror and terrible offense of the beholders consci-
ences; but also sought by all meanes they could de-
uise, how to destroye and quench utterly the faith of
our Sauour Christ in all places where they might
get the vpper hand.

He promised therefore to imploye his whole pui-
sance to recouer out of the enemies hands all such
countreies as laie betwixt the frontiers of his domi-
nion and the riuer of Humber, and further to aid the
Britains to driue them quite out of the Ile, if the
Britains would assure him, from thenceforth neuer
to make claime, title nor interest, to any of the coun-
tries aforesaid, lieng betwixt the said riuer of Hum-
ber and the confines of his realme; but to leaue the
same in the hands of the Scottisshmen and Picts, to
haue hold and inpos for euermore in quiet: which to
performe, the ambassadoz had (amongest other
things) already promised in name of all the Brittish
nation, as a recompense or meed to haue the support
and succors of the Scots. The like answer the same
ambassadoz receiued of the Pictish king, and retur-
ning therewith vnto Wortimer, declared afoze him
and his counsell how they had sped.

Shortlie after, for the more and better assurance
of all promises, covenants and articles passed be-
twixt the Scottisshmen, Picts, and Brittains, there
was an amitie and bond of peace now renewed, ra-
tified and established, according to the tenor of the
ancient league, which had bene concluded in times
past betwixt them, with some new conditions of a-
grément included in the same: all old iniuries
being ended and quieted clearelie betwixt them, so
that no cause of grudge or displeasure might be

thought to remaine in remembrance. The first en-
terprixe put in execution after the concluding of this
league, was made by the Scots against Decca and
his Saxons; which (as partlye we haue heard) had
nested themselves betwixt the riuers of Tyne and
Humber.

Against those Scots, as they were verie earnest-
lie occupied in ouerthrowing castles and towres,
with slaughter of such Saxons as stood at defense,
Decca commeth into the field with an armie readie
to encounter with them, but perceiuing the multi-
tude of his enemies to be such, as he doubted least he
should not be well able to match with them, he staied
a while from giuing the onset: but in the end percei-
uing he could not retire backe but to his great disap-
uantage, he boldlie gaue signe to his people to set
vpon their enemies: which they fiercelie executing, it
was hard to tell for a while to whether part the victo-
rie would incline. But at length the Saxons not able
to susteine the force of the Scots, overpressing them
with multitude, began to giue backe: which Decca
perceiuing, did what he could to hem them in from
running awaie, but yet notwithstanding all that he
could doe, feare at length ouercomming regard to
their captains commandement, shame of rebuke
was quite set apart, and so they took them to their
feet, and fled awaie so fast as they might, the Scots
pursuing after them amaine.

Decca yet escaped with diuerse of his nobles, and
comming to the mouth of Humber, got a ship, and
sailed forth in the same with great danger, till at
length he arriued within the Thames. The slaughter
of the Saxons vpon the discomfiture was great, spe-
ciallie in the chafe, for the Scottisshmen calling to re-
membrance that they had to doe with infidels, and
with the enemies of the christian faith, were so eger
vpon them, that they saued few or none that fell into
their hands. About the same time was Wortimer en-
tered into Kent against Hengist and his Saxons
there, and encountring with them in battell, slew ten
thousand of them, and chased the residue forth of that
countrie. Thus Kent returned vnto the Britains,
and the countreies beyond Humber northwards vnto
the Scots and Picts, according to the tenor of
the league before mentioned.

Hengist and his sonne Decca (who a little before
his battell in Kent was come vnto his father) with
the residue of them that escaped, hasted with all speed
toward Northumberland, in purpose to remaine in
that countrie till they had recovered their strength
by some power to be sent ouer vnto them out of
their owne countrie: but being repelled with no
small slaughter from thence by the Scots and Picts,
they withdrew vnto the mouth of Humber, where
getting certaine vessels, they passed ouer into
Saronie, leauing a great sort of their nation behind
them, dispersed abroad here and there in this Ile, as
fortune then best serued. Wortimer hauing got the
victorie, as before is mentioned, vsed not the same
verie cruellie, for taking relie from the Saxons
which were taken prisoners their armor and wea-
pon, he suffered them to depart into their countrie:
other of the same nation being but husbandmen, and
as it were poore laborers of the ground, he permitted
to tarte in the countrie with their wiues & children,
as seruants vnto the Britains.

After this, Wortimer gaue order for the repairing
of churches, and restoring of the christian religion in-
to the state of the former puritie thereof, as then soze
decayed, partlye through the euill example taken by
dailie conuersion amongst the Saxons, and partlie
also by the infectiue heresie of the Pelagians, as
then mightilie spread ouer the most part of Britaine.
At length the said Wortimer through treason of his
stepmother

The Scots
inuaide the bor-
ders of North-
umberland.

The Saxons
incounter
with the
Scots.

The Saxons
vanquished by
the Scots.

The league
renewed be-
twixt Brit-
tains, Scots
and Picts.

Hengist re-
turneth.

Wortimer
barnet.

Decca fleth by
sea into Kent.

Millions
slayns.

A tale of a
man abuset
with a spirit.

About sain
Bernabes
day.

The Saxons
sle out of
Britaine.

Wortimer be-
siege the victo-
rie modeste.

The heresie
of the Pelagi-
ans.

A yong man
haunted with
a spirit.

he Saxons
uade the boy
rs of Scotland
umberland.

he Saxons
counter
th the
cots.

he Saxons
nquithed by
Scots.

ca fleth by
into Kent.

he Saxons
quithed by
itains and
elled out
sent.

he Saxons
out of
itain.

itiner be
the victo-
noblestie.

herelle
Scotland.

The league
remored be-
tween Brit-
tains, Scots
and Picts.

Hengist re-
turneth.

Wortigeme
burnt.

visions of
spirits.

A tale of a two
men abused
with a spirit.

About saint
Bernabes
day.

Hermother Korena was poisoned, and died. Then was Wortigeme againe restored to the rule of the kingdom, first forced by oth to promise neuer to aid the Saxons, nor to receiue by way of aid anie foraine people into the realme. Wortigeme then restored thus unto the crowne, shewed such diligence in causing due administration of iustice without rigour to be executed, and prouision made for the resisting of all insasions that might be attempted by anie foraine power, that his praise was great amongst all his subiects, who to shew their good willes likewise towards him as to their naturall prince, were not slacke in honoring him aswell by gifts and presents, as by all other maner of waies. He found meanes also to renew the league with the Scots and Picts, with like conditions and articles, as it was concluded lastlie betwixt them and his sonne Hengist. But notwithstanding his politike proceeding, thus to auoid all inconuenience that might happen; shortly after Hengist returned, and what by force and subtilties, at length got possession of the more part of Britaine, so that the Britains were constrained to sit into Wales, whither also Wortigeme fled, and remained there a certeine time, till at length Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uther, the sonnes of king Constantine came ouer out of little Britaine, and besieging Wortigeme in a castell, burnt him with the house and all, when they could not otherwise come by him, according to that which Merlin the British soothsayer had prophesied before. It is folishlie supposed that this Merlin was got by a spirit of that kind which are called *Incubi*, that is to vnderstand, such as conuencieng mans seed from him (and therewith by illusion taking vpon them the shape and figure of man) doe lie with women, and vse them after the maner of carnall copulation.

In this place Hector Boetius by the way reciteth a like tale of two, of such illusions of spirits, wrought not long before his time in Scotland, which somewhat abridging the same we haue here inscribed. In the yeere 1480, saith he, it chanced as a Scottish ship departed out of the Forth towards Flanders, there rose a wonderfull great tempest of wind and weather, so outragious, that the maister of the ship with other the mariners wondered not a little what the matter ment, to see such weather at that time of the yeere, for it was about the middell of summer. At length when the furious pirrie & rage of winds still increased, in such wise that all those within the ship looked for present death, there was a woman vnderneath the hatch, called vnto them aboue, and willed them to throw hir into the sea, that all the residue by Gods grace might yet be saued: and thereupon told them, how she had bene haunted a long time with a spirit, daillie comming vnto hir in mans likenesse, and that euen as then he was with hir, vsing his filthie pleasure after the maner of carnall copulation. In the ship there chanced also to be a priest, who by the maisters appointment going downe to this woman, and finding hir like a most wretched and desperate person, lamenting hir great misfortune and miserable estate, vsed such wholesome admonitions and comfortable aduertisements, willing hir to repent and hope for mercie at the hands of God, that at length she seeming right penitent for hir greuous offenses committed, and fetching sundrie sighes euen from the bottom of hir heart, being witness (as should appeare) of the same, there issued forth of the pumpe of the ship a foule and euill fauored blacke cloud, with a mightie terrible noise, flame, smoke and stinke, which presently fell into the sea. And suddenly therupon the tempest ceased, and the ship passing in great quiet the residue of hir iourne, arrived in safetie at the place whither she was bound.

Not long before the hap hereof, there was in like manner a yong man dwelling in Careoth, within a village there, not passing 14 miles from Aberdine, verie faire & comelie of shape, who declared by waie of complaint vnto the bishop of that diocesse, how there was a spirit which haunted him in shape of a woman, so faire and beautifull a thing, that he neuer saw the like, the which would come into his chamber at nights, and with pleasant intilements allure him to haue to doe with hir, & that by no maner of means he could be rid of hir. The bishop like a wise man aduised him to remoue into some other countrie, and to giue himselfe to fasting and praier, so to auoid his hands of that wicked spirit. The yong man following the bishops counsell, within a few daies was deliuered from further temptation.

About the same time also, there was in the countrie of Spar, a yong gentlewoman of excellent beautie, and daughter vnto a noble man there, refusing sundrie wealthy mariages offered to hir by hir father, and other friends. At length she proued with child, and being rigorously compelled by hir parents to tell who was the father, she confessed that a certeine yong man vsed nightlie to come vnto hir, and kept hir companie, and sometimes in the day also, but how or from whence he came, or by what meanes he went awaie, she was not able to declare. Hir parents not greatlie crediting hir words, laid diligent watch, to vnderstand what he was that had defiled their house: and within three daies after, vpon signification giuen by one of the maidens, that the foonticall was at that verie instant with their daughter, incontinentlie thereupon, making fast the doores, they enter the chamber with a great manie of torches and lights, where they find in their daughters armes a foule monstrous thing, verie horrible to behold. Here a number comming hassilie in, to behold this euill fauored sight, amongst other there was a priest of verie honest life, not ignorant (as was thought) in knowledge of holie scripture.

This priest (all other being afraid) and some of them running their waies, began to recite the beginning of Saint Johns gospel, and comming to these words, *Verbum caro factum est*, suddenly the wicked spirit making a verie fore and terrible roaring noise, vsed his waies, taking the roffe of the chamber awaie with him, the hangings and coverings of the bed being also burnt therewith. The gentlewoman was yet preserved, and within three or foure daies after was deliuered of such a mishapen thing, as the like before had not bene sene, which the midwives and women, such as were present at hir labor, to auoid the dishonor of hir house, immediatlie burnt in a great fire, made in the chamber for the same intent. Thus much out of Hector Boetius, which, with more, he hath written to proue that all is not feined which is written of the illusions of diuels and euill spirits, the credit whereof I leaue with the author.

Now to returne where I left touching Aurelius Ambrosius. We shall vnderstand, that he hauing once subdued and dispatched his aduersarie Wortigeme, determined to make warres against Hengist and his Saxons, to proue if his chance might be to recover the realme out of their hands, and so to restore againe the christian religion. But first yer he attempted anie exploit against the enimies, he sent ambassadors both vnto Congall the Scottish king, and also vnto one Roth a towardlie yong gentleman, and of verie comelie personage, as then reigning among the Picts, requiring them both to aid him in so necessarie an enterprise as he had in hand against the enimies of Christ and his religion. Whereupon both these kings, working with themselves the dutie of all christian princes, in respect of the aduancement of

Burchius
Ambrose pro-
poseth to make
warres a-
gainst the
Saxons.

Burchius
sent vnto the
Scots and
Picts to re-
quire their aid
against the
Saxons.

I. i. the

The Scots
and Picts
promise to aid
the Britains
against the
Saxons.
The league
renewed be-
twixt Brit-
tains, Picts,
and Saxons.

the cause of faith, and suppressing of ethnikie idolatrie, promised their helpe to the uttermost of their pow-
ers against the Saxons, who had in such tyrannike
sort subverted and abolished the christian profession
within the British confines. And therefore the old
league, according to the articles and covenants a-
fore time concluded betwixt the three nations, was
once againe renewed, and an armie prepared by e-
uerie of them, to meet at a place and day appointed,
for the better expedition of this their attempted vol-
age.

Aurelius
Ambrose mak-
eth an orati-
on.

First Aurelius Ambrose, with such power as he
brought with him forth of France, & joining there-
vnto a great multitude of those Britains which had
escaped the Saxons hands, either by withdrawing
themselves into Wales, or else by conuincing them-
selves into the countries of the Scots and Picts, set-
teth forward toward the Scottish armie. But first cal-
ling together those Britains that he had about him,
and going vp to a little hill, where he might be heard
of them all, he made a long oration by waie of com-
plaint, of the great iniuries and cruell practises fled
by Hengist, against the linage of king Constantine,
and the whole estate of the British common-wealth:
also of the horrible persecution made by him and his
people the Saxons, against the professors of the chris-
tian religion. All which matter he handled in wordes
so pittifull, his talke yet fauoring of the Romane elo-
quence, that the minds of the souldiers being kindled
therewith, required nothing but battell, as men not
doubting but by his wise and politike conduct to at-
chieue some glorious victorie. And to the end all thing
might be done in better order, according to his ap-
pointment, immediatlie they proclaimed him king.
Which was by account of the Scottish chronicles, in
the yere 498, after that Maximiane with his sonne
Maximian had reigned 17 yeres in the whole.

Aurelius
Ambrose pro-
claimed king
of Britaine.

Conranus
generall of the
Saxons.

Loth king of
the Picts.

Whesbell.

The Hibions
and Saxons
incounter in
battell.

The Armo-
like Britains

The Saxons
discouraged.

Aurelius in this wise being established king of
Britaine passeth forth with his people, and within
six daies after met with the armies of the Scots and
Picts. Generall of the Scots at that time was one
Conranus brother to king Congall, who was trou-
bled with the gout, so that he could not come himselfe
in person. Loth the Pictish king was there himselfe
amongst his people, verie desirous to shew some
proofe of his manlie prowesse and manhood. Aurelius
Ambrose shewed all the honoz that might be desired,
as well to the one as to the other of those two na-
tions, promising to requite them with as much friend-
ship when time and occasion should craue the like as-
sistance. These three mightie armies therefore being
thus assembled, marched forth towards a place called
Whesbell, where they understood that Hengist with
his power as then did sojorne. Where when both the
camps were pitched, and one lieng not farre from
the other: at the first certeine light skirmishes were
procured by both parts betwixt the light horsemen,
wherein at length being the more prouoked to dis-
pleasure, they come into the field with their whole
maine battels, verie fiercelie incounting ech other,
so that (as it appeared) their force was not so great,
but their morfall hate was euens much, or rather
more, if the histories saie right.

The Armo-like Britains with a new kind of order
in their fight, sore troubled the Saxons, in persing
their battels, with their men arrayed in certeine
wards, broad behind and narrow before, wedgethwise.
The Scots also & Picts bare downe both the wings
of the Saxons, in such manner, that the standards of
all the three nations, Scots, Picts, and Britains,
were at point almost to meet, hauing made waie
therevnto through the middell of their enemies.
Wherewith the Saxons (being sore discouraged) be-
gan to giue backe; and finally, notwithstanding all

that Hengist could saie or do to haue staied them,
they fell to running awaie, and fled amaine, with
when he thoughtlie saw, & perceived that there was
no recouerie, he himselfe (in manner the last man
that abode) fled likewise his waies out of the field,
with an ambushment of horsemen about him, but
being pursued by Aurelius verie fiercelie, he was
run through the bodie by him with a speare, and so
was there slaine out of hand, in the 488 yere of
Christ, and 40 after his coming into this Ile. How-
beit the other of the Saxons conuied his sonne De-
ca (being also sore wounded) awaie with them vp in-
to the next mountaine, whither they fled for their re-
fuge, leaving the dead bodie of his father Hengist
in the field, to their high reproch, there to be spoiled
and abused of his enemies.

Aurelius Ambrose hauing thus got the vpper hand
of his enemies, hasted forth with all speed vnto Lon-
don, where hauing both the citie and towne deliuered
into his hands, he recouered the whole Island from
the possession of the Saxons: and such of them as
were apt men, able to beare armes, and to serue in
the warres, he commanded to depart forth of the
land. The other that were minded to carrie behind
their fellows that were thus forced to depart, be-
came subiects to the Britains, and covenanted to be-
come christians. & Thus much haue I written tou-
ching Aurelius Ambrose, according to the report of
the Scottish writers, but more hercof ye may read
in the historie of England, where ye shall find this
matter set forth more at large. For that which we
write here, is but to shew in what sort the Scottish
writers make relation of the warres which their na-
tion had with the Saxons, when they began first to
set foot here in this land.

To our purpose then. In the meane time Aurel-
ius hauing thus recouered the land out of the Sax-
ons hands, and now remaining at London, did all
the honoz he could imagine, both vnto Loth the Pic-
tish king, and also vnto Conranus generall of the
Scottishmen, acknowledging how that by their aid
chiefly he had got the vpper hand of his enemies, and
so he willed to haue it notified amongst his subiects.
Where to he caused the league to be renewed betwixt
the Scots, Picts, & Britains, the ancient ordinance
for the countries beyond Humber, being appointed
to remaine vnto the Scottishmen and Picts: also
that the Saxons should be reputed common eni-
mies to all the three nations, and that vpon inuasion
made by anie forren power, the Scots, Picts, and
Britains, should aid one another as occasion serued.

This league being concluded with these articles
of covenants, was the more stronglie confirmed,
by reason of such affinitie and alliance as then also
inued. For whereas Aurelius had two sisters, the
one named Anne, and the other Ada, virgins both;
Anne being the elder, was giuen in marriage vnto
king Loth, by whome certeine yeres after he had
issue two sonnes, Mordeca, and Malwan or Cal-
wan, with a daughter called Themetes: Ada being
the yonger sister was married vnto Conranus, ge-
nerall (as is said) of the Scottish armie. Howbeit she
liued not past two yeres after, but died in trauell of
child, which also died with the mother: and so en-
ded the alliance of Aurelius and Conranus. The
Britains being deliuered through the victorie and
means afore rehearsed from the cruell hands of the
Saxons, inioied sofull peace certeine yeres after,
but in the meane time diuers of those Saxons which
were licenced to remaine in Britaine, counterfei-
ting to become christians, bled neuertheless to
make sacrifice vnto idols, according to the maner
of the gentiles, whereof their priests being accused
and condemned, suffered death by fire for that of-
fence.

See more here
of in England

Hengist is
slaine by Au-
relius, as the
Scottish chro-
nicles say.

Aurelius ha-
steth forth to
London.

By support of
the Scots and
Picts Aurel-
ius chiefely
he got the vic-
torie of the
Saxons.
The league
betwixt
Scots, Picts,
and Britains
is renewed.

Anne the
daughter of
Aurelius gi-
uen in mar-
riage vnto
Loth king of
Picts.
Ada married
vnto Conre-
nus.

Diuers Sax-
ons idolaters
are burned.

The death
of Congall.

Conra-
nus.
Conranus
created kin
of Scotland
501. H.1

The earl
diligence
Conranus
for mainte-
nance of g
orders an
his table

A godlie
dinnace
led by Co-
ranus for
help of hi
common

The kin
sent at al

Aurelius
Ambrose
sicke of a
consumpt

Occa
Palscent
returne i
Britann

The death of
Congall.

Contra-
nus.

Conranus
created king
of Scotland.
fol. H.B.

The earnest
diligence of
Conranus
for mainte-
nance of god
orders among
his subjects.

Goodlie or-
dinance deu-
ised by Con-
ranus for re-
hale of his
commons.

The king pre-
sent at assises.

Aurelius
Ambrose fell
sicke of a con-
sumption.

Deca and
Pascentius
returne into
Britaine.

sense, accordinglie as the law did then appoint them. Whilest these things were thus in hand, Congall king of the Scots being woyn with long sicknesse, departed this life, and was buried in the Ile of Jona, othertwise called Colmekill, with all kinglie pompe and accustomed ceremonies. He reigned ouer the Scottishmen about 20 yeares in great fame and glorie.

After his deceasse, his brother Conranus with great reioysing of all the Scottish nation was admitted k. in the yeare after the birth of our Sautour 512, and the 22 of the reigne of the emperor Anastasius. This Conranus othertwise called Conranus, being established king, first toke order that the sonnes of his brother Congall being within age, should be brought vp in the Ile of Man, vnder the gouernance of certeine wise instructours & scholemaisters, to be trained in learning and vertuous discipline, according to an ancient ordinance thereof made and enacted. Also doubting least peace and quietnesse, now after long warres, should minister matter to his people of raising some commotion, to the disturbance of all ciuill order & politike gouernment within his realme, he rode as it had bene in circuit round about the same, making inquirie of all manner offendours, on whome he caused due punishment to be executed, without respect either of kith or kin.

And amongst other enozmities which he vnderstood to be vsed in manner through all his countries, this (as he thought) was most grieuous, that the husbandmen and other commons of the countrie, being euill inreated and misused at the gentlemens hands, durst not complaine, nor procure anie redress; by reason whereof, when they were oppressed, or suffered anie manner of wrong or iniurie, they were without remedie to haue the same reformed; he ordeined therefore, that the names of all such offendours, with the manner of their offences, should be secretlie registered in a booke euerie yeare, by certeine inquisitors thereto chosen and appointed. And if it chanced that those which were thus accused, might afterwards be found guiltie before the kings iustices by matter plainelie proued against them; they should then be sure to be punished according to the measure of their offenses.

This custome of accusations, commonlie called indiftements, continueth euen vnto these our daies. Conranus himselfe (as is reported) vsed much to be present at assises and sessions to see the lawes duellie ministred, either else to passe the time in hunting within some forest or chase, nere to the place where the iustices sat. Now whilest Conranus king of Scots thus studied for the good gouernement of his people, Aurelius Ambrose the king of Britaine fell sicke of a consumption, which brought him to such weakenesse, that all recouerie of health in him was despaired; whereof Deca and Pascentius sonnes to Hengist being aduertised, returned with a mightie power of Sarons into Britaine, which (as Hector Boetius saith) they named at that present Hengists land.

After the brother of Aurelius laie also at the same time soze sicke of a sir in the parties of Wales, so that to auoid dissention that was raised among the Britains, about the appointing of a generall to go against the enemies, Aurelius euen sicke as he was, caused himselfe to be caried forth in a litter; with whose presence his people were so encouraged, that incountering with the Sarons they won the victorie, although with such losse on their side, that Aurelius was glad to take truce for the space of foure moneths, and therewith breaking vp his campe, went into Winchester, and sent ambassadours vnto the

Scottish and British kings for aid against the time when the truce should expire, which was granted, and so he prouided for all things readie for the warres against the appointed time of their assemble. Deca also sent his brother Pascentius into Germanie for more aid, but as some write, he was driuen by contrarie winds into Ireland, & getting a great power of men together there, he came backe to his brother with the same. But whether he had those men out of Ireland or Germanie, sure it is that the power of the Sarons was greatlie increased therewith. In the meane time died Aurelius Ambrose, who was poisoned by a mischeifous monke, a Saron bozne, named Copa or Copia (as some booke haue) that toke vpon him to be skilfull in physike, and a monke by profession. His death was soze lamented of the Britains: but contrariwise, the Sarons reioysed greatlie thereof, so that immediatlie after, Deca with his power inuadeth the Britains, vsing great crueltie in all places wherefoer he came.

In the meane time the Scottish and British armies were come forward towarde Aurelius, according to promise made vnto his ambassadours; but when his death was certeinlie known amongst them, the capteins and leaders of both those armies, resolved to returne home againe, and so they did, for that they doubted in what state and order things should stand amongst the Britains now after the deceasse of their late king. After the death of Aurelius Ambrose, his brother Uter was made king of Britaine, and falling in loue with the wife of Gothlois duke of Cornewall, he did not onelie force hir to lie with him; but also to the end he might inioy hir the more frelie, he ceased not to pursue hir husband to rid him out of the waie, whome at length he toke within a castell into the which he was fled, & forthwith caused him to be executed, surmising mater against him, for that he had forsaken one of the capteins called Paschalius, in battell against the Sarons. By the wife of this Gothlois, Uter had issue the great Arthur, and because he had no legitimat sonne, he appointed that Arthur should succeed him in gouernement of the realme. Herewith Loth the British king was not a little moued, disdainning that Arthur being a bastard, and begot of another mans wife in adulterie, should be preferred before his sons the rightfull heires of the British kingdome: and therefore by ambassadours he did what he could to dissuade Uter from making anie such ordinance. But when he saw that he could not remoue him from his opinion, he thought best to content himselfe with silence, till the time serued better for his purpose. At length when the wars were againe renewed betwixt Uter and Deca the Saron king, Loth in reuenge of the iniurie done to him and his children, ioined himselfe to the Sarons, and was with them at the battell, in which the Britains got the victorie by the presence of saint Germane that holie bishop of Aurer, as the Scottish writers make mention. Which battell as the same is set forth by Hector Boetius, because it touched the state of the Scots, we haue thought good here to expresse.

It was therefore about the feast of Easter, when the armies came into the field, the Sarons with the Scots on the one side, & the Britains on the other, of whom no small number (being either growen to be idolaters through conuersation with the Sarons, either els infected with the heresie of the Pelagians) euen there in campe, by hearing such good sermons as saint Germane preached amongst them, were conuerted to the true beliefe, receiuing at the same time the sacrament of the Lords bodie, together in companie with other of the faithfull christians. Finally when both parties were readie to giue battell,

Aurelius
Ambrose de-
parteth this
life.

The Scottish
armie returne
home againe.

Uter begot
Arthur.

S. Germane
preacheth vnto
the campe.

A. ii. saint

S. Germane leadeth the fore ward, Their crie was Alleluia.

S. Germane beareth the kings standard.

The Saxons miraculously discomfited.

Hyperbole.

Beda dissenteth from Hector Boetius and his authour Veremond.

The Britains give themselves into all kinds of vice and abominations.

The threatening of vengeance to sacred vicious living.

The Britains receive a great overthrow.

King Decca slain.

The younger Decca nephew to the former Decca by his brother Discus. Loth contrarie to his oath of credence aided the Britains against the Saxons. Colgerne or Colgerne a Saxon is sent for by Decca.

saint Germane took upon him to haue the leading of the fore ward, wherein he had all the priests and ecclesiasticall ministers, giuing commandement, that when he should crie Alleluia, they should all answer him with one intire voice.

Thus proceeded they forth to the battell, saint Germane bearing the kings standard in the fore front, & upon the approach to the enimies, he with the rest of the priests crying with a loud voice thrice together Alleluia, was answered by all the whole host, uttering and crying the same crie so whole together, that the verie sound thereof caused such an echo on each side by reason of the hollow mounteines and clifles hard by them, that the Saxons amazed at this doubled noise, and doubting not onlie another power of their enimies to be hidden priuile among the hills which they saw on each side of them, but also least the verie rocks & mounteines would haue fallen downe upon their heads together with the frame of the element, ready (as it seemed to them) to breake in sunder, they took them to their feet in such dreadfull hast, that their breath was not able to suffice halfe the desire they had to continue their course. Panie of them made such hast, that running to the next river in hope to passe the same, were drowned therein. To conclude, all of them generallie threw away both weapon and armour, the more lightlie to make away. Thus through the policie of that blessed man saint Germane, the victorie remained with king Alster and his Britains, without anie bloodshed.

Saint Beda making mention of this battell, assigneth the time to be at the first coming of S. Germane into this land, where as Hector Boetius following Veremond, supposeth it to be at the second time of his coming hither, which was in the daies of king Alster. But at what time soeuer this victorie thus chanced, certaine it is, the Britains waiving proud thereof, nothing regarded the power of the Saxons, nor took anie heed for prouision of further defense; but after that those holie bishops Germane and Severus were returned into their countrie, they fell to all kinds of gluttonie and excess, in following onlie their sensuall lusts and fleshlie concupiscence: which abuses, the bishops and other godlie men lamenting, ceased not most earnestlie to reprove, menacing destruction to the whole countrie, if the people leauing their wicked living and most heinous offenses towards God, did not amend and repent in due time and space.

Neither were they deceived herein: for within few yeares after, Decca effrones began to make warres vpon the Britains againe, and gaue them a notable overthrow, slaing of them to the number of fiftene thousand, with their generall pathaliot. But yet this victorie was not greatlie pleasant to the Saxons, for in the chase they lost their king the foresaid Decca, being aduanced a good way off from the residue of his armie, with five hundred horsemen and a few footmen, in pursute of his enimies, which was the onlie cause that as then the Saxons attempted no further exploit against the Britains, and yet so that they would not be without a gouernour, they created an other Decca to be their k. the nephew of the former Decca by his brother Discus. And then turned all their force to make warres against the Picts, for that Loth king of the Picts, contrarie to his oath of credence, had aided the Britains in the last battell, as by certaine prisoners taken in the same they had perfect vnderstanding.

Decca therefore being fierce of nature to the end to indamage his enimies the more, sent into Germanie for one Colgerne or Colgerne, a man of great estimation and birth amongst the Saxons, to come ouer with a power vnto him into England, promi-

sing for recompense of his trauell and aid against the Picts, to deliuer vnto him all such lands as lay beyond the water of Humber, which might be recovered out of the hands of the Picts, to inioy vnto him and his for euer. Colgerne accepting the offer, landed shortly after in Northumberland, putting the whole countrie vnto fire and sword. Which cruell dealing caused a great number of Scots & Picts, which held diuerse castles in that quarter, to come forth into the field to defend the countrie, and joining battell with their enimies were discomfited, their slaughter being much increased by the coming of Decca at vnwares vpon them. For he first taking truce with Alster king of the Britains, bailed with all speed to ioine his power with Colgerne, after he heard once that he was come on land.

These newes being brought by such as fled away into Galloway and Pictland, caused both the kings, Loth and Conranus in most speedie wise to assemble their forces, and with the same to march forthwith towards the Saxons: but being come within sight of them ready to giue battell, great was the feare and terror of both their hosts, to ioine in fight with such a number of fierce people, as they saw there before their faces. Which feare arose first through the Britains, of whome no small number was there, in aid of the Scots and Picts against the Saxons, declaring manie things of the great valure, strength of bodie, and huge forme of lims of the same Saxons, being so fierce and cruell in fight, as they alleged, that they were able to put their enimies to flight euen with their grim looks and terrible countenances. Whereof such feare and terror was spread through both the whole armies, that if shame had not partly wrought amongst the men of warre, manie of them would haue fled their waies before anie battell had bene attempted at all.

The kings perceiuing such discomfiture amongst their men, caused them to assemble together, and appointed one such as was thought meet for the purpose, to declare vnto them on their behalves, how they could not but maruell to vnderstand such feare & lacke of courage, as appeared generallie through both the armies, considering there was no cause thereof, they being such a number of able warriors throughlie appointed, and therewithall led by such gouernours and capteins, as there was no reason why to be doubtfull of victorie, before they had seene some trial and iust occasion of disadvantage. For as touching the Saxons, they were no such men but that they might be overcome well inough, as it might sufficientlie appeare, both by proofe of such victories as Cloptimer the British king had obtained against them; and also Aurelius Ambrose, who had vanquished them in such sort, that when they durst not effrones incounter with him in battell, they found means by poison to make him awaie.

When sith the Britains (whome the Scots & Picts so often had subdued) had at sundrie times vanquished the Saxons, why should they feare in such wise to fight with them in common defense of their countrie, and reuenge of such injuries as they had latelie receiued at their hands, sith the righteous God (as all good men ought to trust) is euer ready to aduance a righteous quarrell. And where it was huted amongst them, that the Saxons were so huge of stature, and mightie of lims, that no force was able to withstand them, it was certeinlie knowen, that the Scots & Picts were indued with no lesse mightinesse and strength of bodie than the Saxons; so that if they were not of like stomachs, that rested in their owne blouthfull cowardize, & not in natures towke, hauing done hir part in befolowing hir gifts vpon them touching bodilie force, in such plentiful manner,

Colgerne landed in Northumberland.

The king of Scots and Picts raise their power to resist the Saxons.

The Scots and Picts are put in feare of the Saxons valiance.

The kings cause one to make an operation vnto their people to remove all feare out of their hearts.

The Scots through comfite of an operation recover new courage.

The Scots and Picts are put in flight.

Colgerne created the death of Northumberland.

The Britains overcome in battell by the Saxons. Alster with-draweth into Wales. London recovered by the Saxons.

The death of Alster poisoned by drinking water of a well.

521

Loth requirerth the kingdome of Britaine.

Wounded and Gouern.

The Britains refuse to receive either Loth or anie of his sonnes to reigne ouer them.

ner, as no other nation did lightlie anie waies surmount them.

Manie other arguments were alledged and laid forth to remoue feare out of their hearts, and to encourage them to fight, in somuch that in the end it appeared the same wrought the wished effect, in such wise, that they generallie required battell, offering to live and die at their captains feet, and to follow them whither soever it should please their kings and liege lords to appoint them. Herewith the kings being satisfied, with they march towards their enemies; whom they found readie to receiue them, and that with such rigorous violence, that in the end, after great slaughter made on both parts, the Scots and Brits were put to flight, the Saxons pursuing in the chase till the darke night caused them to withdraue & returne into their campe. The next day following, the Scottish king with the residue of his armie halted alway with all speed towards Galloway, and the Brits king withdraue into Britland. The Saxons using the victorie most cruelle, slue all such of the Brits and Scottish nations as they met with, in all places betwixt Line and Tweed. Then did Decca create the forenamed Colgerme duke of Northumberland, who repairing all such castles and strong houses, as he thought expedient to haue kept, placed garrisons of souldiers in the same to defend the countrie against all manner of enemies. After this, Decca turned his power against the Brits, which in the last battell had aided the Scots and Brits, as before is partly touched. The Brits receiving a great overthrow in battell, after the Brits king was glad with such as might escape the enemies hands, to withdraue into Wales, leaving the residue of his countie unto the Saxons, who thereupon recovered not onelie the citie of London, yielding it selfe unto them for doubt of some long siege, but also all those countie and provinces which hengist the first of the Saxons that reigned as king within the boundes of Albion at anie time, had holden or inioined, and ceased not after recouerie of the same, to bere and disquiet the Scots, Brits, and Brits, with continuall incursions, hoping by such means to keepe them still occupied. In the midst of this trouble Alster 3. of the Brits departed this world, poisoned (as some haue written) by drinking water taken out of a fontaine which the Saxons had inclosed. He died in the yeare after the birth of our Saviour 521, and in the eighteenth of his owne reigne. After his deceasse, Loth king of the Brits sent his ambassadours unto the lords, and other the states of the Brits dominions, requiring them, according to the accustomed lawes and ancient ordinances of the realme, to receiue him as king, with he had married the sister and heire of the two brethren Aurelius Ambrose, and Alster, their two last kings, being as then both deceased, without leaving behind them anie lawfull issue, by reason whereof their estate was fallen unto him, to enjoy the same during his life, having married (as is said) their owne naturall and lawfull borne sister, and after the deceasse of him and his wife the said sister, then it ought by course of the lawes of all realmes and countie to descend unto such issue as he had begot of hir, which was two sonnes, the one named Hordred, and the other Maluan, or Galwan, as some doe call him.

The Brits ambassadours that came with this message, refused not onelie to come under subiection of Loth, but also denied that his sonnes begot of his lawfull wife, the sister of Aurelius and Alster, should haue anie rule or gouernement amongst them, as those that were no Brits borne, but strangers vnto them, being

both borne and bred in a forein countie. Those ambassadours then hauing their answer, and being sent home with reproch, the Brits contrarie to the lawes of all nations, proclaimed Arthur being a bastard borne, king of their realme, and forthwith assembling their powers vnder his leading, marched on against the Saxons, in purpose to abate some part of their strength, before the Brits (which was doubted would shortly come to passe) should come with them.

After hee hauing procured aid of the Armoike Brits forth of France, they fought with their enemies within ten miles of London at the first; where the Saxons being at two severall times vanquished, were constrained not only to pay tribute, but also to receiue magistrates to gouerne them by the said Arthurs appointment; with other grievous articles of agreement, to the great reioicing of the Brits. By these so luckie beginnings in the first exploits of their late elected king. Afterwards was London castle won by the Brits, wherein Arthur remaining for a season, took aduise with his nobles how to proceed in his warres against the rest of the Saxons. Finally hauing prepared a mightie armie, he determined to go against those which inhabited beyond Humber northwards, with whom (as he had certaine knowledge) the Brits were ioined: for Loth comming to agreement with Colgerme, concluded a league with him, whereby they were bound to aid one another against the Brits, as common enemies and aduersaries to them both.

The Brits at their comming into Northeshire pitched their campe not farre off from their enemies, who were already ioined together and incamped abroad in the field. The next day after, knowledge being had that they should haue battell, Arthur appointed Howell leader of the Armoike Brits to encounter with the battell of the Brits, and he himselfe to match with the Saxons. Thus they met together on both parts verie fiercelie, and a fore battell was fought there betwixt them, so that for a good space it was doubtfull whether part should haue the aduantage of the day, but at length the Brits were put to flight, which aduanced the Brits to the gaine of the whole field. For the Saxons, after they perceived how the Brits were discomfited, dreading to abide the whole hunt by themselves, betooke them also to their heeles, and made their race towards York, as fast as their feet might beare them.

Arthur pursuing them thither, besieged the citie almost thre moneths together, but the Saxons defended the walles so stoutlie, making often issues forth upon the Brits, that till hunger began to constrain them, they cared little for the siege. In the end, when they were determined to haue yielded up the citie, they had knowledge, how there was an huge armie of Brits and Saxons newlie assembled, and readie to come forward to their succours; also that king Decca (escaping from the battell wherein he had receiued the overthrow at Arthurs hands, and fleeing afterward into Germanie) was now returned with a new power, and arrived within the mouth of Humber. Which newes caused them to deferre all communication, in hope that if they might abide the siege but for a small time, the Brits should shortly be compassed in on each side, and oppressed on the sudden.

Arthur heard of the comming of their succours in like manner, and ludging it no wisdome to tarie the comming of his so puissant enemies, considering what a number of diseased and sicke persons he had already in his host, by reason of their lying abroad in the field, raised his siege, and withdraue himselfe into speedie as was possible with his whole armie into

Arthur proclaimed king of Britaine.

Arthur goeth forth against the Saxons.

The Armoike Brits in aid of Arthur.

The Saxons vanquished, are constrained to pay tribute to the Brits.

London is won by the Brits.

Arthur taketh a power against the Brits.

A league concluded betwixt Loth & Colgerme.

Howell leader of the Armoike Brits.

The Brits put to flight.

The Saxons chased, made their race towards York.

York besieged.

Decca returneth out of Germanie with a new power.

Arthur raiseth his siege.

Colgerme slain in Northumberland.

The king of Scots and Brits resist the Saxons.

The Scots and Brits are put to flight.

Colgerme created duke of Northumberland.

The Brits overcome in battell by the Saxons.

Alster slain.

Loth required by the king.

The death of Alster.

Loth required by the king.

The death of Alster.

Loth required by the king.

The death of Alster.

Loth required by the king.

Arthur returneth to London.

Arthur discomfited the Sarons & then againe laicth siege to Yorke and winneth it.

Arthur victorie the victorie with gentleness.

The Britains mourning for the winter time within Yorke, gae themselves vnto banquetting & voluptuousnesse.

Christmasse bankets resembling the feasts Bacchanalia.

The Britains through rest and ease became vnapt to susteine the paines of warres. A league concluded betwixt Arthur king of Britains, & Loth king of Pias.

Wales, where he appointed the Armozike Britains to sojorne for that winter, with other of the meane sort of his owne soldiers: whilst he take the residue of his chosen bands, and went to London, there to psonthe that no rebellion should be raised among the Sarons of Kent, or other of the countreys neere about. In the beginning of the next spring, he gathered his host together againe, and with the same went forth against Colgerme and Deca, who being issued forth of Northumberland, were entered into the Britissh countreys, spoiling and wasting the countreie with their accustomed crueltie.

Whereupon encountering them twice in battell, he obtained the victorie, and then besieging Yorke, at length he entered into that citie, by means of a Britaine, who dwelling amongst the Sarons there, in the night season conueied a sort of Britains into the citie, the which breaking open the gates in the dead of the night, did let in all the whole host. Where Arthur would not suffer his men to make any great murthre of the enemies, which were content to yield themselves, but bled them very gently, thereby to win more praise amongst all those that heard of his wondrous victories. The Britains hauing thus conquered the citie of Yorke, manie feasts of armes were daily practised betwixt them and the Sarons, which held possession still of the countreie thereabouts. But the Britains lieng in that citie all the summer and winter following, at length began to take their ease, namelie in the depth of winter, and therewith gaue themselves to banquetting, drincking, plaie, and other kinds of voluptuous pleasures, so that it seemed they trusted more to their passed victories, than to their present force, not fearing such dangers as was like to follow.

It is thought of some, that about the same time, Arthur first instituted, that the feast of Christmasse should be kept with such excesse of meats and drinks, in all kinds of inordinat banquetting and reuel for the space of thirteene daies together, according to the custome used still through both the realmes of England and Scotland euen vnto this day, resembling the feasts which the gentiles used to keepe in the honoz of their drunken god Bacchus, called in Latin Bacchanalia: wherein all kinds of beaustie lust and sensuall voluptuousnes was put in vze. But whence soeuer, or by whome soeuer this insatiable gourmandise came vp amongst vs, suerlie a great abuse it is, to see the people at such a solemne feast, where they ought to be occupied in thanks giuing to almightie God, for the sending downe of his onelie begotten sonne amongst vs, to giue themselves in manner wholie to gluttonie, and excessive filling of their bellies, with such maner of lewd and wanton pastimes, as though they should rather celebrate the same feasts of Bacchanalia, and those other which the gentiles also kept, called Floralia, and Priapalia, than the remembrance of Christs natiuitie, who abhorreth all manner of such excesse.

But now to my purpose. When the next summer was once come, Arthur led forth his Britains against their enemies, but by reason of such ease and pleasure as they had taken whilst they sojourned in Yorke, being now come into the field, they were able to abide no paines, so that no good was done of certeine yeers after, till finally Arthur toined in league with Loth king of the Pias. The conditions of which league were these. That Arthur during his naturall life should reigne as king of the Britains, and after his decesse, the kingdome to remaine vnto Morozed and his issue, if he chanced to haue any. That the Pias should aid the Britains against the Sarons, and haue all such land as might be recovered of them beyond Ymber. Also the league which was betwixt

them and the Scots, they should duly obserue. Morozed should marrie the daughter of Catwolan a notable man amongst the Britains, and of highest authority next vnto Arthur himselfe: the children of this marriage to be brought vp with their grandfather in Britaine, till they came to yeeres of discretion. Catwolan the brother of the foresaid Morozed, should serue king Arthur, and receiue at his hands large intertainment, and great possessions to mainteine therewith his estate.

Other articles there were comprised in this league, according as was thought requisite for the maintenance of stable friendship betwixt these kings and their nations. So that Arthur hauing concluded this league, and still being desirous to purge the whole Ile of all miscreants and enemies of the Christian faith, he sent vnto the Scottish and Piasish kings, requiring them on the behalfe of that dutie which they owght vnto the aduancement of Christs religion, to assemble their powers, & to meet him at Linmouth, whether he would repaire to ioine with them, at such day as they would appoint, from thence to march forth against the Sarons.

Loth king of the Pias, and Contranus king of the Scottishmen, failed not in this so necessarie an enterprise, but agreeable to Arthurs request, within few daies after they came forward, and ioining with the Britains, forth they went against the Sarons, whom they understood to be already in campe, under the conduct of their king Deca, in purpose to stop their passage. When both the armies were approached nere together, they prepared to the battell, and first Colgerme duke of Northumberland mounting vpon a light gelding, rode almost euen hard to the face of the Pias, where they stood in their order of battell right countie, and there uttering manie reprochfull words vnto Loth, and other of his nobles, for breach of their promised friendship to him and his Sarons, declared that he trusted shortly to see iust punishment light vpon them for this falshood and vntruths sake, in thus ioining with their former enemies against their most true friends and steadfast allies.

The Piasish king not greatly moued herewith, commanded his standards to aduance forward, and the Sarons likewise halloed apace towards them, so that the one being come within danger of shot of the other, the Pias let flye their arrowes verie freshlie. Arthur in the meane time hauing set his people in a raie, exhorted them to fight manfullie: and so soon as he perceived that the fraie was begun by the Pias, he in semblable wise commaunded the Britains to giue the onset, so that immediatlie there ensued a fore conflict, the Scots being in the right wing, & leading Chelbyke one of the chiefe captiues amongst the Sarons, quicklie discomfited that wing with the which they were first matched. Colgerme with his Sarons incountring (as is said) with the Pias, placed in the left wing, rushed in amongst his enemies (vpon an earnest desire to be reuenged of his aduersarie king Loth) with such violence, that at their first encounter he ouerthrew the same Loth: but immediatlie thereupon two Piasish horsemen running at Colgerme sidelingwise, bare him quite through.

In the meane time, Loth by meane of his strong habergion escaping without hurt, was relieved by such as stood about him, and restored againe to his companie: but Colgerme being dead before he could be recovered from amongst the throng of his enemies, his men were so discomfited therewith, that straightwaies there vpon they fell to running away. The maine battell of the Sarons being thus left bare on both sides, began to giue backe, which Arthur perceiving, the more earnestlie pressed forth vpon them, so that in the end Deca being constrained to flee,

Morozed married the daughter of Catwolan a Britaine.

Catwolan of Sarons instructed with his Britaine.

Arthur sent ambassadours vnto the kings of Scots and Pias.

Scots, Pias and Britains ioining together against the Sarons.

Colgerme reproacheth Loth.

Arthur godly wrote to whole the Scots in Pias.

The on which had cor of Morozed for his toward.

Colgerme is run through by his aduersaries.

The Sarons are put to flight.

Deca constrained.

Upon conditions the Sarons were to submit.

Arthur church repaired.

Arthur badge.

Arthur baptizeth his people.

In office by the king vnto Arthur.

Des come
arrived to die.

Upon what
condition Ar-
thur receiveth
the Saxons
upon their
submission.

Arthur caused
churches to be
repaired.

Arthur par-
tially de-
stroyed the
whole race of
the Saxons
in Britain.

The opinion
which men
had conceived
of Mordred
for his wit &
towards himselfe.

Arthur's
badge.

Arthur's ex-
hortation to
his people.

An offer made
by the Sax-
ons unto king
Arthur.

die, and receiving a fore wound, had much ado to be conveyed alive by some of his horsemen; the Britains pursued so fiercely upon him. At length being brought unto the sea side, he got vessels, and escaped over into Germanie. This victorie being thus achieved, constrained the Saxons to yield unto king Arthur, simple submitting themselves unto his mercie, who of his clemencie was contented to pardon them of life and goods, upon condition they would become christians, and from thenceforth never after to make any waives upon their neighbors the Britains; Scots, or Picts. But if they would not agree hereunto, then leaving their gods, armes, and weapon behind them, they should avoid the land, & that within 13 daies next ensuing.

Some of the Saxons that could get passage, sailed over into Germanie. Other feining themselves to become christians, remained in the land, looking one day for better hap & fortune. Divers that were not able by means of poverty to get away within the time appointed, and yet refusing to be christened, were put to death, according to the proclamation set forth for the same purpose, so that in comparison be-
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came amongst them received the christian faith sincerely, and with a true meaning mind. Things being thus quieted in Northumberland, Arthur took order for the repairing of churches abroad in the countrey, which the Saxons had overthrown or de-
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stroyed; & namelie in the citie of York he bestowed great cost, where the cruell infidels had done much hurt upon churches, and other religious houses. In the yeere following, Arthur had newes how the Saxons which held the Ile of Wight, joining with the Kentish Saxons, had done great displeasures unto the Britains, on that side of the Thames, killing & stealing an huge number of them with great crueltie, wherewith being sore moved, he drew towards London with his armie, purposing utterly to destroy all the east & south Saxons, since otherwise he could not provide for the safety of his subjects, being still in danger to be murdered and robbed, so long as any of that wicked generation of the Saxons remained here amongst them.

By means also of the league, he had with him in his tourtie ten thousand Picts, & as many Scots: Eugenius nephew to king Conran by his brother Congall being generall over the Scots, and Mordred the sonne of king Loth by his wife Anne, governing the Picts, a lustie young gentleman, verie witty and towardlie in all his doings. Further-
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more, Arthur understanding that hurt rest and ease had done amongst his men of warre, caused them to keepe the field in all this tourtie, and passing by London, lodged them a little beside the river of Thames. But he himselfe with some of his nobles, entred into the citie, causing supplications to be made unto almighty God three daies together, for good successe to follow against the Saxons. On the fourth day hearing divine service celebrated by the bishop of London, and causing a sermon to be made in the market place, he committed himselfe and his whole armie unto the tuition of Christ, and his mother the virgine, whose image in stead of a badge he bare in his shield continually from that day forward, as divers heretofore have written. After this, issuing forth of the citie, he willed all his men to be of good comfort, as they that fought in a just quarrell against Pagans, and enemies of the faith. Mordred and his father in law Gaiwolane passed on before the battels with five thousand horsemen, and being come with-
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in five miles of the Saxons, who likewise were assembled in campe, there came from them unto Arthur ambassadores, requiring him to stae his tourtie, for they were readie if they might have libertie to depart out of the land with their goods and substance, without further molesting the Britains, either by one means or other.

Arthur would neither consent hereunto, nor yet grant a truce for three daies, for the which they made earnest sute, but had them depart for that time, on-
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lie assuring them that he would not come passing two miles forwards for that day, so that if they thought good, they might returne to him in the mor-
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ning, and have answer what the chiefe governours of his host thought touching their request, by whome he would have the matter more throughly debated. In the meane time, whilst the Britains were buied with hearing of these ambassadores, and taking ad-
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The Saxons
coming up-
on Mordred
and Gaiwolane
put them with
their people to
the worke.

what answer
the Saxons
ambassadores
had at Ar-
thurs hands.

The excuse of
the Saxons.

The sudden
invasion made
by the Bri-
tains upon the
Saxons.

The great
tumult in the
Saxons
campe.

Mordred de-
sires to be re-
venged.

The Saxons
are put to the
flight.

The crueltie
of the Brit-
tains in slay-
ing the Sax-
ons.

Arthurs mu-
nificence.

A conspiracie
practised a-
gainst Con-
rane.

Enenill offi-
cer.

A presumptu-
ous act.

The determi-
nation of the
murderers to

that side for a season: other of the Saxons having no
leisure to arme themselves, nor to draw into any
order of battell, by reason of the sudden impression of
the Britains, brake forth of the campe on the contrarie
side, & fled so fast as their feet might beare them.
But being pursued by the British horsemen, and
beaten downe, a great number of them ran into the
next river, and there were drowned, choosing rather
that kind of death, than so cruellie to be murdered by
the aduersaries hands: verelie the Britains shewed
no mercie that day, for so manie as came within
their danger, died without redemption. And this
bloudie battell made an end of such an huge num-
ber of Saxons, that it was thought they should ne-
uer haue recovered againe any puissance able to
haue indamaged the Britains in any manner of
losse.

Arthur having thus vanquished his enemies, gaue
licence vnto those nobles which he had detained (as
is said) in his campe, being sent vnto him as ambas-
sadors, to depart ouer into Germanie, appointing
the residue of such Saxons as were men of no de-
fence, to remaine still in the land, paying a yereleie
tribute vnto the Britains, and also with condition
that they should become christians. The Scottishmen
and Picts which had aided the Britains in this tour-
nie, followed a while after at London, where Arthur
feasted & banketted them in most roiall wise, shew-
ing them all the honor that might be deuised, and af-
terwards sent them home verie princelie rewarded
with manie great gifts and rich presents. Whilste
such businesse as ye haue heard was thus in hand be-
twixt the Saxons & Britains, the estate of the Sco-
tish common-wealth was gouerned by great wis-
dome and policie, without any notable trouble or
disorder. But finally, when king Conrane began to
waie aged, and that such as had the chiefe doings
binder him, sought not the execution of iustice, but their
owne commodities, to the hinderance of a multi-
tude, the people began to repine thereat, and to prac-
tise a conspiracie with diuerse of the nobles against
Conrane, and those which ruled by his appointment.

It chanced that there was one Concet, a man of
base birth, assigned by the kings commission to be
chiefe iustice, or as it were chancelor for the admini-
stration of the lawes in Murray land, a person pas-
sing full of rigorous crueltie, especiallie in iudge-
ments of life and death, and in gathering vp of all
manner of forfeitures of penall lawes, which he did
onlie to purchase fauor of the king, by the enriching
of his coffers, in respect whereof he had small regard
either of right or wrong, so that there were hope of
somewhat to be gotten. Amongest other the violent
doings of this Concet, he caused diuerse merchant-
men of the towne of Forres in Murray land (as then
the chiefe towne of all that countrie) to be accused
of treason by a light information, and in the end ex-
ecuted without any apparant matter, onlie vpon a
couetous desire to haue their goods and riches, because
they were men of great wealth and substance. Di-
uerse noble men of the countrie there abouts, and
namelie of the towne of Forres, being partlie of kin
vnto those merchants, were sore offended with this
act, and hereupon they first came vnto Concet, and
reueled him with manie high reprochfull wordes, and
afterwards fell vpon him in the place of open iudge-
ment where he sat as then in his iudgement seate, &
there murdered him, getting them forthwith by in-
to the mounteins, to auoid the danger which they
knew impossible for them to escape, if they should
happen to be taken while Conrane should be liuing.

After this, they deuised how they might increase
their heinous deed and bold enterprize with an other
sarre more horrible and notable, which was to slea

the king himselfe, as the originall cause of all such
mischiefe that then reigned in the realme through the
vntowardie gouernment of his vnjust ministers and
couetous magistrats, hoping withall to obtaine the
fauor of some of the noble men, whome they knew to
maligne the king and his counsell most extremelie,
and thereby in short time to be assured of their par-
don. Shortly after it chanced that one Donald also
gouernor of Atholl, a man in great fauor and trust
with the king, had understanding that these out-
lawes intended, and thereupon practised with them
by private messengers, that they should come in secret
manner vnto Ennerlochke, where the king lay, and
promising them by most assured meanes of oaths and
vowes, that they should haue all the furtherance he
could deuise towards the atchiuing of their enter-
prize.

Whereupon these outlawes, according to their in-
structions, came in secret wise vnto Ennerlochke,
and were closett conueied into Conrains bedcham-
ber by Donalds meanes, who as though he had
knowe nothing of the matter, got himselfe quick-
lie out of the waie when he saw them once entered
within the doore of the chamber. Conrane the king
perceiuing how he was betrayed, and that his eni-
mies were got into his chamber ready to murder
him, kept forth of his bed, and falling downe vpon
his knees besought them to take pitie of his age, and
not to defile their hands in the blood of their naturall
lord and king, considering the fault was not his, if
they had bene any waies wronged. Howbeit they
admitting nothing but least he should escape their
hands, straightwaies dispatched him out of life, and
withall made haste awaie. This was the end of king
Conranus, in the 20 yere of his reigne, being the
16 of Arthurs dominion ouer the Britains, the first
of the emperor Iustinianus, and in the yere after
the birth of our Sauour 531. But his corps was bu-
ried in the abbeye of Jona, otherwaie called Colme-
kill, with such funerall pompe and erequies, as in
those daies were vied.

After him succeeded his nephew Eugenius, the
sonne of his brother Congall, the which Euge-
nius (as aboue is said) was with Arthur in the last
mentioned tourne against the Saxons. Where were
that counselled him in the beginning of his reigne
(which he began in Argile, being placed there vpon
the chaire of marble) that he should see in any wise
the authors of his vncles death duly punished, to the
example of others, that they should not attempt the
like hereafter against their liege lord and crowned
king: but he contrariwise did not onlie forgie the
offense, but also receiued the forenamed Donald
with other the murderers into his seruice, and made
them of his private counsell, which caused manie men
to suspect, least he himselfe had bene of counsell
with them in committing that murder. The talke
whereof was so common in all mens mouths, name-
lie amongst the common people, that the queene
Dowager late wife to king Conrane, doubting not
onlie the suertie of hir owne life, but also of hir two
sons (which she had by the said Conrane, the one na-
med Reginan, and the other Aidan) fled with them
ouer into Ireland, where within few yeres after, she
died with the one of hir sonnes, that is to say, Regi-
nan: the other Aidan was honorable brought vp by
the king of that countrie, according to his birth and
degre.

Eugenius in the beginning of his reigne, to win
thereby the peoples fauor, demeaned himselfe most
gentle in all his proceedings, doing nothing that
tasted in any part of crueltie. He would oftentimes
sit amongst the iudges himselfe, and if he suspected
least any man had wrong, he would licence them to
plead

dispatch the
king also.

Donald go-
uernor of Ath-
oll conspi-
red with the
outlawes to
murder the
king.

The outlawes
enter into the
kings bed-
chamber.

Conrane is
murdered
within his
bedchamber
by traitorous
meanes.
35. H.B.
20. H.B.
535. H.B.

Eugenius.
Eugenius is
inuested king
of Scotland.

Regicides of
kingquellers
ought chiefe
about all other
to be punished.
Eugenius is
suspected of
his predecessor
sore death.

The queene
Dowager fled
with hir two
sonnes into
Ireland.

The humane-
tie and fauor-
able friend-
ship.

Ship of his
Eugenius
swords by
people.

Comme-
ble of him
etc.

The bid-
one con-
scribed
Arthur.

This ci-
no final
course o
great di-
scribed
Arthur.

Geffrey t
Monmout

The Bri-
tains re-
quiesce
the leagu
conclude
with the
Picts.
The re-
of the B-
tains to
one of th
owne na-
appointe
succeed b
Arthur.

Constant
proclame-
ment app-
rent & p-
of Britat

ship of king
Eugenius to
wards his
people.

Commenda-
ble opinion-
ers.

The histori-
ans conquests
ascribed to
Arthur.

This conflict
no final doubt
marke of the
great victories
ascribed unto
Arthur.

Geffrey of
Monmouth.

The Brit-
tains repent
themselves of
the league
concluded
with the
Picts.
The request
of the Brit-
tains to have
one of their
owne nation
appointed to
succede king
Arthur.

Constantine
proclaimed
heire appa-
rant a prince
of Britaine.

plead their case anelo. And such as he perceiued were not of abilitie to follow their sute in anie cause of right, he would helpe them with monie of the common treasure. He ordeined also, that no orphan should be compelled to answer anie action, or otherwise be vexed by sute of law. Moreover, that no widow should be constrained to come pass a mile forth of hir owne doores for anie matter in controuersie betwixt hir and anie other person, to be heard afore anie iudges or publicke officers. Robbers, theues, and their receivers he caused to be duly punished, to restraîne other from attempting the like offenses. And also he had a speciall regard for the obseruing of the league betwixt his subjects and the Picts, with the Britains, according to the tenor of the same.

About this season should it be also that Arthur did atchieue all those worthie victories, which are ascribed unto him against the Scots, Irishmen, Danes, Norwegians, and other northerne people. Moreover it is written by some authozs, that he should subdue the most part of Germanie with the low countries, Britaine, Normandie, France, and the Romans, with the people of the east: but the credit hereof resteth with the same authozs. Onelie it is certeine (as Hector Boetius affirmeth) that Arthur lived in the daies of Iustinianus the emperoz, about which time the Gothes, Vandals, Burgonions, & Frenchmen did innade sundrie parts of the Romane empire, pestifollicke waiking and spolling the same, where yet such writers as haue set forth those warres, make no mention of Arthur at all. Therefore letting all doubtfull things passe, I will proceed with mine authoz, and declare what he hath found written in such Scottish chronicles as he followeth touching the British Arthur, which for that it partlie varieth from the other our common chronicles, namelie Geffrey of Monmouth, I thinke it worthy to be noted here, to the end that euerie man maie iudge thereof as to him seemeth best.

To the purpose then. After that the Britains were deliuered from the terror of the Saxons, and that with quietnesse they began to war wealthie, they repented them of the league, which they had concluded afore with Loth king of the Picts, speciallie for that they could not in anie wise be contented to haue anie stranger to reigne amongst them, and hereupon comming vnto Arthur, required of him, sith he himselfe had no issue to succede him, that it might please him yet, to name one of his owne nation to gouerne them after his decesse. Arthur not gainsaying their request, willed them (sith their pleasure was such, in no wise to haue a stranger to reigne ouer them) to name one themselves, being descended of the blood roiall, and such a one as in whome they had perceiued some towardlie proue of wisdom and valiance: and he for his part promised to ratifie their election. The nobles with great reioicing of the people drawing together to consult for the choise of such a one, as might be acceptable to all the British nation, at length agreed vpon Constantine, the sonne of Cadore duke of Cornwall, a goodlie yong gentleman, both for his person and other his worthie qualities much to be commended. Who being brought by the pæres of the realme into the counsell chamber, and there presented vnto king Arthur, as one most meetest to succede him; Arthur accepted their election verie gladlie, and caused the same Constantine forthwith to be proclaimed heire apparant to the crowne, by the name of prince of Britaine, which notified him to be successor to the king in gouernement of the realme. Constantine being in such wise preferred, behaued himselfe so honorablie, and with such a shew of gentle demeanour, that he wan him much praise, with an opinion of high worthinesse amongst all the

British nation.

In this meane time was Loth the king of the Picts decessed, leauing his name as a perpetuall memorie vnto his countrie of Pictland, the which neuer since as a remembrance of his worthinesse, hath bene called Lothian, or Louthian; but his sonne Morozed, succeding him in gouernement of the Pictish kingdome, and hearing that Constantine was proclaimed heire apparant of Britaine, was so moued therewith, and immediatlie sending his ambassadours vnto king Arthur, complained, for that contrarie to the honor of his kinglie estate, he had broken the league concluded betwixt him and his father late of famous memorie king Loth, wherein it was agreed amongst other things, that there should none succede in the kingdome of Britaine, after Arthurs decesse, but the children begot betwixt him. Loth and his wife quene Anne, or such as descended of them; where contrariwise it was notified vnto the Pictish people, that Constantine the sonne of Cadore was elected prince, and thereby vnable as heire apparant to the crowne.

They required him therefore to call himselfe to remembrance, and not so lightlie to agree vnto the flattering persuasions of the Britains, aduising him vnto that thing which was merelie repugnant to reason, and against both gods lawes and mans, admonishing him withall to obserue the league, according to the oth, which he had solemnlie taken vpon him, and to moue his subjects to doe the like, least for the contrarie, they should prouoke the wrath of almighty God against them, who is the last reuenger of all such as go about to breake leagues and couenanted pactions. Herevnto answere was made by consent of the nobles of Britaine, that the league which was concluded betwixt Arthur and Loth, indured but for the life times of them two onelie, and to ceasse by either of their deaths: therefore Arthur had done nothing contrarie to anie pact or promise made, but according to the duetie of a prince that tendered the weale of his subjects, had prouided them one to succede him of their owne nation, for doubt least the realme after his decesse should fall into the hands of strangers, which in no wise ought of right to be suffered. Therefore if the Picts loved the suertie of their owne estate, it should be god for them to hold themselves contented with their owne bounds, least if they sought for other mens linings, they might happilie wishin short time perceiue, what doth insue oftentimes vpon such rash and vnadvised attempts.

The Pictish ambassadours returning home with this answer, caused the whole nation to take such disdain therewith, that immediatlie they resolved to reuenge their wrongs by open warres; but first they thought god to trie if they might procure the Scottishmen to take part with them, in reuenge of such iniuries as they had in like manner lately received at the Britains hands. Moreover, repenting themselves, that they had in times past aided the Britains against the Saxons, they purpose to trie if they might now moue the same Saxons estates to make warres vpon the Britains, thereby to be the better able to mainteine their owne quarrell against them. First, such ambassadours as were sent from Morozed vnto Eugenius king of the Scots, found him verie agreeable vnto their request, and the sooner, for that such Scottish rebels as fled vnto Arthur, were not onelie receiued by him, but also maintained to make rodes and incursions into the Scottish borders.

Arthur hauing knowledge of the deuises of his enemies (the warres being first proclaimed) he furnished all the sea-coasts with notable numbers of men,

Lothian taketh the name of Loth the Pictish king.

Morozed succedeth Loth in the kingdome of Pictland.

Morozed complaineth vnto king Arthur, for that Constantine was created his heire apparant.

The answere made to the Pictish ambassadours.

The Picts purpose to be reuenged on the Britains by open war.

The Picts solicit both Scots and Saxons to make warre vpon the Britains.

Eugenius the Scottish king agreeable to the request of the Picts.

Arthur set
forth forward
toward the
Scots and
Picts.
Humber a fa-
tail place for
the Britains
to be banqu-
ished in.

Bishops tran-
sell betwixt
the parties to
bring them to
communica-
tion for a
peace.

Morzed and
Eugenius
were persua-
ded unto
peace.

The Bri-
tains would
not consent to
haue anie
peace talked
vpon.

The battell is
begun.

A cruell bat-
tell.

A craftie po-
licie.
This was
one of the
Picts.

The Bri-
tains put to
flight.

Twentie
thousand of
Scots and
Picts slaine.
Morzed is
slaine.

men, to withstand the landing of the Saxons, if they should fortune to attempt anie inuasion. That done, he passed forth with the residue of his people towards the Scots & Picts, who were already assembled in campe, and were come as farre as the riuer of Humber, nere to the bankes wherof they had pitched their tents, as in a place fatal for the Britains to be banquished in. Both the armies being brought here into order of battell, the one in sight of the other, there were certene bishops of those three nations that toke great pains to ride to and fro betwixt them, to exhort the kings vnto peace and concord, considering what mischiefe and great bloodshed should ensue, if vpon wilfullnesse they would seek to trie that by dint of sword, which they might make an end of by means of amiable treatie and friendly agreement. Again, they could not do the thing that might moze content the Saxons, common enemies to christian religion, than if by their incountring together in battell, they should so inferre their whole powers, whereby the Saxons might haue readie means and occasion offered to execute their greedie desires to conquere the whole Ile. Morzed and Eugenius were persuaded by this earnest trauell of the bishops, to put their matter in compromise, and to lay away their armour and weapon, if they might haue assurance that the league made with kingloth should in euerie point be obserued. Arthur likewise at the sute of the same bishops, would haue bene contented for his part to haue agreed herevnto; but other of the Britains, namely those that were of kin and alliance vnto Constantine their prince, could in no wise be persuaded therevnto; but rather with manie reprochfull words rebuked the bishops for their vntimelie sute, seeing the enemies readie ranged in battell at point to give the onset, so that (as they alledged) it might be doubted what they meant by their motion, vntill they went about to betraie the armie, vnder pretense of a cloked treatie for an vnprofitable agreement. These of such like words were vnneth ended, when suddenlie the noise being raised on both sides, the battels rushed together right fiercelie. The Britains had the disadvantage of the place, being so incumbered with miris, bogs, and mosses, that they could not well aid themselves, nor handle their weapons to anie purpose. Yet did the battell continue a long time, to the destruction of such numbers of men; that the riuer Humber (nere vnto the which this field was fought) was so mingled with blood, that the water thereof being all coloured red, caried no small number of dead bodies downe into the sea. In the middell of the fight, there was one with loud voice in the British tong cried out to the Britains (of purpose prompted therevnto) that Arthur with other of the nobles on his side were slaine, and therefore it were but follie to trust anie longer vpon victorie, but rather were it wisdom for euerie man by flight to prouide for his owne safetie.

This voice wonderfullie encouraged the Scottish men and Picts, but the Britains were put in such feare therewith, that the most part of them immediatlie here vpon fell to running away. Others of them iudging this to be but some craftie and subtil practise of the enemies deuised of purpose, as it was in deed, to discomfort them with, abode by it still: manfullie continuing in fight, till they were beaten downe and slaine in maner euerie mothers sonne. This victorie being thus hardlie got, cost moze mens liues than anie other had done of manie yeares before; for of the Scots and Picts being vanquishers, there died in that most tall battell about 20000 men, together with Morzed, and a great number of the nobilitie of both the nations. Of the Britains and

such other as were with them in aid, there were slaine, what in battell and what in chase, at the point of 30000, among whome was Arthur himselfe, with Catuan or Caluan (as some bookes haue) brother vnto Morzed, who bare such good will and intire lone vnto his lord and maister the said Arthur, that he fought that day most earnestlie on his side against his owne naturall brother the said Morzed. Also there were killed Catine and Catvolan, with the most part of all the residue of the British nobilitie, and manie prisoners taken, by reason that Humber kept them in from fleeing anie way forth on the one side, which prisoners also were afterwards slaine, the gentlemen onelie excepted.

The day next after the battell, the campe of the Britains was rifled, and amongst other rich spoiles there was found quene Guainoze Arthurs wife, with a great number of other ladies and gentlewomen. The whole spoile of the campe and field being equallie diuided by lots betwixt them, the Scots had for their parts certene faire charets laden with rich stuffe and iewels, also horses and armours, beside sundrie noble men, whom they had to their prisoners. Vnto the Picts fell for their portion quene Guainoze, with the ladies and gentlewomen, and diuers other of the noble men, besides a great quantitie of other rich preie and booties. These prisoners, which the Picts had, were conueied into a castell in Angus, called Dunbarre, a place of great strength in those daies, though at this present there remaineth nothing but the name with the ruines thereof. In which castell they were detained vnder sure ward, during the residue of their naturall liues. In witness whereof there be remaining vnto this day, the graues and monuments where manie of these captiue Britains were buried, in the fields of a towne in that countrie called Megill, not past 10 miles from Dunbarre; but amongst the residue, that of Guainoze is most famous.

There goeth a plaine tale ouer all that countrie, told for an assured truth, that if anie woman chance to tread vpon that graue, they shall remaine barren without bringing forth anie issue moze than the said Guainoze did. But whether this be true or not, certene it is (as Boetius writeth) that there dare no woman come nere that graue, not onelie eschuing it herselfe, but also commanding their daughters to beware thereof. This bloudie battell weakened so much the forces both of the Scots, Picts, and Britains, that manie a day after they were not able to recouer againe their former states and dignities. The yeare also that these three nations incountered thus cruellie together, was after the birth of our Saviour 542, the 26 of Arthurs reigne ouer the Britains, and the 11 of Eugenius his gouernement ouer the Scottishmen.

In the same yere before the battell, were scene manie strange sights in Albion. Crasse and heards in Porthshire appeared to be all stained with blood. There vnto Camelot, a cow brought forth a calfe with two heads. Also an ewe brought forth a lambe that was both male and female. The sunne appeared about none daies all wholie of a bloudie colour. The element appeared full of bright starres to euerie mans sight continuallie for the space of two daies together. In Wales there was a battell betwene croives and pies on the one side, and rauens on the other, with such a slaughter of them, as before that time had not bene heard of.

But to proceed. Eugenius king of the Scots at his returne from the battell, gaue to those that had escaped with life, and abid by him in the chiefe danger of the fight, manie bounteous & large rewards. The sonnes and next kinfolke of such as were

Arthur with
30000 Bri-
tains slaine.
Catuan is
slaine.

Catine and
Catvolan are
slaine.

Quene
Guainoze ta-
ken.
The spoile of
the Britains
camp diuided.

Dunbarre in
Angus, not
that in Lon-
thian.

The fable of
quene Guai-
nozes graue
buried in
Megill.

542.
8. H.B.

Strange and
vntimelie won-
ders.

Eugenius re-
wardeth his
soldiers.

Eugenius go-
narreth his
people with
clemencie.

Constantine
crowned king
of Britaine.

The crueltie
of the Bri-
tains in mur-
dering the in-
nocent child-
ren of Morzed.
The linage
of Morzed
descendeth

The Saxon
returne into
England, at
whiche the
Britains into
Wales.

Constantine
forbiddeth his
catholike kin-
dome to hop
in the heau-
lie kingdom
Constantine
enterech int
religion.

Constantine
sent forth
Ireland in
Scotland
there mur-
dered.

Irmitike
Irmirike
king of the
English
Irmirike
concludeth
peace with
Scottish
and Picts

Eugenius
the Scott
king dieth,
568. H.

Conual
Conual el-
ted king of
Scotland.

Comuals
motion to
scote.

our south
o Bz-
t name,
pant is
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ine
inoze fa-
spoils of
Britains
divided.

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4 2.
H.B.

age and
jowan:

ind re-
by his
s.

Engenis go
south his
people with
climates.

Constantine
crowned king
of Britaine.

The crueltye
of the Bz-
tains in mur-
dering the in-
nocent childre
of the Bz-
tains.
The lineage of
the Bz-
tains
clearly extint.

The Saxons
returne into
England, and
by the Bz-
tains into
Wales.

Constantine
suffereth his
crueltye king-
dome in hope
of heauenly
kingdome.
Constantine
entereth into
religion.

Constantine
sent south of
Ireland into
Scotland, and
there mur-
dered.

Jurnitike of
Jurnitike
king of the
Englishmen.
Jurnitike
concludeth a
peace with the
Scottishmen
and Picts.

Engenis
the Scottish
king dieth.
568. H.B.

Conuall.
Conuall elec-
ted king of
Scotland.

Conuall de-
notion to the
crosse.

name, he also advanced to sundrie preferments of lands & livings, that they inioicing the same, might be a witnesse in time to come of the good service of their ancestors, shewed in defense of their king and countrie, and also of his princelie liberalitie, in rewarding the same upon their issue and progenie. By which noble beneuolence, he won him such loue amongst his people, that afterwards it seemed how he gouerned the state of his kingdome more by clemencie, than by anie rigour of lawes. The Britains immediatlie vpon knowlege had that Arthur was slaine, crowned Constantine his successor in the British kingdome, and for that there should remaine none amongst them aloue to make anie claime to the same kingdome, other than he with his issue, or such as he should appoint to succeed him, they cruelie murdered thousands children, in most pittifull wise running vnto their mothers lap, and reaching hir to saue their liues, according to hir motherlie dutie. They were brought vp in Galuolane their fathers great fathers house, and being thus made afoare, the familie and lineage of their father the foresaid Arthur was utterly thereby extinguisht.

The Saxons at the same time hauing aduertised what losse the Britains had sustained, not onlie by the death of their most balliant king and chiefe, Arthur, but also for the slaughter of such a multitude of their nation as died in the battell, they prepared a mightie naue of ships, and passe ouer the same into England, where being landed, they easilie beat downe the Britains, and diue them with their king Constantine into Wales, so recovering all that part of the land which Hengist somtimes held, & after his name was afterwards called England. Some haue written, how that after king Constantine had reigned certeine yeeres in Wales, his wife and children died, whereupon wearing weariet of this world, he forsooke his earthlie kingdome, in hope of that other aboue, and secretly departed into Ireland, where applying himselfe for a time in ministering to the poore, at length being knowne, by the perswasion of a monke he became one of his cote and profession.

Afterwards being sent by the bishop of the diocese ouer into Scotland, to instruct the people of that countrie in the true faith and articles of the christian religion, he there suffered martyrdome by the hands of most wicked and godlesse persons, and was at length (but manie yeeres after his death) canonized a saint, and sundrie churches (as are to be seene euen vnto this day) built and dedicated vnto him in Scotland by authoritie of the bishops there. At the same time that the said Constantine was diuened into Wales, there reigned amongst the Englishmen one Jurnitike the first (as Beda saith) from Hengist. The same Jurnitike though he were not christened himselfe, yet he permitted the christian faith to be preached amongst his people, and concluding a league with the Scottishmen and Picts, kept the same inuolate during his life time most sincerlie. The Scottish king Eugenis also liued in peace the residue of his life, without anie trouble either by forren enemies, or intestine sedition, & at length died in the 38 yeere of his reigne, after the birth of our Saviour 569.

After his funerall obsequies finished in Colme-Akill, where he lieth buried amongst his ancestors, his brother Conuall was chosen to succeed him in administration of the kingdome, a prince of such inclination to vertue and godlines, as all men may iustlie wonder thereat. He bare such zealous deuotion towards the worshipping of the crosse (a thing to put men in remembrance of Christs passion as he took it) that which way soeuer he rode (as it is reported) he had the same borne before him, and at his getting vp and lighting downe from his horse,

he with all the multitude of people standing about him, would worship it, kneeling downe, & reuerentlie kissing it. This crosse was of silver with a crucifix thereon, and letters grauen in a plate fastened to the staffe, containing these two words: *Christianorum gloria*. He commanded also that the signe of the crosse should be set vpon the tops of steeples, and on the highest towers of the gates of castles & towne. Moreover he forbade the crosse to be grauen or painted vpon anie pavement, least anie man should vnreuerentlie tread vpon it. Furthermore he had priests and other religious men in such honor, as nothing could be more, appointing them to haue the tenths of all those fruits which the earth yielded. Sundrie ordinances he made also, for the greivous punishment of all such as in anie wise misused a priest, or other religious person: as he that gaue any of them a blow, should lose his hand for it: and he that slue one of them, should forfeit his goods, and be burned quicke. Again, he bestowed manie rich iewels, and gaue diuers great gifts vnto churches, prouiding the ministers of sufficient houses nere vnto their churches, to be readie to execute that which appertained vnto their offices, when anie need required.

The king being thus vertuouse disposed, raised the whole number of his subiects by his example to be the better affectioned towards the advancement of religion. The report and fame whereof moued that holie man saint Colme or Colombe, to come ouer south of Ireland (where he had the gouernance of sundrie houses of monks) with twelue other vertuous persons into Albion, and there gathering together a great number of monkes, bring here and there dispersed abroad in the countrie, he placed them orderlie in such houses, as king Conuall had builded and founded for that purpose, appointing amongst them rulers & ministers, such as he thought most conuenient. But saint Colme himselfe, and the other twelue, which he brought ouer with him from Ireland, placing themselves to inhabit in the Ile of Iona, now called Colmekill, toke great paines to instruct the Scots and Picts in the true articles of the faith.

Amongst the Picts at the same time the heresie of Pelagius had infected the minds of many, by means that diuerse of that nation hauing dwelled a long time in Britaine, returning into their countrie, brought that pestilent doctrine home with them, and taught it vnto other. Saint Colme therefore informed hereof, passed into Louthian vnto Wodenus as then king of the Picts, earnestlie traouelling to instruct both him and his people in the right beliefe, and to extirpe out of their hearts all erroneous opinions of that damnable sect of the Pelagians lore. At the same time, that blessed man Kentigern, otherwise called Pungo, gouerned the church of Glasgow, as bishop of the same, who resorting into the companie of this saint Colme, had much conference with him, to both their comforts, concerning the true articles of our faith.

This Kentigern was descended of the blood royal of the Pictish kings, as son vnto that vertuous woman Chametes or Chamew, daughter vnto Loth king of the Picts, whome a young lustie gentleman, or (as some haue written) the last mentioned Eugenis the Scottish king ransht by force, and he got of hir the said Kentigern. He was greatlie in fauour with the foresaid Wodenus the Pictish king, as one that was nere of his blood. For the same Wodenus was nephew vnto the foresaid Loth by his brother called Apelethion, and therefore succeeded in the kingdome of the Picts, after that Arthur was slaine,

Crosse set
vpon the tops
of steeples.

Conuall de-
notion to-
wards church
men.

Conuall libe-
ralitie toward
churches.

Saint Colme
commeth ouer
south of Ire-
land into
Scotland.

The heresie
of Pelagius
in Britaine.

Kentigern
bishop of Glas-
gow, other-
wise called
Pungo bis-
hop of Glasco.

Chamew or
Chametes re-
moued by Eu-
genius king
of Scotland,
of which ran-
ishment he
bare the fore-
said Kentigern.

The castell of
Calidon now
Dounkeld.

The bishops
see of Doun-
keld.

Saint Colme
returneth into
Ireland.

Saint Colme
cometh againe
into Scot-
land, bringing
with him Ai-
dan sonne to
king Conran.

The death of
Conuall.

578. H.B.

Saint Colme
present at the
buriall of king
Conuall.

Kinnatill elec-
ted king of
Scotland.

Saint Colme
and Aidan re-
crued by
Kinnatill.

The prophesie
of Kinnatill.

The death of
Kinnatill.
Kinnatill li-
eng vpon his
death bed, sur-
rendereth his
kingdome in-
to Aidans
hands.

laine, as before is expresse. Kentigorne went with
saint Colme vnto the castell of Calidon, otherwise
called Dounkeld, where they remained six moneths
in a monastrie there, builded by king Conuall, tea-
ching and preaching vnto the people of Athole, Cali-
don, and Angus, that in great numbers came vnto
them, to heare their goodlie instructions. There is in
the same place, where the said castell sometimes stood,
a church dedicated vnto saint Colme, built of faire
square stone, being at this day a bishops see, com-
monlie called Dounkeld, indowd with manie faire
revenues and great possessions, for the maintenance
of the bishop and his canons.

At the six moneths end, those two vertuous per-
sons taking their leaue each of other, not without
shedding of teares, departed in sunder, Kentigorne
returning into Glasgow, and saint Colme into Ire-
land, where reporting manie things, touching the
great vertue and holines of king Conuall, and with
what deuotion he had bene receiued both of him and
his people, he moued manie to wonder greatlie
thereat, to heare that a king in the midst of all his
allurements to pleasure, should yet be so mindfull of
diuine meditations and godlie exercises. In the yere
following, saint Colme prepared to returne into
Scotland, taking Aidan ouer with him thither, by
commandement of king Conuall, which Aidan (as
ye haue heard) to auoid the traines of Eugenius, fled
ouer into Ireland with his mother, for doubt to be
made away by the same Eugenius. Saint Colme
taking the sea with this Aidan, and comming onland
on the coasts of Scotland, was no sooner there ar-
riued, but that presentlie he had knowledge how the
king was dead, being the yere of his reigne the 10,
and after the birth of our Saviour 579.

Saint Colme then being thoughtlie certified of
his death, and that the corps was forwarde on the
way towards Colmekill, there to be buried, he
thought it a peece of his dutie to go thither to be at
the funerall, and so doing, was as one of the chiefest
there in executing of the obsequies. Which being en-
ded, and hearing that Kinnatill the brother of Con-
uall was intronized king in Argyle, by the free elec-
tion of all the estates, he neuertheless kept on his
former purposed iourne, and came vnto Kinnatill,
bringing Aidan with him (appointed by Conuall to
haue receiued the gouernement of the kingdome if
he had liued) they were both receiued with all bene-
uolence of the said Kinnatill contrary to most mens
expectation: insomuch that embracing Aidan, he had
him be of god there, for it should shortly come to
passe, that he should attaine to the possession of his
grandfathers dominions, and haue issue that should
succed him, to the great reliefe of the Scottish com-
mon-wealth.

By what spirit of prophesie he vttered these words,
it is vncertaine, but sure it is that his purpose was
to haue giuen ouer the gouernement of the king-
dome (as he confessed himselfe lieng vpon his death
bed) and to haue restored it vnto Aidan who had a
right therevnto. Whobest being prevented by death,
he could not haue time to accomplish his desire, for
within twentie daies after his coronation, being
surprised with a grieuous disease of a catarrhike
rheume, and the squinancie, he was constrained to
keepe his chamber, committing the publike admini-
stration of the realme vnto Aidan. Herevpon follo-
wed a feuer through increasing of a flegmatike hu-
mor bred by long rest, that after 14 moneths space
vnbodied his ghost, which by instruction of saint
Colme, being present with him at the houre of his
death, he rendered in most deuout wise into the hands
of his redeemer; appointing his kingdome as it
were by deliuerie of selfe, euen there vpon his death

bed vnto the foresaid Aidan.

After that the bodie of this Kinnatill was in-
terred, according to the maner, in Colmekill,
Aidan receiued the crowne, sitting vpon the marble
stone, after the custome in those daies vsed, by the
hands of that holie father saint Colme. Who willing
that silence might be kept, laid his right hand vpon
the kings head, and in his left hand holding his
crozier staffe, made a brieue exhortation, as well
to the king as to his people, admonishing them
of their duties each towards other, but especiallie he
exhorted them vnto peace and concord, and before all
things to remember to walke in the waies of the
Lord, for in so doing they might hope for wealth and
prosperitie in the state of their common-wealth, with
all other good graces, whereas other wise, if either
the people forgot their duties towards God, or that
the king regarded not dutie to execute or fulfill his
office, in giuing God thanks for his bountious libe-
ralitie and high benefites bestowed vpon him, it
should come to passe, that intestine seditions, confu-
sions, and other mischiefs should rise among them,
to the irreuerable losse of the realme, by bringing
the same into danger to be ouerrun with some for-
rein power, if they did not repent in time, and call to
God for his fauour, that it might please him to re-
duce them againe into the right path of his lawes
& ordinances, whensoever they should so fall from the
same. When saint Colme had made an end of these
or the like his wholesome aduertisements, all the peo-
ple reioicing thereat, promised with one voice, and
therewith vowed to follow the same, and to be euer
readie to obeye the commandement of their prince,
and the holie instructions of their bishops and other
the ecclesiasticall ministers. The assemble being once
dissolued, the king departed into Galloway, and
there deliuered the countie of certeine British rob-
bers that had invaded it. After this, studieng to
mainteine good orders and quiet rule through his do-
minions, he appointed an assemble of the chiefest
peeres of his realme, to be holden yerelie in three se-
uerall parties thereof, as in Galloway, Loughquah-
ber, and Cathnessie, there to heare and determine all
sutes and quarels of his subiects, & to giue order for
the administration of the lawes and all publike af-
faires, as they should see cause and occasion. He re-
quired also S. Colme to be present euer with them,
that matters touching religion might be the bet-
ter prouided for, and that the people might take all
things done in those publike sessions in right god
part, because such an holie and vertuous father of the
church was amongst them, and hauing the chiefest
authoritie.

Thus continued the realme in quiet state for cer-
teine yeres together, till it chanced that diuers of
the nobles being togither on hunting, fell at vari-
ance, and therevpon making a fraie, sundrie of them
were slaine. The beginners and such as were most
culpable were sought for by the kings officers, to
haue bene had to ward, but they in disobeying the
arrest, strooke and beat the officers berie sore, and im-
mediatlie therewith fled vnto Budeus king of the
Picts, so by full exile to safe gard their liues. King
Aidan according to the maner in such cases accuso-
med, required to haue those outlawes deliuered vnto
him, that he might do iustice vpon them according-
lie as they had deserued. Budeus taking pittie of
the yong gentlemen, alledged manie things in their
excuse, still deferring to deliuer them, till at length
he procured warre to himselfe and his countrie,
For Aidan the Scottish king, offended in that he
might not haue those rebels and publike offenders
restored vnto him, caused a number of his people,
first to fetch a great hostie of cattell and prisoners

Aidan.

Aidan recei-
ueth his inue-
sture of the
kingdome at
the hands of
saint Colme.
S. Colmes
exhortation to
the king and
the people.

The head
place betwixt
the Scots
and Picts:
A field fou-
dered betwixt
Scots and
Picts.

Saint C.
reproueth
Aidan.

The re-
uerence of
Aidan.

Saint C.
preacheth
vnto
king of
Picts.

An agree-
ment betwixt
the Scottish
Picts
by the
saint Co.

Saint C.
returneth
the Scott
Picts.

Englan-
dus sent
men here
kingdom

Exile
of Picts
berland.

Exile
purpose

A fraie among
the nobles
being a hunting.

King Aidan
requireth to
haue certein
Scottish out-
lawes deliue-
red at the
hands of Bu-
deus king of
Picts.

Budeus by
denieng to de-
liuer the Scot-
tish outlawes,
procureth
warre to him-
selfe and his
countrie.

A fraie
clashed
betwixt
the Scots
and Picts,
the same

Aidan.

him recei-
y his mure-
e of the
gome at
hands of
t Colme.
Colmes
oration to
king and
people.

The breach of
peace betwixt
the Scots
and Picts.
A fello fought
betwixt
Scots and
Picts.

Saint Colme
reprovehth A.
Aidan.

The repre-
sation of King
Aidan.

Saint Colme
goeth vnto the
king of the
Picts.

An agreement
betwixt the
Scottish and
Pictish kings
by the fute of
saint Colme.

Saint Colme
remend vnto
the westerne
Kings.

England di-
uided into se-
uen feuerall
kingdoms.

Edelfred K.
of Northum-
berland.

Edelfred
purposeth.

A league con-
cluded be-
twixt the
Scots & Bri-
tains, with
the articles of
the same.

promiseth
people.

kings
te into
way.

1 appoin-
tions
kept
in thys
of his
t.

Colme
at es-
to
f.

among
les be-
inting.

Aidan
th to
reine
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cluse
ie
f Bz
ag of

is by
to des-
sco-
ares,
th
to him
his

out of Angus.

Wherewith the Picts being kindled, made a like rode into Calloway. Finallye the matter grew vnto a field, which was foughten in Pentient, not farre from Calidon castell otherwise called Dounkelb, with great slaughter on both sides, though in the end the victorie yet remained with the Scots; but losing Arthurnus the sonne of Aidan their king, they reioised not greatlye at the gaine. That holie man saint Colme troubled with such newes, came vnto Aidan, and declaring vnto him how grieuouse he had of- fended almighty God, in procuring such mischief as had ensued of this warre, and reciting in particu- lar the branches thereof, he moued the king vnto such repentance for his trespasse, that he wholie sub- mitted himselfe vnto saint Colmes chastisement, who being about to depart in semblance fore offen- ded, the king got him by the sleue, and would in no wise suffer him to go from him, till he had declared vnto him some comfortable meanes how to redresse the matter, for the quieting of his conscience. At length saint Colme lamenting the kings case, suffer- ed himselfe to be intreated, and thereupon repaired vnto Budeus the Pictish king, mouing him by way of diuerse goodlie aduertisements to incline his af- fection vnto peace. At length he did so much by tra- uelling sundrie times to and fro betwixt the two kings, th at he brought them vnto agreement for all matters depending in controuersie betwixt them and their subiects.

Thus saint Colme hauing accomplished that which he came for, returned againe into the westerne I- les vnto his wonted home, where he did by whole- some documents and vertuous examples instruct the seruants of God in the way of his lawes and com- mandements. In this meane time the Sarons ha- uing diuinen and put backe the Britains into Wales, and occupieng all the residue of their lands and coun- tries, they diuided the same into seuen parts, orde- ning seuen feuerall kings to gouerne the same as kingdomes.ouer that of Northumberland, adioi- ning next vnto the Picts, one Edelfred reigned, a man of exceeding desire to enlarge his dominion. He went by all means he could deuise, to persuaue Bu- deus the Pictish king to renew the warres with the Scots, promising him all the aid he could make a- gainst them, not onelie for that he knewe the Scots to haue bene euer enemies vnto the Sarons, but al- so for that he himselfe was descended of the nation called Agathysses, of the which the Picts (as was though) were also come. But the cause why he wis- shed that there might be warres raised betwixt the Scots and Picts, was not for anye good will he bare to the Picts, but onelie to the end that their power being weakened through the same, he might haue a more easie preie of their countrie, the which he purpo- sed vpon occasion to inuade, and ioine vnto his owne kingdom of Northumberland.

Budeus at the first gaue no care vnto his earnest motions and large offers, but at length through the counsell and procurement of some of his nobles, cor- rupted by bribes receiued at Edelfreds hands, and still putting into the kings head sundrie forged in- formations of the Scottishmens daillie attempts a- gainst the Pictish nation; he determined to ioine with the Sarons against them, and caused therevpon warre to be proclaimed against the Scots, as those that had spoiled and robbed his subiects, contrarie to the league and all bonds of old friendship and former amitie betwixt them. The Scottish king Aidan per- ceuieng the practise of the Sarons, and together ther- with the vnturith of the Picts, the better to be able to resist their malice, ioineith in league with the Bri- tains; this article being the chiefest in the whole co-

uenant: that if the enemies first inuaded the Bri- tains, then an armie of Scots should be sent with all speed into Britaine, to helpe to defend the coun- trie against such inuasions: but if the Scots were first inuaded, then should the Britains in semblable manner come ouer to their aid.

The Sarons hauing knowledge of this appoint- ment betwixt Scots & Britains; to draw the Scots forth of their countrie, and so to haue them at more aduantage, procured the Picts to ioine with them: and so both their powers being vnited together, en- tred into the British confines. Aidan according to the couenant came streight vnto the aid of the Bri- tains. Edelfred and Budeus refused to fight for certeine daies, as it were of purpose, therby to wea- ric the Scots with watch and trauell, being as then far from home. Also they looked daillie to haue Cou- line king of the Westsaxons to come vnto their aid: but the Scots and Britains hauing knowledge ther- of, first thought it best to encounter with him, before he should ioine with the other, and thus vnderstan- ding that their onelie refuge remained in their ar- mo; and weapons, gaue the onset so fiercelie vpon those Sarons, that at the first, sleaing Cuttha Cen- lines sonne, with a great number of other, they cast- lie distressed and put the residue to flight.

Aidan would not suffer his men to pursue too far in the chase, but called them backe by the found of a trumpet, who being assembled herewith about their standards, made such top and triumph, as greater could not be deuised, what with dancung, singing, and plaing on pipes and other instruments, accor- ding to the manner in those daies. But as they were thus in the middelt of their chiefest mirth, suddenie appered the Sarons and Picts, which were with E- delfred and Budeus, appoyching towards them in god order of battell, with whome were also the resi- due of the Westsaxons, that had escaped from the late bickering. Wherevpon the Scots and Britains amayed with the sight hereof, were suddenie stri- ken out of countenance, inso much that Aidan went amongst them, and with a bold countenance exhor- ted them to remember how valiantlie they had al- ready put to flight the other of their enemies, so that there was great hope for assured victorie of these likewise, if they would now shew the like manlie courage against them, as they had shewed before in assailing the other. Manye other words he vied in ad- monishing them to fight manfullie, till the onset gi- uen by the enemies caused him to make an end.

The Sarons laid about them so stoutlie in the be- ginning, that they forced their aduersaries; with whome they were matched, to giue backe. Neither did Edelfred faile in that occasion to encourage them to follow the aduantage now thus gotten. Bu- deus with his Picts likewise made great slaughter in that wing of the Scots, with the which he incoun- tred; so that finallye the same Scots perceiuing the Britains beaten downe and fore distressed on their side, fell through discomfort thereof to running a- waie. There were slaine in this battell on the Sco- tishmens side, Brennius lieutenant of (as they ter- med him) thane of the Ile of Man, with Dungan the kings third sonne, and no small number of other gentlemen besides. The king himselfe escaped by helpe of his sonne, who strageng to get his father out of the preece, was slaine (as is said) amongst the residue. On the Sarons side, there was slaine Theobald E- delfreds brother, and Cuttha the king of Westsaxons his sonne, as before ye haue heard, with a great num- ber of other. Edelfred himselfe lost one of his eyes. Budeus the Pictish king was hurt in the thigh, and besides this, he lost a great multitude of his people.

Thus Edelfred huiug got such a notable victorie

Is. j.

The Picts & Sarons enter into the land of the Britains.

Centine of
Cecilin.

The Scots and Britains put the Sarons to flight, and slae Cuttha the sonne of Cedline king of the westsaxons. The triumphant top made by the Scots and Britains vpon their new victorie.

The Sarons and Picts.

The sudden feare of the Scots and Picts, after all their great top & triumphing.

Budeus exhor- ted his men to manfullie.

The Sarons fight stoutlie.

Edelfred.

Budeus K. of the Picts maketh slaugh- ter of the Scots.

The Scots run a waie.

Edelfred lost one of his eyes. Budeus hurt in the thigh.

at

Dejalaone the place wher this battell was fought. Galloway invaded by Celsfred.

Certaine companies of Saxons overthorne.

Passages thorough Galloway lands.

The diligence of king Aidan in providing to resist his enemies.

The Scots and Britains dislodged. The Scots and Britains enter into Northumberland.

The fight betwixt Scots and Britains on the one side, and Saxons and Picts on the other.

The Saxons and Picts discomfited and chased.

at Dejalaone in Britaine, he could not be so contented, but effoones assembling his people, and joining againe with Brudeus and his Picts, the next summer after invaded Galloway, and began to rob and spoile that countrie, to the end he might either enforce the inhabitants, with other the countries next thereunto adjoining, to yield unto him; either els to bring them into extreme poverterie in wasting all afoze him. But Aidan being advertised hereof, sent to the Britains for their covenanted aid, and comming forward with his owne people which he had assembled together, overthrew certaine companies of his enemies, as he found them dispersed abroad in seeking for prizes: then passing by their maine armie, he cometh into Anandale, where he joineth with the Britains, being come so farre forward on their waie to meet him. The Saxons and Picts having knowledge of their enemies doings, took such a place of advantage, as they thought it an easie matter for them in keeping the same, to distress both the Scots and Britains through stopping up the passages, by the which they must of force passe, if they minded to come forth on that day. These passages laie through certaine quicksands, and by a river which had but few fords passable.

The Scots and Britains, perceiving how they were thus inclosed, with all speed trenched their campe about, raising certaine bulwarks and turrets in places where they thought expedient, as though they had ment still there to have continued. Aidan himselfe took such pains in seeing euerie thing done in due order, that his people moved more through his example than by any exhortation, were most diligent in their duties, desirous of nothing so much as to have occasion ministered, to shew some proofe of their worthie valencies. At length, when the enemies were most abquiet, and (as was supposed) nothing in doubt of any attempt to be made by the Scots and Britains in the night season, leaving a great number of fires in their campe, they suddenly dislodged, and passing the water by secret fords, they entered into Cumberland, and so after passing into Northumberland, they wasted and destroyed with fire and sword all that came within their reach: the report of which their doings brought Celsfred and Brudeus backe into that countrie to resist their invasion, neither resting day nor night, till they had got sight of their enemies.

The next day, the souldiers on both sides requiring battell, together they go with great noise and din both of men and instruments. So much hardnesse in the Saxons caused no small number of them to be slaine, rather choosing to die with reputation of manhood, than to give backe neuer so little ground to the enemy. Thus the battell continued for a space, verie doubtfull which waie the victorie would incline. On the Britains and Scottishmens side, there were foure chiefe rulers amongst them, beside Aidan himselfe, as Constantius and Alenctinus Britains, Callan and Moradache Scottishmen. Each of these taking a severall charge upon him, did earnestlie applie their uttermost endeavors therein, encouraging their bands to put a waie all cowardlie feare, and manfullie to stick to their tackle, since by victorie there was hope of eternall fame, beside surtie of life, and advancement to the common wealth of their countrie; where otherwise they might looke for nothing, but the contrarie mishaps, as shame, rebuke, and importable servitude. So that the Scottishmen and Britains encouraged herewith, pressed upon the enemies so fiercely, that at length as well the Saxons as Picts were compelled to breake their arraie, & fall to plaine running a waie: the Scots following & egerlie in the chase, that more of their enemies were thought

to die in the flight, than before there had done in the battell.

S. Colme as yet being alive, and with in his monasterie in the Ile of Iona, had knowledge by divine inspiration (as the Scottish chronicles make mention) of all these matters how they went: and at the verie time that the battels were in fight together, he had assembled a companie of verie vertuous and godlie disposed persons, making intercession for the prosperous speed of their king the foresaid Aidan: and at the verie instant (as it was knowne after) that the Saxons began to flee (as they which had the overthow) that holie old father shewed great token of ioy and gladnesse, declaring unto his brethren by the spirit of secret knowledge or prophetic, how Aidan had the better, and that his enemies were discomfited, willing them thereupon to give unto God thanks for the same. There was an huge multitude slaine in this conflict, but namelie the death of Ceuline king of the West Saxons, with other two worthie captains of that nation, made the slaughter more sorrowfull on that side, the one of them was called Caline, and the other Awhiteline.

The day next after the battell, the spoile of the field being gathered together, all that which was knowne to have bene taken out of Galloway, and other countries of the Scots, was restored by the kings authoritie unto the owners againe. The residue which remained was divided amongst the souldiers, the tenth part onelie excepted, which was distributed unto priests & curats, to bestow the same upon ornaments for their churches. The banners and standards of the Saxons and Picts, with manie other rich offerings, king Aidan sent unto the abbey of Colmekill, there to remaine as perpetuall monuments and tokens of so notable a victorie. The yere next ensuing, that holie father S. Colme now almost wasted through age, and hereto also sore troubled with a rheumatike humoz, fell sicke and died. Some saie he ended his life in his house amongst his brethren, within the Ile of Iona, otherwise called Colmekill, but S. Beda writeth, how he died in an Island called Heu, where againe the Irish writers affirme, that he deceased in a towne in Ireland called Dune, & that his tombe is there in verie great veneration of the people: upon the which are these Latine verses ingrauen for the lookers on to read, if they list:

*Hic in Duno, tumultu tumulantur in uno,
Brigida, Patricum, atque Columbanum.*

Saint Colme, Saint Patrike, and Brigitta pure, Thir three in Dune lies in one sepulture.

Neither did Aidan the Scottish king live long time after, for bearing (as is said) that saint Colme was dead, shortly thereupon, more through griefe than by force of sicknesse, he departed this world, after he had reigned 37 yeares in gouernment of the Scottishmen, he died about the yeare of our Lord 606. In the daies of this Aidan there was sent into Albion from Gregorie the pope of Rome, diuers learned men (amongest whome were Augustinus and Mellitus) to instruct the English people in the faith of Christ, which as yet they had not received. By the earnest trauell and exhortation of these instructors, Ethelbert king of the Kentish Saxons was baptised with all his people. The British priests nor their doctrine the Saxons could in no wise abide, because (as is supposed) the one nation through a naturall hatred, still sought the destruction of the other. The South and East Saxons moved with the example of the Kentish Saxons, shortly after also renounced their old superstitious idolatrie, and likewise received the christian faith. Celsfred king of Northumberland moved unto displeasure herewith, sent word unto these Saxons of the south parts (as then

Maldoed o
wile calle
Maldoed
107 of the
Picts.

S. Colme in-
duced with
the spirit of
secret know-
ledge.

Ceuline king
of west Saxons
slaine.
Awhiteline
or Awhitine.

Amirall
betrued.

The division
of the spoile.

Kenet
Keir.
Keneth
their cro
king of I

Keneth
their die
the cong
the king

Eugen
fourth
name.

Euge
us.

S. Col
prophet
Eugen
fourth.

which berles
Bellenden
translated.

Aidan king of
the Scottish
men, departs
this world.

606.

Eugenius
and Mellitus
sent into Al-
bion.

Ethelbert is
baptised.

The Saxons
hated toward
the British
priests.
Suffer and
Elder receive
the christian
faith.

Celsfred his
displeasure.

Alone
peace a
quiet

Char
dier.

then all of them generallie knowne by the name of Englishmen) that sith they had forsaken the old institutions & ancient religion of their forefathers, he would suerlie from thenceforth be no lesse enimie vnto them than vnto the Scots and Britains. There liued in these daies that holie man Waldo a Scottis man borne, but dwelling amongst the Picts, whome he instructed in the right faith, and therefore was named the doctor of the Picts. He departed out of this life within the Iland called the Wasse, lying about two miles off from the maine land within the sea, where the Forth hath entrie betwixt the same Ile, and an other called the Gtate. There were thre parishes sell at contention for his bodie, as Aldham, Liningham, and Preston, so far south, that they were at point to haue fought about it, but that by counsell of some discreet persons amongst them, it was ordeined that they should continue in praier for that night, and in the next morning stand to the order of the bishop of the dioces, who was come thither the same time to be present at the buriall. The next day in the morning there was found thre beires with thre bodie decentlie covered with clothes, so like in all resemblance, that no man might perceiue anie difference. Then by commandement of the bishop, and with great top of all the people, the said seuerall bodie were caried seuerallie vnto the said thre seuerall churches, and in the same buried in most solempne wise, where they remaine vnto this day, in much honor with the common people of the countries nere adjoining.

Waldo other
wise called
Waldo doctor
of the
Picts.

Colme in
ied with
e spirit of
ret know-
age.

colme king
westsaxon
ine.
subtline
why come.

he distill
the spale.

Miracle it
be true.

Kenerhus
Keir.
Kenerhus
Keir crowned
king of Scots

Kenerhus
Keir death of
the cough of
the lungs.

Eugenius the
fourth of that
name.

Eugenius
the fourth.

Colme
prophetic of
Eugenius the
fourth.

flower of
peace and
quietnesse.

Sharpe in-
dicer.

Colme de-
ied out of
a life.

Colme de-
ied out of
a life.

rich verles
londen
inlath.

van king of
Scotth
7, depars
this
hid.

506.

gustinus
Whellius
into Al-

peibert is
riled.

e Haro-
ed toward
Whellius
ites.
lex and
ex receue
christian
).
elfred his
leasure.

By these and the like his princelie doings, he was both beloued of his people and also feared. He neither fauoured the Picts nor Saxons of Northumberland, for that the one nation being ethnike, persecuted in their infidelitie, and the other called not by all manner of means to support them; but yet taking a truce with them both, he firmitie caused the same to be obserued. In the tenth yeare of his reigne Cadwall king of Westsaxons & Elfred king of Northumberland, with aid of the Picts, banquished Cadwallo king of Britains, and chased him into Scotland, where he remained not long, sailing from thence into Britaine in France, and purchasing aid of the king there named Cadoall, returned into Wales, where banquishing his enimies the Saxons, and slaing manie thousands of them, he was restored againe vnto his kingdome. About the same time was Edelfred king of Northumberland slaine in battell, at a place called Winttingham, not far from the riuer of Humber, by Redwald and Ethelbryth, the one being king of the east Angles, and the other of the middle Angles; in reuenge of such iniuries as the same Edelfred had done vnto the Saxons of the countrie called Mercia, containing (as in the English historie more plainelie may appeare) all those shires from the riuer of Thames vnto the riuer of Merse in Lancashire. Then was one Edwin a right christian prince appointed to reigne in his place, by the assignement of the two forsaide kings Redwald and Ethelbryth.

Cadwall ban-
quished.

Cadwall is
restored vnto
his kingdome.

See more
in vol in Eng-
land.

King Edel-
fred slaine.

Edwine.

Whilest these things were a doing, there were seven sonnes of the aforesaid Edelfred, that detesting the vntrue dealing of the Picts, which refused to aid their father in his necessitie, and doubting to fall into the hands of Edwin, got them to Eugenius the Scottis king for more surtete of their liues. Their names were Eustred, Oswald, Oswald, Oswin, Offas, Osmond, and Oske. Oske the onelie daughter of Edelfred being taken amongst other prisoners, and escaping from hir taker, miraculously got a bote in the riuer of Humber, and with the same taking the sea alone, without all humane helpe (as hath bene reported) she sailed forth, & at length safelie arrived at the point of land which stretched forth into the sea, in the mouth of the Forth, called euen vnto this day after hir name, saint Ebbes head, where being receiued by the bishop of that diocese, she was professed a nun, and after continuing in great perfectnesse of obseruing that profession, she was instituted abbesse of hir house, shewing still in trade of life an orderlie example for hir flocke to follow.

S. Ebbes
head.

Eugenius the Scottis king did louinglie receiue the sonnes of Edelfred, though their father had euer bene a cruell enimie against the Scottis nation; and within a while after their comming into Scotland, hearing oftentimes the goodlie sermons and preachings of the bishops and monks (who in those daies continuallie gaue themselves vnto that exercise) they finally abhorred their superstitious idolatrie, and receiued baptisme, that salutiferous signe and sacrament of our christian religion. Those churches also, which the Saxons in time of the warres had overthrowen and destroyed in Galloway and other countries thereabouts, Eugenius caused to be repaired; moreover also he reedified sundrie castles in those marches, and placed in them garisons of soldiers, to defend them against all intruders that might happen. Thus continuing his reigne the space of fiftie yeares or thereabouts in honorable peace, to the great advancement of the commonwealth of his subiects, he lastlie died in the yeare 620, and was buried amongst his elders in the Ile of Iona, within the monastrie of Colmekill.

Is. ij.

About

Bonifacius a
goble p^rest^r
cher.

About this time, that reuerend father and bishop Bonifacius Quirinus came forth of Italie into Scotland, to instruct the people in the faith of Christ there. Whether he were pope, and resigning by the papallie came thus into Scotland (as some haue supposed) or whether he was sent from the pope called Bonifacius that succeeded Sauinianus, it is not certeinlie knowne; but certeinlie it is, as the Scottis luxiters affirme, that vpon his first comming into Scotland he arrived in the water of Tait, comming on land at the mouth of a little riuer, which divideth the countrie of Colowie from Angus. His name is yet famous amongst the Scots euen vnto this day, for that he travelled through the most part of the land, in preaching and instructing the people to their confirmation in the faith, and erecting diuers churches in the honor of almighty God, which he dedicated to the name of saint Peter. And amongst other he built one at the place where he came on land, another at a village called Tulline, not passing three miles from Dundee, and the third at Keskennoth, where afterwards an house of canons of saint Augustines order was builded. At length he came into Kossie, continuing there the residue of his life, and is buried at Kossiemarthen.

Molocke a
preacher.

Monks were
preachers in
those daies.

There was also at the same time amongst the Scots an ancient goble man named Molocke, who following such rules & doctrine as in his youth he had learned of Wandon that reuerend abbat, he ceased not to exhort the people of Spar and Argile (in which countries he was most resident) to flee and forsake their vicious lining, and to indouour themselves to embrace vertue, to the comfort and health of their soules. This Molocke kept continuall companie with the forenamed Bonifacius after his comming into Scotland: and finally died also in Kossie, being about 94 yeares of age, and was buried in the church where Bonifacius lieth, though they of Argile say that his reliques rest among them in the church of Alismore, which is dedicated to his name.

Ferqu-
bard.

Ferquhard
king of Scot-
land.

Fiacre gaeth
himselfe for to
live a solitarie
life in France

After the deceasse of Eugenius, his son Ferquhard succeeded in his place, for Eugenius had three sonnes, Ferquhard, Fiacre, and Donald, these being appointed by their father to be brought vp with Connane bishop of Sodor (that is, the bishop of Man) in vertuous discipline, did not altogether follow his godlie precepts and lessons. Ferquhard and Donald gladly gaue care to him, but they thought his instructions did not much apperteine vnto their birth and degree: but Fiacre printing his diuine documents depelie in his heart, determined to forsake all worldly pompe and dignitie, and to get him some whither farre from home, where he might serue God more freele without let or interruption of his friends or kindfolke. Thus being disposed, he got vpon him simple apparell, and went ouer into France, where seeking a solitarie place, Pharaos the bishop of Meaur gaue vnto him a pece of ground, in the which at this day he is worshipped with great deuotion.

There hath gone a tale in that countrie, that no woman might enter into the chappell where he lieth buried; for if anie doe, she hath some mishap that falleth vnto hir, as either the losse of sight, priuation of wits, or some such like. As touching the state of the Scottis commonwealth, vnder the gouernement of Ferquhard, the same was quiet enough, & without trouble of outward eranties; but his subiects among themselves fell at such diuision, that euerie part of the realme was full of murder, burning, and other destructions of men and houses, with such spoiling, robbing, reuing, and all kinds of other mischiefs, that no where was any suertie either of life or goods: all the which misdoers sprang, were now

riued and mainteined through the kings olone diligence: for he mistaking his office and dutie, was of this opinion, that so long as the nobles and states of his realme were thus readie one to kill an other, there was no likelihood they should haue time to practise anie rebellion against him; and herevpon he rather holpe to further such discord amongst them, than toke order for to appeale it. But it came to passe by this means, that he was nothing regarded within a while amongst them, so that by means of other arbitrators which they chose by common agreement, all matters in controuersie were taken by & ended betwixt them, the king not once made priue therevnto.

Ferquhard
maintained
will discord.

The desperat
and of king
Ferquhard.

632

At the same time it was noised abroad in the realme, that Ferquhard, besides other his wicked behanours, was also infected with the erroneous opinions of the Delagian heresie. Which suspicion was the more increased, for that he used to haue sundrie Wiltish priests in his companie: the which nation had bene euer noted with the spot of that damnable infection. The nobilitie of the realme moued herewith, summoned him by an herald to come to a counsell, which they had appointed to hold of all the states, that they might there vnderstand, if it were true or not which was commonlie reported of him. But he refusing to come at such summons, they assembled together, and besieged him in the castell wherein he had inclosed himselfe, and winning the place, got him into their hands, and immediatlie therevpon committed him to safe keeping. This done, they consult together for the administration of the realme, whether they should quite depose Ferquhard, or restore him to his place. In fine they rest vpon this agreement, to send an honorable ambassage into France vnto Fiacre, to require him to returne home into his countrie, and there to receive the gouernement of the realme.

The king Ferqu-
hard infected
with the Delagian error.

The king is
summoned by
an herald.
He is taken
prisoner.

Donwald.
Donwald R.
of Scotland.

King Edward
to Rome.

Ambassadors
sent into
France
Fiacre.

Fiacre (as the report goeth) hearing that there were diuers of the Scottis nobilitie comming towards him vpon this message, in his praiers desired freuentlie of almighty God, that it might please him so to worke for him, that he might continue in his contemplative life still, and not be occasioned to resort vnto the troubles of the world, which all contemplative goble men ought to abhorre. And euen as he had wished, it came to passe. For when those that were sent vnto him, came to the heremitage wherein he had his lodging, they found him (as appeared vnto them) so disfigured with the leprosie, that vpon his earnest refusal to forsake his solitarie life (which he professed to lead as an heremite) for anie worldly preferment of kinglie gouernement, they were content to returne with that answer, with his infirmitie (as they supposed) was such, as was not conuenient for him that should haue anie publike gouernement. This Fiacre had a sister named Sara, which hearing of hir brothers vertuous trade of life, came vnto him with a companie of goble virgins, and being of him confirmed in hir purposed intent of chastitie, she repaired into Champaigne in France, where she with hir fellows remained in great holinesse of life, leauing in those parties a worthy memorie not forgotten amongst them there till this day.

Fiacre his
prayer.

Entered.

Of the an to
Scott.

The foresaid ambassadors returning forth of France, declared in what plight of deformitie they had seene Fiacre, and how earnestlie he had refused the offer which they had made vnto him in name of all the states of Scotland. The Scottis nobilitie herevpon assembling together, chose forth foure of the ancientest peeres amongst them, to haue the rule and gouernement of the kingdome, till it were otherwise prouided. These were named by that

age,

The desperat
end of king
Fergus.

632

Donwald.
Donwald k.
of Scotland.

King Edwin
is slain.

Custred.

Whithan the
Boch.

age, wardens, and had full authoritie to order things as seemed them good in all points. In the meane time Fergus hard remaining still in prison, and vered with sundrie diseases, to rid himselfe out of such miseries, due himselfe in the 13 yeare of his reigne; and so nothing spared his owne life in the end, which had bene the occasion of the losse of so manie other mens liues in time of the ciuill discorde, that he had ener nourished. After this wretched end of Fergus hard, which happened in the yeare of our Lord 632, the lords of the land assembled themselves together in Argile, about the choosing of a new king, where by common consent, Donwald the third sonne of Eugenius, being called thither with bishop Conan out of the Ile of Man, was intrusted king with great ioy and triumph.

This Donwald hauing taken on him the roiall administration, transforming himselfe into his fathers maners, restored againe into the former estate such things as appertained vnto the common wealthe, and had bene anie wise decayed and misgouerned by the slothfull negligence of his predecessor Fergus hard, by means whereof he quicklie grew into great fauour of his subjects. In the meane time Cadwallo king of the Britains, and Penda king of those Englishmen which inhabited that part of England ancientlie called Mercia, joining their powers together against Edwin king of Northumberland, depeined him both of life and kingdom. After this, passing through the whole countrey, and entring into the confines of Scotland, they took a great part of the same by force of arms from Brydeus king of the Picts, who in vaine had sued for aid vnto Donwald king of Scotland, for that his vntruth had bene notified moze than trowgh in times past. But Donwald being certified of Edwin's death, made means vnto Cadwallo king of the Britains by his ambassadours, that Custred the son of Edelred might be restored vnto his fathers kingdom, which Edwin had wrongfullie vsurped.

This being granted, Custred leauing his brethren still in Scotland, came into Northumberland, where by authoritie of Cadwallo and Penda he was intrusted king of Bernicia, that is, of the countrey which is now called the marches. For at the same time they had diuided the kingdom of Northumberland into two kingdoms, appointing Custred (as is said) to reigne ouer the one called Bernicia, and one strike ouer the other called Deira, a man of great wickednesse, as by his works most plainelie appeared. For certeine yeares after his advancement to that dignitie, he found means to marie one of his daughters vnto the foresaid Custred, perswading the same Custred to consent with him in restoring againe the heathenish religion throughout their whole dominion, & bitterlie to renounce the christian faith, which they had latelie before receiued by the instructions of the two bishops Conan & Pauline. But they intoid not long felicitie after so wicked and most diuelish a purpose, for the princes of Albion under the leading of Cadwallo k. of the Britains, and Penda king of Mercia, with a great armie assembled of Saxons, Britains, and Picts, entring into Northumberland, and incountring in battell with strike and Custred, discomfited their power, and took them prisoners, who being put into a common prison, due each other to auoid sharper tortures, which by due execution they daillie looked for.

Then was the kingdom of Northumberland giuen vnto Oswald brother to Custred, both in respect of the right which he had thereto, and also of the zeale which he bare to the advancement of Christs religion, shewing himselfe in consideration thereof, an earnest enemy to his brother Custred, and all his

partakers, in so much that in the dayes of the battell, he was one of the forwardest capteins against them. Vnto this Oswald was sent a Scottisman called Cozman, to instruct the Northumberland men in faith, and after him Aidan, as in the English historie ye may read moze at large: finally he was slaine by Penda king of Mercia, as in the same historie appeareth. His death chanced in the third yeare of Donwald the Scottish king, who sore lamented the same, as of that prince whome he loued right intirelie. Neither liued the said king Donwald anie long time after the death of his deere friend; for that in the fifteenth yeare of his reigne, being got into a bote to fish in the water called Lochtate for his recreation, his chauce was to be drowned, by reason the bote sank vnder him. Certeine daies after, his bodie being found and taken vp, was buried amongst his ancestors in Colmekill, in the yeare of our Lord 647.

About the same time there liued in France three brethren of great holinesse of life, being sonnes vnto Whitan king of Ireland, the which he begot of his wife Galghetes, descended of the lineage of the kings in Scotland. The names of which three brethren were as followeth, Furcus, Follanus, and Altanus. Furcus professing himselfe a monke of saint Benets order, passed ouer into France, there to set forth and enlarge that profession, and being receiued of king Clovis, began the foundation of a monasterie there called Latinie, in the which he placed monks of that order, and began to sow in those parties the seeds of the gospell, but not without the darnell of mens traditions, as Iohn Bale saith in the 14 centurie of the British writers. His two brethren Follan and Altan followed him ouer into France, and both by word and example instructed the Frenchmen to embrace the faith of Christ, and to renounce the religion of the gentiles.

So that it seemeth as yet, such as professed themselves to be monks, and men of religion (as they were called) had not left off to labour in the Lords vineyard, spending their time in reading the scriptures, to instruct and teach others, and to exercise prayer and thanksgiving: so as no small number by their wholesome doctrine and good example were conuerted to the christian faith. Follan at length was martyred in a monasterie which he had founded in France called Fosse. About the same time there was also a contention amongst them in Albion for keeping of the Easter day, the Scottish bishops and some of the Britains varieng in their account from all other prelates of the west: but at length through perswasion of the pope they confessed their error (if it ought so to be taken) and consented to celebrate that feast according to the account of other nations. These things chanced in the daies of king Donwald.

After the decesse of Donwald, his nephew Fergus hard the sonne of his brother, the other Fergus hard, succeeded in gouernement of the realme, a man of quick and liuelie spirit, but inclined neuer thelesse rather vnto euill than vnto good, speciallie after he had attained the crowne, in so much as it was commonlie spoken of him, that from a liberall and most gentle humane person, he was suddenly changed into an insatiable and most cruell monster. Before he came to the crowne he was liberall beyond measure. There was no gentleman that wanted monie, either to redeeme his lands ingaged, or to bestow in dowry for the marriage of his daughter, but if he had therewith to helpe him, he might account himselfe sure thereof. Priests and other devout persons, speciallie such as were pore and in any necessitie, he oftentimes most bountifullie relieved.

12. H.B.

Donwald
the Scottish
king drowned
645. H.B.

Anno 834.
Folgerbertus.
Folsenle monasterium.
Stricte about
the celebra-
ting of the
feast of Easter

Fer-
quhard.
Fergus hard
the second of
that name cre-
ated king of
Scotland.
Fergus hard
being king
was constant
before he
was king, he
loved libe-
rality.

Is. iij. to

to their great ease and comfort. So he by these, such a readinesse was in him to helpe all men, that (as was thought) he could better be contented to want himselfe, than to see other men haue need of anie thing that was in his possession, so that all men iudged him most worthy of all princelie authoritie. But after he was once placed in the kinglie seat, he so altered his conditions, that men could not but wonder much therat. Where before he was knowne to be liberall, well disposed, righteous, sober, and a reformer of offenses, he was now forthwith become conetous, wicked towards God, a tormentor of the iust and righteous people, and insatiable in all unlawfull affecti-
ons. That which before time he had giuen unto anie of the nobilitie, he now without all shame vn-
courteously demanded to be to him restored, alleu-
ging that he did but lend it for the time. And such as went about to delay restitution, pretending anie excuse, he caused their goods to be confiscate, and also their bodies to be committed to prison. Now & then he found means without cause or matter to put some of them to cruell death. Such of the prelates as he vnderstood to be wealthy, he rested not till he had pilked one matter or other vnto them, whereby they were sure to forfeit all their treasure vnto his coffers, that neuer might be filled.

The bishops of the realme, namelie those two reuerend fathers, Colman and Finnan, perceiuing such wickednesse in the prince, blamed him tharpe-
lye sundrie times for the same: and at length because they saw he regarded not their admonishments, he was by them excommunicated: whereof he so little
passed, that when other went vnto the church to heare diuine seruice, he would get him to the woods and forests to hunt the hart, or some other game. Bet-
ther were such wanting as were willing to keepe him companie: so readie is the nature of man at all times to folloow licentious libertie. He vsed also, con-
trarie to the custome of his countrie, to eat thre meales a day, hauing such number of dishes and abundance of delicate fare, as the like had not bene
vsed at anie time before those daies in that realme: and all to serue his greedie appetite, together with theirs that folloved his companie.

Of wines & other strong drinks he would partici-
pate abundantly at all times and places, without regard of health or honor, being exceedingly giuen vnto most beastlie drunkennesse. He customably vsed to sit at supper till it were verie late in the night, hauing his banquetting dishes and cuppes to come in one after another, till he were so misserpered, that being laid to sleepe, he would straight vomit out such beaue gorges, as he had in such most gluttonous wise receiued. Herevnto he was so drowned in the filthy lust of the flesh, that he defiled his owne daughters: and for that his wife was about to dis-
suade him from such villanie, he slue hir with his owne hands. Thus continuing in his wickednesse certeine yeeres, at length the nobles began to conspire against him, so that they would haue deuised a meane how to haue rid him out of the way, if bishop
Colman had not forbidden them that practise, pro-
phesying as it were by diuine inspiration, that Fer-
quhard shold be punished by the hands of almighty God, according to his desertings.

And sure his words proued true: for within a mo-
neth after, as the same Ferquhard followed in chase of a wolfe, the beast being all enraged by the pur-
sute of the hounds, slue backe vpon the king, and
snatching at him, did wound and bite him right sore in one of his sides, immediatlie wherevpon, whether
through anguish of his hurt, or by some other occa-
sion, he fell into a most filthy discaise: for a venemous

humor with a soft consuming heat, did so eat and
waist his members and lims, that a lothsome sight
it was to behold the same: for out of his legs, feet,
and priue parts, there issued filthie corruption and
matter, with so vile a saour, that bineth might any
creature abide it. His bellie was swollen, as though
he had bene infected with the dropsie, and therto was
it verie hard withall. Finally like byed so abundant-
lie in his secret parts, that he might in no wise be rid
of cleaneled of them.

At length, when he had bene bed in this sort for
the space of two yeeres together, or thereabouts, he
began to call himselfe to remembrance, and to con-
sider how this punishment was worthilie fallen vpon
him for his finnes, and therevpon causing bishop
Colman to be fetched vnto him, being as then about
20 miles off, he confessed vnto him the whole summe
of his offenses, declaring himselfe right penitent
for the same. Colman reioicing hereat, did not onelie
release him of the sentence of excommunication, pro-
nounced against him; but also willed him to be of
comfort, and to put his confidence in the mercie of
almightie God, who was ready to receiue all such
sinners as turned vnto him with repentant hearts:
so that being put in hope by these & the like words of
Colman to haue forgiveness of his finnes, with
bitter teares he besought God to haue mercie vpon
him: and humbly receiuing the sacrament, got him
into simple clothing of beare and sackecloth. Then
causing himselfe to be borne into the next fields, he
there yeldd vnto the ghost in the presence of Colman,
who (according to the dutie of a good ghostlie father)
was still about him, in exhorting him to commit
himselfe wholly to the mercie of God, & not to doubt
but he should be sure to attaine the same. Thus Fer-
quhard ended his life, in the 18 yeere after he began
his reigne over the Scottisshmen, and in the yeere of
Grace 664.

In this Ferquhards daies bishop Aidan depar-
ted this world, and then was Finnan sent for forth
of Scotland, to take vpon him the gouernement of
the church of Lindesferne, where the bishops of Nor-
thumberland as then had their see. This Finnan
was well learned, and no lesse renowned for his
vertuous life than his predecessor Aidan. He died a-
non after the decesse of Ferquhard, and then was
Colman remoued vnto that see of Lindesferne, who
with his vertuous instructions and examples of ho-
lie life conuerted a great multitude of Saxons vnto
the true worshipping of the liuing God. And a-
mongst other was Penda sonne to the former Pen-
da, king of Mercia. There be that write how Pen-
da the father also was baptised by this Colman: and
that the same Colman trauelled through the most
part of all the English prouinces, setting forth the
word of life amongst the people, purchasing him
great fame for his worthy merits. He came to the
church of Lindesferne in the daies of Maldwin that
succeeded the last mentioned Ferquhard.

This Maldwin was the sonne of king Dunc-
wald: and after that Ferquhard was dead and
buried in Colmekill, he was inuicted king: which
function he right sufficientlie discharged, studiously
to mainteine peace with his neighbors the Picts, Sax-
ons and Britains: gaining thereby a good example to
be folloved of his subjects. Hereto he had a speciall
care for the administration of the lawes in due forme
and order, causing offenders to be punished, that o-
ther harmefulle persons might liue in quiet, so that
by this meanes all things in the beginning of his
reigne had prosperous successe. Afterwards there
fell no small discord betwixt them of Lennox and
Argile: for first through brailing among the hearde-
men, their maisters made a fraie, whereof rose such
deadlie

Gifts are re-
quired as a
loan.

So, what a
piercefull con-
fession hath.

For their
godds sake
prelates are
troubled.

The king is
excommuni-
cated.

The king is
hunting.

He was a
glutton.

A drunkard
he was also.

A prophetic.

The king is
sicke.

He sent for
his confessor.

The king be-
ing excommu-
nicated is
releated.

Ferquhard
yieldeth vnto
the ghost.

664

Finnan
bishop.

Holie Island.

Bishop Col-
man conuerted
the Saxons.

Penda king
of Mercia.

Maldwin

Maldwin in-
uicted king of
Scots.

A lover of
peace & iustice

Lennox and
Argile are at
variance.

The better
they take
part with 2
gile, Galon
with Lennox

Maldwin
went about
to punish
the author
this commu-
nion. The capti-
became free
together, a
died into it
Jes.

The Har-
men appe-
hend the c-
tens of thy
best.

He builde
the church
the abbey
Colmekill

A great
lenox & de
upon ear

Scotlan
was free
the pestil
and plague

Winton
the most
richnesse

Colman
was a mo-
re.

Maldwin
Scotish
strangle
his bed.

The westerne Isles aided them of Argile, and the people of Galloway the other of Lennox: that if the king had not come into those parties to appease the businesse, and to haue punished the offenders, there had ensued much manslaughter, vnto the great danger of the utter ruine of those countries.

The king at his arrivall amongst them minded not to pursue the people that followed their captiues, but rather the captiues and authors of this tumult themselves. Whereof they hauing knowledge, made an attouement together, being enforced thereto of necessitie, so to auoid the prepared punishment deuised by the king against them. And forthwith they fled ouer into the Isles, but the inhabitants doubting the kings displeasure, would not consent to succour them, but contrariwise took them and deliuered them to the kings officers, whereupon they were safely conueied to the places where they were borne, and there suffered their deserued execution. Thus that commotion vnadvisedly begun, was speedily appeased, and the name of Mالدwin by reason hereof so feared amongst his subiects, that during his reigne no such trouble chanced in anie part of all his dominions.

After this he went ouer into Iona or Colmekill, where perceiuing the abbey church, wherein his ancestors had their sepultures, to be in decaye, he caused it to be pulled quite downe, and workemen forthwith set in hand to build it vp againe, at his owne proper costes and charges. Such speed also was vsed about this worke, that before he departed out of this life, the same was finished, and dedicated vnto our Saviour Christ, and saint Colme. About the same time there reigned throughout the most part of the world a sore and greivous pestilence, consuming a greater number of men (before it ceased) than there were left aliuie: for it continued the whole space of three yeeres together. At length, through common prayer, fastings, giuing of almes, & other vertuous works, the wrath of almighty God was pacified, so that such great mortalitie by his mercifull appointment did stae and giue ouer.

The Scottishmen were free from that infection as well at that time, as also for manie yeeres after. Whether were they in manner troubled with anie sharpe fevers, or agues, till time that omitting the ancient and whole some sparsenelle of diet, which their fathers in times past had vsed, they fell vnto riotous banquetting and excessive feeding, whereby they became subiect vnto all kinds of diseases, through malicious humors growing therupon. Colman bishop of Lindesferne seeing wonderfull numbers of Englishmen perishe daily of that contagious sickness, by licence of the king, to auoid the present danger of death, which by tarieng there he saw no meanes how to escape, returned into Scotland with his disciples, and after getting him ouer into one of the westerne Isles, he erected a monastrie there, wherein he remained during the residue of his life.

After the departure of Colman forth of Northumberland, the people of that countrie joining with the Picts, made sundrie roads into the Scottish borders: which iniurie when Mالدwin reuenged with more displeasure done to them of Northumberland, than the Scottishmen had receiued, it caused the Picts and Northumbers to prepare themselves with all speed to haue made sharpe warres against the Scots: but in the meane time Mالدwin died, being strangled in his bed one night by his owne wife, vpon suspicion of gelousie, for his vnlawfull companie keeping with an other woman. The next day after the was apprehended with those that were

praiue to the deed, and burnt openlie vpon an hill, according as the had most iustlie deserued. Mالدwin was thus murdered in the yeere after the birth of our Saviour 684, and in the 20 yeere of his owne reigne.

After him succeeded Eugenius the fifth of that name, nephew to Mالدwin, as sonne to his brother Dongard. About the same time Eugenius king of Scots sent with all diligence his ambassadoys vnto Egfred king of Northumberland, to moue him vnto peace. Egfred hauing heard the ambassadoys which were thus sent, feined as though he had bene willing to haue had peace, where he minded nothing more than to haue warres with the Scots, so lone as his prouision should be once readie, and hereupon granted to them a truce for the space of 11 moneths, in which meane time he might make his preparation. Eugenius hauing some secret knowledge of Egfreds purpose, prouided likewise for the warres on his part: but for that he would not seeme to giue the occasion, he strictly commanded that none of his subiects should be so hardie, as to attempt anie thing sounding to the breach of the truce.

In the tenth moneth Egfred hauing all his preparation readie, sent a companie of his men of war into the Scottish borders, to fetch some bootie, where by the peace might be broken. Those that were thus sent, fetched not onelie from thence a great number of cattell, but also sone diuers of the borderers that went about to rescue their beasts and cattell. Immediatlie hereupon were sent ambassadoys from Eugenius to demand restitution: but they not without much ado, after certeine daies attendance, got audience, and boldlie declaring vnto Egfred their message, receiued for answer a plaine publication of warre. For he alledging how the Scots, since the truce was granted, had sundrie times fetched booties out of the confines of his dominions, and therefore had well deserued farre more damage than as yet they had receiued, whereupon he minded not to continue friendship with them that knew not how to keepe their hands from robbing and stealing from their neighbours: so that he commanded them to declare vnto their king, that within eight daies after, he should loke for open warre at the hands of him and other his allies.

Eugenius receiuing this answer from Egfred, besought God, with the other onelie sought to violate the peace, that the vengeance might light vpon his owne head, that had thus giuen the occasion. Wherewith gathering his power together, he repaired into Galloway, into the which he had knowledge that his enemies would first enter. But before he could get thither, a great armie of Englishmen were come already into that countrie, and had besieged a strong castell called Downhe, the chieffest fortress in those daies of all Galloway. And per Egfred might winne the same, he was constrained to raise his siege, and to march forth to encounter with Eugenius, who hasted fast towards him. They met nere to the banks of the water of Helwis, as then being verie deepe, by reason it was raised with abundance of raine which latelie before had fallen, where they fought a verie sore and bloudie battell: for the Scots had bowed neuer to giue ground to the enimies, so long as anie life remained in their breasts.

At the first there was no great aduantage perceived on either side, the kings, according to the duties of valiant captiues, exhorting their people to stick to it manfully: but in the meane time, certeine bands of Egfreds part getting themselves to the top of an hill, gaue the looking on, without coming downe at all to aid their friends: which manner the residue of his people perceiuing, doubted of some

Eugenius.
Eugenius the fifth.

Egfred king
of Northum-
berland.

A truce granted.

Eugenius
his commandment.

The truce
broken.

Ambassadoys
sent by Eugenius
vnto
Egfred for
restitution.

Egfreds answer.

Eugenius
gathereth an
armie.

The castell of
Downhe besieged.

The westerne
Isles aided them
with Argile,
Galloway
with Lennox.

Mالدwin
went about
by to punish
the authors
of this commo-
tion.

He sent for
his confessor.

The king be-
ing excommunic-
ated, was
released.

He buildeth
the church of
the abbey of
Colmekill.

Ferguherd
relieth by
the ghost.

A great pesti-
lence & death
upon earth.

664

Finnian
ishop.

Polie Island.

Bishop Col-
man converted
by Saxons.

Whorehouse
the mother of
licentiousnes.

Denda king
of Afercia.

Mالدwin

Mالدwin in-
stated king of
Scots.

Looner of
ace & iustice

enmity and
regie are at
a distance.

King Egfred
slaine.
See more
hereof in
England.

Twentie thou-
sand Saxons
slaine.

Burden
king of the
Picts.

Inuasion in-
to Northum-
berland.

Cuthbert bi-
shop.

A slaughter
amongst the
Picts.

Egfred slaine
by Picts and
not by Scots.
Eugenius the
first died.
688

Eugenius the
first succeeded
Eugenius the
first.
A league be-
tweene the
Scots and
Northumber-
land men.
Truce taken
with the
Picts.

Some treason devised against them, and thereupon began to thinke backe. Egfred advised therof, came amongst the foremost ranks of his battell, desiring the Englishmen in no wise to giue place to their enemies: and for that daies seruice he promised them high rewards, and all the pleasure that afterward he might be able waies able to shew or do them. But whilest he was thus busie occupied in comforting & exhorting his men to fight stoutlie, he himselfe chanced to be wounded in the face with an arrow so sore, that immediatlie he fell downe and died in the place. The Englishmen discouraged with this mischance, were quicklie thereupon put to flight and chased, a great number of them toke the riuier so to escape the enemies hands, of whom the more part being pressed downe by weight of their armor, were drowned in the raging waues of the flood, the residue by casting from them their armors and clothes, escaped by swimming ouer to the other side, but those that made their course by land, being cumbered in mirres and mosses, also amongst streits, rocks, mounteins and cliffes, were overtaken by the Scots and slaine. Few of that number escaped awate in safetie, so that there died in the fight and chase at the point of twentie thousand Saxons with their king the foresaid Egfred: of the Scots were slaine, besides those that were hurt and wounded, not manie above six thousand. By this overthrow the force of those Saxons or Englishmen of Northumberland was not onelie soe diminished, but also of such other Saxons, the which in no small number were come vnto Egfred, to aid him against the Scots in that iournie.

Burden the Pictish king having knowledge of this slaughter, which had chanced betwixt the Englishmen and Scots, was nothing soe, as one that was friend to neither part, and now perceiving that the Northumberland men were so weakened, that they were not able to resist an inuasion, he entered with his whole power which he had raised, into Northumberland, soe afflicting the inhabitants, in so much that he had vndoubtedlie either subdued that countrie whole vnto his dominion, either els utterlie destroyed it, had not the deuout praiers of S. Cuthbert (who then held the see of Lindesferne) preserved the people from that present desolation. For at length after the Picts had raged a while through the countrie, they chanced to fall at variance amongst themselves for parting of the spoile, and buckling together by the eares, there was an huge slaughter made amongst them. And this was the cause, that contenting themselves with those countries about Wertsolke, ancientlie called Deira, out of the which they expelled the Saxons, they abstained from all the residue, as not willing to deale withall. Neither were the Saxons of Northumberland, being thus scourged, able to recover their former forces againe, of manie yeeres after ensuing.

Where is to be noted, that whereas the Scottish writers ascribe the victorie of that battell, wherein Egfred was slaine, vnto their king Eugenius, Beda which then liued, declareth that the Picts were those that fought with him and slue him. Finally, Eugenius departed this life in the 4. yeere of his reigne, and after the incarnation 688. After Eugenius the first, succeeded Eugenius the first, who was the sonne of Ferquhard, and by persuation of bishop Adarnan (with whom he was brought up) & of S. Cuthbert, he entered into league with the Northumberland men: but he would at no hand ioine in amitie with the Picts, notwithstanding he was contented to take truce with them. But when he saw the same oftentimes by them violated & broken, to the great perill, damage, and hinderance of his subjects, he caused the warre to be proclaimed, and sent them his

defiance by an herald. Whereof, through the earnest praiers (as is supposed) of the two bishops, Cuthbert and Adarnan (who had laboured earnestlie to haue brought those people to a quietnesse) this warre continued without any notable encounter, saue onelie by light incursions (wherein no great bloodshed chanced) even vnto the death of Eugenius, which fell in the yeere of our Lord 697, and in the tenth yeere of his owne reigne. He was buried together with the other Eugenius, that lastlie reigned afore him, in the Ile of Colmekill, amongst their predecessours.

Manie wonderfull visions were seene that yeere in Albion, as the Scottish chronicles make mention. In the riuier of Humber there appeared in the sight of a great multitude of men, a number of ships vnder saile, as though they had bene furnished forth for the warres. In the church at Camelon there was heard a noise, as it had bene the clattering of armor. Milke was turned into blood in diuers places in Midland, and cheefe conuerted into a bloudie masse or cake. Come as it was gathered in the harvest time appeared bloudie. In the furthest parts of Scotland, it rained blood. These sights being seene of some, & declared to other, caused a wonderfull feare in the peoples hearts, imagining some great alteration to ensue.

Ambirkeleth the nephew, or (as some say) the son of Eugenius the first, succeeded Eugenius the first in the gouernment of the realme; who after his attaining to the crowne, shortly changed therewith his manners and good disposition: for where before he shewed himselfe to be an earnest defender of the poore and simple, that all men iudged that he would haue proued a patron of all vertue, he contrarie to that expectation, became suddenly a patron of all vices and couetousnesse, delighting in nothing but in following his sensuall lusts, as in taking excesse of meats and drinke, and wallowing in fleshlie concupiscence of lecherous lust. To be briefe, when he toke nothing in hand wothie of his estate and degree, it was thought that of necessitie the forme of the publike gouernement must needs thorough his negligent slothfulness fall into decay and ruine: whereupon Barnard king of the Picts, supposing he had convenient time to reuenge all former injuries receiued at the Scottishmens hands, gathered a great host of men, and with the same entering into the Scottish confines, made verie pitifull slaughter of the inhabitants.

At length Ambirkeleth (being soe blamed of his nobles for his negligence, in suffering his subjects thus to be destroyed) gathered an armie together, & with no small feare to shew his head amongst his people (as those princes which through their owne default haue their people in mistrust, doe ever stand in doubt of their owne safeties, and namely when any present danger beginneth to appeare) forth he goeth without any great god order (God wot) for what might be looked for at his hands, which was so overwhelmed with all kind of excessive gluttonie, immoderate surfeiting, insatiable lecherie, and delisting altogether in slothfull ease, and sluggish idleness, the root from whence all such filthy vices taking their beginnings, are nourished & maintained.

To conclude, he liued as one that toke no manner of regard to that which chiefe appertained to his calling: whereby now when he should come into the field, he was neither able through lacke of practise to take paines to see things done as was behouefull, of himselfe, neither yet to giue order to others how the same ought to be done. Heuertheless marching forward with his armie, he came to the water of Tay, and nere to the banks thereof, he pitched downe his tents, where after he had supped, he was occasioned to

warre with
out any no-
table incommo-
der.
The death of
Eugenius the
first.

697

wonderfull
visions seene.

Ambirke-
leth.

Ambirkeleth
succeeded
Eugenius the
first.

The king
turned from
vertue vnto
all licentious-
nesse.

Barnard king
of the Picts
inuaith
Scotland.

Ambirkeleth
gathered an
armie against
the Picts.

The m-
rey ar-
ged.

Barnard
a good y

Idleness the
breeder and
nourisher of
sensuall lusts.

The hi-
causeth
ancto-
ryes i-
spittes

The des-
troyer

Eugen

Eugenius
succeeded
his
Scots.

Peace
closed.

The his
crownet

The qu-
laine in
of his hu

The his
suspect
the war

The m-
rey ar-
ged.

Barnard
a good y

The hi-
causeth
ancto-
ryes i-
spittes

to go forth of his lodging to do the necessities of nature, and being onellie accompanied with two of his servants that were groomes of his chamber, he was suddenlie shot through the head with an arrow, but from whence it came, or who shot it, there was neuer anie knowne that could tell. Howbeit, the king immediatlie died of the hurt, after he had reigned not fullie two yeres. He was buried in Colmekill amongst his noble ancestors.

The death of Ambirkeleth.

Eugenius.

Eugenius the seventh is called king of Scots.

A peace concluded.

The king is named.

The queene slaine in the bed of her husband.

The king is suspected of the murder.

The murderers are hanged.

An example of a good prince.

The king causeth his ancestors histories to be written.

The lords and peeres of the land not greatlie lamenting the death of such a monstrous person, because the armie for want of a gouernour should not fall into anie danger, they elected Eugenius the seventh, being the brother of the late foresaid Ambirkeleth, to succeed as king in the gouernment of the realme; a prince of vertie comelie port & personage, neither destitute of honorable qualities and good disposition of mind. Being once proclaimed king, he caused generall musters to be taken of the whole armie, and perceiuing by surueie thereof, that he was not able to match with his enemies, he found means to conclude a peace with the Pictish king, pledges being deliuered on either side, for redresse to be had of all wrongs and injuries that had bene committed betwixt them. The Picts returning home, and the Scottish armie dissolved, Eugenius with the most part of the nobilitie went into Argyle, where he reposed his inuicure of the kingdome, sitting vpon the stone of marble, according to the custome and manner.

The bond of peace begun betwixt the kings, was the more stronglie confirmed by meanes of alliance, Spontana the daughter of king Cathard being coupled in marriage with Eugenius: she in the yere following being great with child, was murdered one night within the kings bed-chamber, in stead of the king himselfe, by two brethren of the countrie of Athole, who moued to displeasure for their fathers death, had conspired to murder the king, and had slaine him in deed, had he not through his good hap latten forth of his owne chamber the same night. Eugenius being suspected of the murder, and cuill spoken of for the same amongst his subiects, was at length with great danger of life and honor enforced to make answer by waie of arraignment for clearing of himselfe, before the nobles of his realme, appointed as competent iudges in that case: so greatlie beloued was Spontana amongst all the degrees of the Scottish nation. But in the end being found guiltlesse of the crime (for at the time that iudgement should haue passed, the offenders were apprehended and brought in) he was acquit, to the great reioicing of all honest men. Those that had done the deed, were condemned and hanged by naked on gibbets by the hedges, together with certeine cruell mastiue dogs, the which might so deuoure them.

But Eugenius being thus cleared of all former suspicion, minded to haue bene reuenged on those that had falslie accused him. Howbeit through the goodlie admonishments of that reuerend father Adannan, he qualified his displeasure. After this, giuing his mind to the aduancement of religion and politike gouernement of his subiects, he ordeined that the histories of his ancestors should be written in bookes and volumes, that posteritie might haue to read the same for example sake. These monuments he also appointed to be kept and reserved in the abbey of Jona, now called Colmekill, for a perpetuall memorie: and such as should write the same, to remaine and haue livinge there in the abbey. Moreover, such spirituall promotions as he perceiued to be too meane and slender for the maintenance of the minister that should serue the cure, he caused to be augmented in such wise as was thought sufficient. He

concluded a league with the Saxons and Picts, and obserued the same during his life, which he ended at Abernethie, when he had reigned about 17 yeres, whereof the last fell in the yere after the incarnation of our Saviour 717, the 15 indiction. His death was greatlie lamented, both of his lords and commons, as they that interlie loued him for his noble and most princelie qualities.

A little before his death, he betooke the possession of his kingdome vnto Goddacke that succeeded him. This Goddacke was the nephew of Eugenius the seventh, by his brother Ambirkeleth: who as he was knowne to be of a gentle, meke, and liberrall nature, before his aduancement to the crowne, so he shewed himselfe to be the vertie same man during the whole course of all his naturall life, after he had attained to the same. Abooue all things he wished a generall peace to continue amongst all the princes of Albion, and thereupon for his part establishing a peace with the Picts, Britains, and all the English kings, he firmelie kept euerie article therein contained. In those daies (as St. Beda doth testifie) soute feuerall people liued in peace and quietnesse within the bounds of Albion, though differing in manners, language, lawes, and ordinances: Saxons whome he called Englishmen, Britains, Scots, and Picts. His words are these that follow.

The nation of the Picts at this time is in league with the Englishmen, and gladlie is partaker of the vniuersall peace and vertie with the catholike church. Those Scots which inhabit Britaine, contenting themselves with their owne bounds, go about to practise no deceitfull traines, nor fraudulent deuises against the Englishmen. The Britains, though for the most part through a familiar hatred do impugne the English nation, and the state of the whole catholike church, obseruing not rightlie the feast of Easter, besides other naughty viages; yet both the diuine power and humane force bitterlie resisting them, they are not able in neither behalfe to attaine vnto their purposed intentions; as they which though partlie free, yet in some behalfe are thrall and mancipat to the subiection of the Englishmen: which Englishmen now in acceptable peace and quietnesse of time, manie amongst them of Northumberland, as well of the nobilitie as other, laing away armour and weapon, applie themselves to the reading of holie scripture, more desirous to be in houses of vertuous conuersation, than to exercise feats of warre. What will come thereof, the age that followeth shall perceiue and behold. With these words doth Beda end his historie, continued till the yere 734, in the which yere Goddacke the Scottish king ended his life.

He repaired sundrie churches and religions houses, which being defaced with violence of the enemies inuasions in time of warre, had not bene re-edified by his ancestors. But amongst other, he bestowed much cost vpon the church where the bodie of St. Antian lieth, in the towne ancientlie called Candida Casa, & now Whitterne or Whittierne. Saint Beda calleth that place Pictimnia, and the bishop which at the same time held the church there, he nameth Ada, auouching how he was the first that was bishop thereof after the daies of saint Antian. Which if it be true, it must needs be that afterwards some vacation happened in that see for a time, sith it is notified in the Scottish histories, that the westernne Isles, Galloway, and other regions nere adjoining, were subiect vnto the bishop of Sodor (whose see is in the Ile of Man) vnto the daies of Malcolme the third, who restored rather than ordeined the bishops see in Candida Casa againe, after such vacation as before is specified.

Eugenius the seventh departed out of this life. 716. H.B.

Mordack. Goddacke succeedeth Eugenius the seventh.

A lover of peace.

Peace thorough out all the land of Albion.

The testimony of Beda.

734. Goddacke ended his life the same yere that saint Beda made an end of his historie.

Candida Casa now called Whitterne.

But

arre witht
e amc no-
le incoun-
he death of
Eugenius the
t.

697

underfall
long time.

nbirke-
h.

birkeleth
soudeth
genius the

e king
sed from
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e.

ward king
re Picts
ideth
slaud.

birkeleth
jered on
ic against
Picts.

ressie the
yer and
iffer of
all iusts.

Ethline.
Ethline suc-
ceeded Ethor-
dake.

*A peaceable
prince.*

*Four govern-
ments under
the king.*

*United go-
vernment.*

*Donald of the
Iles main-
tained rovers.*

*The oppres-
sion of the
commons of
Galloway.*

*Ethor-
dake the
king's lieut-
enant boreth
with offen-
ders.*

*The decease
of Ethline,
762. H.B.*

Eugenius.
Eugenius the
eight in-
vested king of
Scots.
Donald of the
Iles ap-
prehended.

*Donald and
his accomplices
put to death.*

But now to returne touching the government of the Scottish kingdome, I find that after the deceasse of Ethordake last remembred, his nephew named Ethline, the sonne of the seventh Eugenius, succeeded in the state; a man naturallie inclined vnto peace and maintenance of iustice. The league which his predecessors Eugenius and Ethordake had kept with their neighbors the Britains, Englishmen and Iles, he durie likewise obserued. His chiefe studie was to purge his realme of all such as were knowen to be open barrettores and offenders in anie wise, against the peace and common quiet of his subiects; so that causing sundrie notable examples of iustice to be executed vpon such euill doers, he was had in such reuerend dread amongst his subiects, that none of them durst once whisper anie euill of him. Neither had they verelie anie cause so to doe, while he looked to the administration himselfe.

But after he was once fallen into age, he appointed foure peeres in his realme to haue the chiefe gouernance vnder him; as Donald the treasurer of Argile, Collane of Athole, and Ethordake of Galloway his lieutenants, and Contrath the thane of Shurey land. These hauing the procuracion of all things touching the government of the realme, vnderdrew themselves so vprightlie in manie points as they ought to haue done; but winked now and then at faults & trespasses committed by their kinsfolks and allies, permitting the nobilitie to liue according to their old accustomed manner of licentious libertie, to the small ease or commoditie of the other inferior states. Donald of the western Iles, a man of goodlie personage, but of disposition inclined to all naughtinesse, maintained a great number of robbers and spoilers of the countrie, liuing onelie vpon raine. For loke what they wanted, they would not faile to catch it, if it were in anie place abroad where they might laie hands on it: so that all the husbandmen and commons of Galloway, in which countrie they most haunted, were brought in to wonderfull thraldome and miserie.

Neither did Ethordake the kings lieutenant there, go about to chastise such insolent misdemeanors, either for that he was of Donalds alliance, either else priuie to his doings, and partaker of the spoile. The people hereby vered with continuall iniuries, brought manie pitifull complaints before Ethordake, who nothing regarded their lamentable lutes and supplications, but the more they complained, the worse they were handled. Neither was there anie hope of redresse or amendment, till Eugenius the eight was admitted to the kinglie administration after the death of king Ethline, who in the latter end of his daies continuallie being sicke and diseased, could not attend to take order for the publike gouernement, by reason whereof such wilfull misdoers ensued. He died in the yeare of our Lord 764, after he had continued his reigne ouer the Scottishmen the space of thirtie yeares, his bodie being buried in Colmekill with all funerall obsequies.

His successor, the foresaid Eugenius the eight that was the sonne of king Ethordake, was inuested king in Argile with such pompe and ceremonies as in that case appertained, and immediatlie thereupon he hastied forth to catch Donald of the Iles, not resting till at length he had caught him, though that came not to passe without some losse of his people. After he had taken both him and his chiefest complices, he put them openlie to death; neither so satisfied, he caused Ethordake to be arraigned, who confessing himselfe partlie guiltie of such things as were laid to his charge for mainteining of the foresaid Donald, he likewise suffered death, and his goods being valned and diuided into parts, were be-

stowed amongst the commons of Galloway, in recompense of such losses, as through his contrived fallshood they had susteined. Also he did put Donald, Collan, and Contrath to their fines, for that they did suffer Donald to rob & spoile without chastisement.

Though which causing of iustice thus to be executed, in reliefe of his commons, he wau him wonderfull loue, not onlie in Galloway, but also through out all his realme; and therewith were offenders put in such feare, that they durst in no place commit anie such misdoers against the simple and meane people. And for the more increase of his subiects wealth, he also continued the league with the Britains, Englishmen, and Englishmen, accordinglie as his late predecessor had done. But yet, as the nature of man through licentious libertie is euer readie to offend in one point or other, so it came to passe by this worthie prince Eugenius, who in such wise as is before expressed, reigning in peace and quietnesse amongst his louing subiects, yet fell into most vile lust to accomplish his insatiable fleshlie concupiscence, seeking all means he could deuise to deuour yong virgins and honest matrons, and that as well those of the nobilitie as other. And such companions as could best further his purpose in that behalfe, and deuise new means and waies of fleshlie companie, those he set by, and greatlie made of, bestowing altogether to haue them in his companie.

Thus being browwed in lecherous lust, and fleshlie concupiscence, he fell daile in more greuous vices, as into excessiue couetousnesse and beastlie crueltie, consenting to make awaie his wealthie subiects, to the end he might inioy their goods. This wickednes remained not long unpunished, for the lords and peeres of his realme, perceiving how he proceeded daile in his abhominable and tyrannicall doings, not once giuing eare to the wholesome aduertisements either of God or man, they slue him one day amongst them as he sat in iudgement about to haue condemned a great rich man, though not guiltie in the crime thereof he was accused. They caused also a great companie of those mates to be apprehended, which had bene of his counsell, and prouokers vnto all his wicked and vile doings. Which to the great contentation of the people were hanged, as they had well deserued. And such was the end of Eugenius, after he had gouerned the kingdome about thre yeares: his bodie was buried in Colmekill amongst his ancestors, though the people thought it little worthie of that honor, which had misused it selfe so inordinatlie in this present life.

After him came the administration of the realme vnto Fergus the third, the sonne of king Ethline, in the yeare 767, who being established in the same, began frælie to practise all kinds of vices, which most abundantlie reigned in him, hotobett till that day wonderfullie dissembled and kept couert. He seemed to strue how to passe his predecessors in all points of wickednesse. He toke no regard at all to the gouernement of his realme, but gaue himselfe to excessiue gluttonie; in deuouring of delicate meats and drinks, and therewith kept such a number of vile strumpets in house with him, whome he used as concubines, that his wife was no better esteemed than as an handmaid, or rather a kitchenmaid. Who being a woman of great modestie, and sober aduisednesse, could not yet but take soys griefe and indignation hereat: and therefore sundrie times assaied by way of wholesome persuasions, to turne his mind from such unskill vsages and fleshie trade of lining.

Finallie, when she saw there was no hope to conuert his depraued mind, nor by anie means to reforme him, but that the more she laboured to doe good vpon

*Ethor-
dake
lieutenant
of
Galloway
is
put to death.
The com-
mons recom-
pensed.*

*A righteous
king.*

*Offenders
put in feare.*

*Eugenius is
peruerted
with sensu-
all lust and con-
cupiscence.*

*A fleshlie de-
light.*

*Couetousnesse
linked with
crueltie.*

*Eugenius is
murdered.*

*The end of
Eugenius
the eight.*

Fergus.
767.

*Fergus the
third created
king.*

*A wicked
prince.*

*A. Fergus
the third
strangled
his wife.*

*Suspicious
persons
sacked.*

*The que-
n confessed
murder.*

*She gin
her owne
sentence.*

*The que-
n
tion of h*

Horlake
lieutenant of
Galloway is
put to death.
The com-
mons become
peised.

A righteous
king.

Offenders
put in fear.

Eugenius is
perverted
with sensu-
al lust and con-
cupiscence.

A little de-
light.

Conscience
linked with
cruelty.

Eugenius is
murdered.

The end of
Eugenius
the eight.

Fergus.
767.

Fergus the
third created
king.

A wicked
prince.

B. Fergus
the third
strangled by
his wife.

Suspicious
persons are
sacked.

The queene
confessed the
murder.

She giveth
her owne
sentence.

The queene
taketh execu-
tion of hir self.

upon him, the worse he was, though verie displea-
sure of such injuries as the daillie sustained at the
hands of his concubines, the found meanes to
strangle him secretly one night as he lay in bed,
choosing rather to be without a husband, than to have
one that should deceive him of the right and dutie of
marriage; and that in such sort, as the must be faine
to suffer the reproch daillie before his face, being mis-
tised of them whom he kept as paramours in most
despitefull manner. The day after she brought this
feat, the bodie being found dead, was apparelled in
funerall wise, and brought forth unto the place of
iudgement, where inquisition was stridlie made
what they were that had done so heinous a deed. For
though there were but few that lamented his death,
yet some of his friends were verie earnest to haue
the matter tried forth, that such as had committed
the murder might suffer due punishment.

Manie were apprehended and had to the racke,
but yet could none be found that would confesse it.
The queene was void of all suspicion, as she that had
bene taken for a woman at all times of great tem-
perance. But yet, when she heard that a num-
ber of innocent persons were tormented without de-
sert, sore lamenting (as should appeare) their misera-
ble case, she came hastily into the iudgement hall,
and getting hir aloft upon the bench, there, in the pre-
sence of all the companie, she had these or the like
words unto the whole assemblie. I know not (god
people) I know not what god moueth me, or what

diuine reuengement bereth mee with sundrie
thoughts and cogitations; that of all this day and
mornig preceeding, I haue had neither rest in bo-
die nor mind. And verelis when I heard that cer-
taine guiltlesse persons were cruellie tormented
here in your presence; had not wrath giuen place,
partlie unto modestie, whereof I must confesse there
is left but a small portion in me, I had forthwith
rid my selfe out of the way. The kings death was
mine act. Conscience constrained me (setting apart
mine owne safegard) to confesse the truth, least the
guiltlesse should wrongfullie perish: therefore under-
stand ye for truth, that none of them whom ye haue
examined are pinnie to the offense. I herelis am she,
that with these wicked hands haue strangled this
night last past Fergus, about whose death I see you
in trouble, moued so to doo with two as sharpe prickis
as may rest in a woman, to wit, impatient forbear-
ring of carnall lust, & fressull wrath. Fergus by his
continual using of concubines, kept from me the due
debt that the husband giueth to the wife: whereupon
when there was no hope to reconcile him with offen-
advertisements, vehement force of anger rising in
my hart, droue me to doo so wicked a deed. I thought
rather therefore to dispatch the adulterer, than (being
destitute of my husband, & defrauded of all quenche-
ling) to liue still subiect to the perpetuall injuries
of such lewd women as he kept & used in my bed.
I doe see therefore those that be accused of the kings
death, & as for me ye shall not need to proceed against
me as guiltie of the crime by order of law: for I that
was so bold to commit so heinous an act, will accor-
dingly doe execution vpon my selfe even here in con-
finesse in presence of you all: what honor is due to
the dead, looke you to that. ¶ Having thus made an
end of hir tale, she plucked forth a knife which she had
hid vnder hir gowne, and stroke hirselfe to the heart
with the same, falling dead vpon it downe to the
ground. All such as were present wondered greatly
at hir stout and hardie stomach, speaking diuerslie
thereof, as some in praise, and some in dispraise of
these hir monstrous doings. The bodie of Fer-
gus was caried forth to the Ile of Colmehill, and
there buried in the third yere after his entring into

the gouernement, and in the yere of our Lord 769.
The queens corps was not buried in sacred ground,
for that she slue hirselfe.

Soluathius the sonne of Eugenius the eight, was
admitted to the rule of the Westshire estate next af-
ter the death of Fergus: a prince swerlie borne to
the accomplishment of high enterprises, if through
hap of stoward destinie he had not bene hindered.
For in the third yere of his reigne he began to be
dered extreemlie with the gout, which ingendered
by cold in lieng abroad in hunting; and so contin-
ing with him during his life, staid him from manie
worthie exercises, as well in peace at home, as a-
broad in time of warres. Thus he being in manner
impotent & lame of his limbs, there were some com-
motions and disorders the more boldly attempted:
and first amongst them of the out Isles. For Bane
Shakendonald, gouernor by the kings appointment
of the Island called Tire, got all the castles and for-
tresses of the Isles into his owne hands, & streng-
thened with a rout of unrulie and mischeuous youthfull
persons, toke possession of all the said Isles, causing
himselfe to be proclaimed king of the same.

Not contented herewith, he gathered a number
of ships together, wherein transporting himselfe with
a grea armie ouer into Lozne and Cantire, made
great waste and spoile of those countries, till Duthy
quhall gouernor of Athole, and Culane of Argile, be-
ing sent with a chosen power from the king to de-
fend the countrie, chanced to encounter with him,
and putting him with his people into flight, chased
them to such a streit, as where there was no way to
get forth, save onlie that by which they entered. This
place is in Lozne, with a streit passage to enter into
it: but when ye are within it, the same is verie large
and broad, inuironed about with craggie moun-
tains, chained together with a continuall ridge, a
deepe riuer compassing them in beneath in the bot-
tome, with such steape & sdelong banks, that there is
no way to passe forth of the same, but by that through
which ye must enter into it. The said Bane with his
folks being entred at vnwares into such a streit,
and perceiuing there was no way to issue forth, but
by the same where he entred, he returned backe thi-
ther, and finding the passage closed from him by his
enemies, he was in a wonderfull maze, not know-
ing what shift to make to escape. Finallie, falling to
counsell with the chiefe of his armie vpon the dan-
ger present, and so continuing for the space of two
daies without anie conclusion available, on the third
day, driven of necessitie through hunger, they requi-
red of their enemies to be receiued as yelded men
vpon what conditions they would prescribe, onelie
hauing their liues assured. But when this would not
be granted, in the euening tide they rushed forth vpon
their enemies, to trie if by force they might haue
passed through them. But such was their hap, that
there they died euerie mothers son: for so had Duthy
quhall & Culane commanded, to the end that other
rebels might take example by such their wilfull and
rebellious outrage.

The kings captiues after this passing ouer into
the Isles, brought all things there into the former
state of quietnesse. Yet after the appeasing of this
tumult, there chanced a new businesse in Galloway:
for Gillequhalme, sonne to that Donald, which as ye
haue heard) was executed by commandement of
Eugenius the eight, gathered together a great num-
ber of vngenerous scape-thifts, & did much hurt and
mischeue in the countrie. But shortly after, being
vanquished by the same captiues that had suppressed
the other rebels of the Isles, the countrie was rid of
that trouble, and the ring-leaders punished by death
for their offenses. In this meane while, the English-
men

Solu-
athius.

Soluathius
admitted king
of Scotland.

Soluathius
an impotent,
man.

A rebellion.
Shakendonald
proclaimed
king of the
Isles.

He inuadeth
Lozne and
Cantire.
A power from
the king is
sent against
him.

The kings
power passeth
ouer into the
Isles.

Gillequhalme
the sonne of
Donald.

men & Welsh Britains through multitude of kings and rulers warring each against other, had no leisure to attempt anie enterprize against strangers. Neither were the Scots free of some secret displeasures, which one part of them had conceived against another, so that the Scottishmen were not troubled at all by ante foreine enemies. And so Soluathius having continued his reigne the space of 20 yeres, about the end of that tearme departed this life, in the yere of our saluation 788.

Soluathius
departeth
this life.
788.

Achatus.
Achatus created
king of
Scotland.

Then after Soluathius was once buried in Colmekill amongst his ancessors, Achatus the son of king Ethline (a man highlie renowned for his earnest zeale to iustice and upright dealing) was advanced to the gouernance of the realme: who for that by his former conuersation amongst the nobilitie, he perfectly understood what grudge and secret hatred remained in their hearts, one wishing anothers destruction; he foresaw what danger the common-wealth stood in, if the same were not by some good meanes qualified: and therbyon calling them together, he handled the matter with such wisdom and dexteritie, that before their departure from him, all the roots of former displeasures being utterly extirped and auoided, they were made friends on eche side, and promised in his presence so to continue. Thus having laid the foundation of a quiet state amongst his subiects, now in the beginning of his reigne, he was at point to haue had no small warres with the Irishmen: for a number of them being arrived in Cantire, were there slaine by them of the wessterne Isles, which vpon request of the inhabitants of that countrie were come to aid them against those Irishmen.

He maketh
the nobilitie
to agree.

This losse the rulers of the Irish nation purposed in all hast to reuenge vpon them of the Isles. But Achatus hearing thereof, sent ouer an ambassage vnto them, to haue the matter taken vp before anie further force were vied: alledging how there was no cause therfore warres should be moued for such a matter, where the occasion had bene giuen but by a sort of rousers on either side, without commandement or warrant obtained from anie of their superiors. Howbeit the nobles of Ireland (for there was no king amongst them at that time as it chanced) moued altogether with indignation for the slaughter of their countymen, made a direct answer, that they would surely be reuenged of the reproch which they had received, before they would common of anie peace. And therefore whilst the Scottish ambassadors returned out of Ireland with this answer, a great number of them in ships and craiers passed ouer into Isla, where getting together a great preie, and fraughting their vessels therewith, as they were returning homewards, they were sonke by force of tempest, so that neither ship nor man returned to bring tidings home how they had sped in Scotland.

The Irishmen
will
revenge.

Irishmen
take a preie
in Isla.

Irishmen do
seek peace.

The stout stomachs of the Irish lords and rulers being well qualified with this mischance, they were glad to seeke for peace shortly after vnto Achatus. Those also that were sent ouer to treat of the same, found him at Enuerlochthe; where having declared their message, & confessed how iustlie they had bene punished by the righteous iudgement of almighty God, for the wrongfull attempting of the warres against them that had not deserved it: Achatus answered, how the Irish nation was so stubborne, that they knew not how to vse reason, except they were throughlie scourged; and therefore had the righteous God taken iust reuenge vpon them, to the example of other, for their contumacie, in mouing warres against them that had so earnestlie sought for peace. Whereupon he, setting apart all iniuries past, as well new as old, to shew himselfe to be the follower of

Christ, who in so manie passages had praised, commended, and set forth vnto vs peace and tranquillitie, he was contented to grant them peace, which now they sued for. Thus was the peace renewed betwixt the Scottish and Irish nations, to the no lesse comfort of the Scots themselves, than of the Irishmen, as those that had learned now by experience and triall (having enjoyed peace a good season) how much the same was to be preferred before cruell warres.

Due consid-
rations.

In this meane time, Charles surnamed the great, as then reigning in France, and understanding how the Englishmen did not onelie by daileie routing disquiet the seas, to the great danger of all such merchants and other as trauelled alongst the coasts of France and Germanie; but also now and then coming on land vpon the French dominions, did manie notable displeasures to his subiects: he thought good by the aduise of his peres, to conclude a league (if it were possible) with the Scots and Scots, with this article amongst the residue: That so oft as the Englishmen should attempt any enterprize or inuasion into France, the Scots and Scots should be ready straightwaies to inuade them here at home; and when they should make anie warres against the Scots or Scots, then the Frenchmen should take vpon them to inuade the west parts of England.

Charles
Magnus in
league with
the Scots.

An erudite
hand.
Friends
farre off.

There were sent therefore from Charles vnto Achatus certeine ambassadors to bring this matter to passe, who arriving in Scotland, and coming to the kings presence, declared effectualle the summe of their message, shewing that the conclusion of such a league should be no lesse to the wealth of the Frenchmen, than of the Scots (considering Englishmen to be a people most desirous of all other to get into their hands other mens goods and possessions) for thereby they might be somewhat restrained from such bold and iniurious enterprizes, as they daileie take in hand against their christian neighbors: but it should make most of all (say they) for the advancement of the whole christian common-wealth, whereas otherwise through their insolent doings, such force as was already prepared against the Saracens (the common enemies of the christians) should be called backe, therewith to keepe off the said Englishmen, to the great danger of those parts of christendome, vpon which the Saracens then bordered as neighbors.

Ambassadors
sent into
Scotland.

Good com-
of Colman

This message being heard with good deliberation by such as were present, the ambassadors themselves being honorable personages, and graue of countenance, were receiued most louinglie of the king, and lodged in his owne palace, hauing all the chere and honorable intertainment that might be deuised: but touching their message, there were sundrie disputations amongst the nobles, whether the concluding of such a league as they required, were expedient for the Scottish common-wealth or not. And for that the matter seemed to be doubtful, the king thought it necessarie to haue the aduise of his counsell: and thereupon calling them together, and appointing diuerse of them to go with the ambassadors on hunting, to shew them some sport, whilst he consulted with the residue (because he would not haue them present) he commanded one Colman, gouernor of Spar (a man of great authoritie amongst the Scottishmen for his approved wisdom) to say first his mind touching the request of those French ambassadors, who there vpon standing forth, began as followeth.

The ambassa-
dors are hono-
rable inter-
teined.

No man ought to maruell, I perceiue, king Achatus, if manie of this our nation be desirous to haue this league concluded with the Frenchmen, as they that are persuaded how nothing can be better, nothing more profitable, more honorable, or more pleasant

pleasant to almightie God, than to soine in league
and friendship with a nation of greatest power and
wealth in these daies, of all other within the bounds
of Europe: for by that meanes should the Scottish
name be highlie renowned and spoken of through
the whole world. But trulie these considerations
containing so well at the first, are not so much to be re-
garded as the evils which hereafter may grow there-
upon: for suerlie a naughtie and pernicious end of
this determination shall evidently teach vs (though
too late) how farre we have gone beside the way of
reason in establishing this league, if we once con-
sent to conclude the same. As if anie other thing (I
beseech you) to make a league, and to soine in socie-
tie with the Frenchmen against our neighbors the
Englishmen (whose friendship might be most expe-
dient for vs) than euen to haue from henceforth a
neere and int maner a domesticall enemie at hand,
whereas our supposed friends shall be farre off from
vs, and separated from our countrie by a great and
large sea, at whose pleasure also we must make waies
against our neighbors, and fight for other mens safe-
guards, putting our bodie in hazard of death and
wounding for their cause, which do well nothing nere
vs, yea in their quarell to commit our kingdome,
goods and liues vnto extreme perill of utter destruc-
tion: I would thinke it good therefore to take better
advisement and deliberation herein, least whilst we
seek for vaine glorie and counterfeite honor, we do
not, through prouoking the Englishmen our next
neighbors, lose our owne liberties got with much
trauall by our elders, for the which they so often
fought with the Britains, Romans, Picts, and final-
lie with the Saxons. Can there be anie thing more
pernicious vnto a free nation, and people borne in li-
bertie, than to measure lawes of peace, chances of
warre, and in fine libertie it selfe, by the lust and plea-
sure of another nation, and so to enter (as it were)
into bondage? For the auoiding whereof, not onelie
men, but also all other liuing things are readie to
fight, euen to the uttermost. If the Frenchmen in
the chiefest heat and most earnest byunt of the warre
(which we shall take in hand for their sake, according
to the articles of the league) shall chance to forsake
vs, and conclude some manner of peace or league
with our enemies, leauing vs in all the whole dan-
ger; shall we haue anie iudge afore whom we maie
bring them to answer for their default, and by whose
authoritie they may be constrained to see vs satisfied
for such losse and iniuries as we shall happily susteine
at the Englishmens hands? Are we of that force
and power to reuenge our wrongs vpon them, after
we are vanquished and in maner brought to utter
confusion by those warres which we shall enter into
for their cause? If euer we be brought vnto that
point (as God forbid we should) that through want
of substance, and decaye of force, the Frenchmen
shall also utterlie forsake vs, & that thereby we shall
not be able to resist the English puissance: afore
whome (I beseech you) shall we accuse them for brea-
king of this league? We shall daillie haue to do
with our enemies after the conclusion of the league
(if it be concluded at all) and but seldome times with
our friends. In the midst of our enemies we shall be
still occasioned to practise for our defense, where we
haue a long way both by sea and land to passe ouer to
our friends, in case anie need shall inforce vs there:
vnto commodities are brought vs out of Spaine,
France, and Germanie, not such as we desire, but
onelie such as the Englishmen do permit. Againe,
when our merchants shall passe into France, what
hauens shall we leaue them to resort vnto in time of
dangerous tempests, which often chance to all such
as be sailing: Either must they perish and be cast a-

way through rage of seas, either else fall into the
hands of our enemies togethet, with all their goods
and freight. What discommodities hereof shall rise,
your grace (most prudent prince) and you right cir-
cumspet counsellors, do well inough perceiue. I
therefore would thinke it expedient, that we should
continue in the former peace concluded with the
Britains, Saxons, and Picts, according to the cu-
stome of our late predecessors, who saw well inough
what was most beneficiall for the wealth of the Sco-
tish nation, and not to couet a new amitie with an
vniuersall people, hauing deserued little or nothing
as yet at our hands (whose intent I cannot but haue
in suspition, sith they seeke for amitie so farre off) ex-
cept we shall manifestlie resolue with our selues to
impole and leopord both life and libertie for the safe-
guard of the French, without regard of our owne.
¶ Spanie in that assemblie shewed themselves fore
offended with Colmans words, supposing the
league with the Frenchmen to be both honorable
and necessarie.

¶ Then one Albion, a man of great nobilitie (whome
the king had latelie before instituted his lieutenant
in the Isles) spake in this manner. If it were possi-
ble that there might be one sure and inuolable con-
sent amongst those foure people, which at this date
haue their habitations within the bounds of Albion,
or that the Englishmen knew what it were to stand
and abide by faith and promises made and giuen, we
would not denie but that those considerations and
advises which Colman hath here uttered, ought to be
followed; bicause that then there should be no occasi-
on at all, why we should conclude anie league with a
nie foreign nation. But for so much as there was ne-
uer man that found more vntruth and breach of pro-
mise in anie nation, than hath bene found in these
Saxons (the which hauing got the rule in Albion, are
now called Englishmen) as the Scots, Picts, and
Britains haue by triall sufficientlie proued; I sup-
pose it is euidentlie knowne vnto you, that either we
must of necessitie fight and stand at defense against
the Englishmen, readie to assaile vs both with open
force and secret craft, either els linke our selues with
such allies and confederats, as by their support we
maie be the better able to withstand the malice of
such vnfaythfull people. Call ye this faith, or treason, I
praise you: The Saxons in times past being requie-
sted of the Britains to aid them against their eni-
mies, were most louinglie receiued, and highlie re-
warded for their seruice: but they contrarie in re-
compense of such kindnesse, shewed themselves in
stead of aiders, enemies; in stead of defenders, destruc-
ters: turning their weapons points against the Bri-
tains, by whome they had bene so sent for to their
aid; and now haue not onelie destroyed a great num-
ber of them by fire and sword, but also they haue spol-
ied them of their kingdome & libertie. What league
or truce haue they at anie time kept (you your selues
are not ignorant of this which I speake) where either
they saw occasion to vex their neighbors, or hoped to
gaine anie thing by falsifying their faiths, as they
that haue neuer bene ashamed so to do, where hope
to haue commoditie (if I may so call it) hath at anie
hand bene offered. Into what sundrie and most mi-
serable calamities hath the trecherie of the Saxons
brought the illie Britains: How oftentimes haue
they broken the peace established with vs, and also
with the Picts; euen when we least thought vpon
anie such thing: Yea and that more is, amongst them
selues at this season the Englishmen warre one a-
gainst another, more with craftie traines than with
open force, in such wise that in Northumberland so
manie kings, and so manie noble men haue bene
traitorously murdered and made a waie, that scarce
A. J. may

Colmans
council is
misliked.

Albion his de-
ration.

The English
Saxons brea-
kers of pro-
mise.

One conside-
ration.

In euident
hand.
friends
there off.

God counsell
of Colman.

Carolus
Magnus in
league with
the Scots.

Embassadors
sent into
Scotland.

The ambassa-
dors are hono-
rable inter-
tained.

”
”
”
”

To induce others to his purpose, he taketh the advantage of casual hops, charging the whole nation with the fault of a few particular persons.

" may there be anie found that will take vpon him the
supreme gouernement of that countrie. It is not
manie yeres ago, since Oswin king of that coun-
trie was rid out of the waie through treason of Al-
lwin that succeeded him in the kingdome, and was
after depeyued both of life and kingdome by Alstrike,
whome Egbert desirous to reigne in his place, found
meanes by traitorous practise to dispatch. Egbert
was slaine by Hollo, and Hollo by Alfred, which Al-
fred was after slaine by the guilefull craft of Ethel-

bert. Neither had Ethelbert anie better successe in
the end, for now of late betrayed by his owne sub-
jects, he was by them shamefullie slaine and murde-
red. Neither with lesse traitorous gifts and deuises
do the Englishmen mainteine their warres in all
places where they are inhabiting within Albion. The
reuerend fathers of the spiritualtie, and other godlie
men addicted to vertue, vnto whom the setting forth
of Gods word hath bene committed, wearie of and
abhorring this too madnesse, rage and wicked mis-
demeanor of that nation, haue left their bishoppses,
abbeyes, monasteries, and cels, and from thence haue
remoued into forren regions. Therefore where the
Englishmen do absteine at this present from ma-
king vs warres, it is not to be imputed to anie reue-
rence they haue vnto faith, equitie, or respect of
the league, which they haue made with vs, but onelie vnto
such ciuill sedition and discord, as now both reigne
amongst them. Neither ought anie of vs of right to
doubt, but that when the same once ceaseth, they will
immediatlie take weapon in hand against vs, not
withstanding all leagues or covenants of peace con-
firmed to the contrarie. To repress therefore and a-
bate their subtil practises, I can find no readier
meane than to enter into friendship, and conclude a
league with that people, which being ioined with vs,
may chastise such outrageous furie of this wicked
nation, as cause and oportunitie shall require. For-
tune hath offered vnto vs a conuenient meane and oc-
casion herevnto. For here be at this present the
French kings ambassadoys, offering that vnto vs,
which being so great a benefit we might scarce wish
for. That is, they require to haue vs to ioine in
league against the Englishmen, with their king,
whome France, Spaine, and no small part of Ger-
manie do acknowledge for their souereigne. Dought
this to be despised of men that haue their perfect sen-
sles? Dought the societie of the French nation to be
refused of vs, inhabiting here in the vttermost parts
of the earth, the same being frelie offered by them,
vnto whom for their sincere faith both towarde God
and man, the large empire of the world is granted?
So that if we shall thankfullie receiue this most no-
table benefit, the same shall purchase vnto vs the
friendship of the Spaniards, Frenchmen, Ger-
mans, and all those nations which acknowledge king
Charles for their head and souereigne lord. Wherevpon
also free passage for merchants shall be open, to
passe to and fro vnto vs, with all kind of merchan-
dise and wares of traffike. I trust therefore that euery
one of you (so that he weie the thing with him-
selfe thoughtlie) will easilie iudge that the friendship
and societie of the Frenchmen (verie puissant both
by sea and land) and thereto of approued faith and
steadfastnesse in promise, ought more to be esteemed,
and is more beneficiall to the Scottish common-
wealth, than the vnstedfast promises and great disoi-
altie of the Saxons. To which of you is it vnknowne
that the English nation studieth no lesse to bring vs
vnder the yoke of seruitude, than they do the Welch
men, if their force might answer directlie to their
power of most cruell enemies, if we meane to a-
void their craftie practises, if we regard the christian

The Frenchmen in those daies possessed not onelie that part of Gallia, which we now call France, but also the most part of the countries now inhabited by the Dutchmen or Germans, namely on this side the river Rhene.

religion, for the which the Frenchmen are continu-
allie in armes, if we set more by vertue and constan-
cie than by vnfaithfulnesse and breach of covenants
and promises, if we laboꝝ for the glorie and honor of
our nation, if we conet to aduance our countrie, our
owne rest, and quietnesse; and to be briefe, if we passe
vpon life and libertie, the most deere things that
may happen to man, let vs with ioifull harts esta-
blish this league with the Frenchmen, and firmelie
continue in the same, vpon assured trust and confi-
dence that it shall bring perpetuall commoditie and
renowme to vs, both for the safeguard of our realme,
freedom of the Englishmens vnlawfull attempts
and wrongfull iniuries, which hereafter they either
shall or may at any time enterpris against vs. And
this oration Albani deu the multitude easilie vnto
his purpose.

Then Achaius vnderstanding how the minds of
all his subjects were in manner wholie inclined to
the league, commaunded all the companie to be there
in the same place againe the next day. And so by-
king vp their assemble for that time, the king made
the French ambassadoys that night a coslie supper
with a banquet, and after hauing conference with his
nobles and lords of the counsell, it was agreed by ge-
nerall consent amongst them; that for the solempne
ratifying of this league with king Charles, accor-
ding as he had required, there should go with his am-
bassadoys at their returne the lord William the
brother of king Achaius, with foure other honorable
and learned personages, being men of perfect know-
ledge and skill, and such as were esteemed most meet
for such a purpose. Also, that they should take foure
thousand men ouer with them, to serue against the
infidels and enemies of the christian religion, where
and in such sort as king Charles should appoint them.

Wherevpon the next day going first to church, and
there making their common supplications vnto al-
mightie God, according to the rites and ancient cu-
stomes, they after resorted vnto the counsell cham-
ber, where Achaius opened and declared vnto the
French ambassadoys all that was concluded by him,
and other the estates of his realme, touching the mes-
sage which they had brought from king Charles. Who
reioicing (as should appere) greatly hereat, gaue
most hartie thanks vnto him, and to all the residue
for their beneuolent toils herein shewed towards
king Charles their maister, and all the French nati-
on. After this, remaining certaine daies with Achai-
us, who made them all the chere that might be ima-
gined, they departed towards Hungus king of the
Dias, vnto whom at their comming to his presence
they made the like request on their maisters behalfe,
which they had made before vnto Achaius.

It is said that Hungus gaue the Frenchmen most
hartie thanks for their good wills, but yet he would
not grant to conclude anie league with them at that
time, for that (as he alledged) the matter being
weightie and of great importance, required no small
time to deliberate and take aduise for a full resolution
therein. The ambassadoys herevpon returned vnto
Achaius without spede of their purpose with Hun-
gus, and the second moneth after, all things being
readie for their returne, and the passage of those that
should go with them, the lord William the kings
brother, together with the same ambassadoys, & such
four persons as the king had chosen forth amongst
all the learned clergie of his realme (whose names
were Clement, John, Raban, and Alcuine) and also
hauing with him those foure thousand men of war,
which were at the first appointed to go with him, pas-
sed forth towards France, where he with all the
whole companie landed within few daies after in
safetie, according to their owne wished desires. At
their

The men are
rabble n
of Car
the Fr
king.

The le
is publi
by here

The a
of the l

The league
with the
Frenchmen
agreed vpon.

The league is
concluded.

The
prot

Hungus king
of the Dias.

The
men of
ham.

Hungus re-
sisteth to con-
clude anie
league with
the French-
men.

The French
ambassadoys
returne home.

Flora
reduc
with
tween
Cule

Clement,
Clement,
John Raban,
bell, Raban,
Alcuine.

The Scottish
men are hono-
rable received
of Charles
the French
king.

The league
is published
by heralds.

The articles
of the league.

The league
with the
Frenchmen
read upon.

The league
is
concluded.

The league is
concluded.

Ingus king
the Scots.

Ingus re-
ceiveth to con-
tinue with
French-
men.

The French
bailiffs
come home.

Ingus,
ment,
by which
Ingus,
ment.

The arms of
Scotland.

The ballan-
ces of wil-
liam.

Florence is
restored.

William lieut-
enant of
Tuscan.

their coming into France Charles the emperor
received them in most gladsome wise, doing them
all the honor that might be devised, and the souldi-
ers which were come to serve him under the leading
of the foresaid William, he retained in wages, vi-
siting them after the same sort and rate as he did his
owne naturall people the Frenchmen.

Shortlie after also at the request of the Scottish or-
tors, according to the charter signed by Achais, and
confirmed by consent of king Charles, the league
betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots was solemnlie
published by heralds at armes, according to the ma-
ner in those daies used, the same to indure betwixt
those two nations and their posterities for ever. The
chiefest articles comprised in this league were as fol-
loweth. [The amitie and confederation betwixt the
Frenchmen and Scots to be perpetuall and firme,
to indure betwixt them and the posterities of both
nations for ever. The iniuries and warres which
the Englishmen should attempt against either na-
tion, should be accounted as common to them both.
The Frenchmen being assailed by warres of the
Englishmen, the Scots should send their aid of souldi-
ers, having their charges borne by the Frenchmen
as well for furniture, as wages, and all other things
necessarie. The Frenchmen should contrariwise
aid the Scots in time of wars against the English-
men at their owne proper costs and charges. What-
soever he were, privat person or publike of these two
confederat nations, that against either of them
should aid the Englishmen with armour, counsell,
bittels, or in anie other manner of wise, the same
should be reputed for a traitor unto both their prin-
ces and countries. Neither might either of them
conclude a peace, or take anie truce without the
consent of the other. These were the principall
articles of the league, as then confirmed betwixt
the Scots and Frenchmen, indited in Latine, and
saire ingrossed in parchment, and referred as a mo-
nument in both realmes, for a witnesse unto such as
should come after of this friendship thus begun, as
the Scottish chronicles affirme.] And for further me-
morie of the thing, Achais did augment his armes,
being a red lion in a field of gold, with a double trace
seamed with foure delices, signifieng thereby,
that the lion from thence forth should be defended by
the aid of the Frenchmen; & that the Scottish kings
should balliantlie fight in defense of their countrie,
liberties, religion, and innocencie, which are repre-
sented by the lilles, or foure delices, as heralds do
interpret it. The lord William, the said Clement,
and John, remained still with king Charles, but Ra-
bane & Alcuine returned into their countrie. In all
such warres and iournies as Charles afterwards
made against anie of his enemies, the said lord
William was a chiefe doer in the same, so that his
fame and authoritie daily grew in all places where
he came. His service stood king Charles in notable
stead in his expeditions against the Sarons, Hun-
garians, and other; but namelie his estimation in
Italie was most highlie advanced, at what time the
said Charles reedified the citie of Florence, appoin-
ting this William to be his lieutenant in Tuscan,
and to have the chiefe charge for the restoring of the
said citie, which he with such diligence applied, that
within short time the same was not onelie fortified
with new walls, repared and replenished with great
numbers of houses, churches, and other beautiful
buildings, but also peopled and furnished with citi-
zens, a great companie of nobles and gentlemen
being called thither out of everie citie and towne
thereabouts for that purpose.

The citie being thus restored to his former estate
and dignitie, through the bounteous benefit of king

Charles, and the diligent administration of his lieut-
enant the foresaid William, the citizens to shew
themselues thankfull, devised for a perpetuall me-
morie to beare in their armes a red lillie, resembling
one of those which the kings of France give, saue
that it differed in colour, to testifie thereby, that
their citie (after the destruction thereof by the Goths)
was reedified and restored to the former dignitie, by
the benefit of the Frenchmen. And to acknowledge
the diligence herein of the lieutenant, they did insti-
tute publike plaies to be used and celebrated everie
yeere, wherein with manie pompous ceremonies
they crowne a lion. And further that there should be
kept upon the charges of the treasure within the ci-
tie certaine lions (for the foresaid lord William gave
a lion for his cognifance) and thereupon as the Sco-
tish chronicles affirme, those beastes grew to be had
in such honor amongst the Florentines. Thus this
valiant capteine, the foresaid lord William, passing
his time in notable exercises, and worthy feats of
chivalrie under king Charles, is accounted in the
number of those twelve martiall warriors, which
are called commonlie by the Scottishmen, Scotel-
gillmoze.

And for that he was continuallie occupied in
warres, he was neuer married, whereupon growing
in age, and purposing to make Christ his heire, he
builded divers abbies and monasteries both in Ita-
lie and Germanie, richlie endowing the same with
lands and rents, sufficient for the finding of such
number of monks, as he appointed to be in the said
abbies, wherein none might be admitted, according
to the ancient ordinance by him devised, except he
were a Scottishman borne. In witnesse of which
ordinance, there are sundrie of these houses remai-
ning in Almanie even unto this day, nothing chan-
ged from the first order or institution. Before the ac-
complishment of these things, by the foresaid lord
William, brother (as is said) to the Scottish king
Achais, I find that the universities of Paris and
Davia were instituted by king Charles, chieflie by
the helpe and means of these two fore-remembered
Scottishmen, John and Clement, inasmuch that
Clement was appointed chiefe president of all the
students at Paris, and John of the other at Davia.

But now to returne to the other doings of Achais,
ye shall understand, that about the same time, or
not much differing from the same, Adelfane the
sonne of Ethelwolfe king of Westsaxons, taking
upon him the dominion of Kent, Eastsaxon, Mercia,
and Northumberland (which Egbert his grand-
father had received into his government) desirous
now to enlarge his kingdome, entred into that part
of the British dominion, which ancientlie hight Deira,
and contained the marches about Berwik, al-
ledging how the same appertained to his kingdome
of Northumberland, and had bene fraudulentlie ta-
ken from his ancestors by the Brits: but forsomuch
as there was a commotion raised the same time in
Mercia, he was called backe to appease it, and here-
upon putting all to the fire and sword in Deira, sa-
ving such prisoners as he brought away with him,
he returned. Hungus the British king fore-seeing
this inturious enterprise of the Englishmen,
determined to revenge the same in all possible hast,
and therefore made instant sute unto Achais (who
had married his sister) to have his aid against them.

Achais of his owne accord minding to doe the
Englishmen a displeasure, sent forthwith unto
Hungus to the number of ten thousand men. With
which, and with his owne power, king Hungus in-
vaded the borders of Northumberland, fetching
from thence a great bootie of goods and prisoners;
but yet he forbore slaughter of men, and burning of
houses,

The armes
of Florence.

A lion crown-
ed.

Lions kept at
Florence.

Scotel-
gillmoze.

William was
married ma-
rieth Christ
his heire.
Monasteries
of Scottish-
men in Ger-
manie.

The univer-
sities of Paris
and Davia.

Adelfane en-
tereth into
Deira.

Deira wasted
by fire and
sword.

Hungus at-
tacked with
Scottishmen
invaded
Northumber-
land.

He warred
without
slaughter and
burning.

Athelstane
pursueth
Hungus.

houses, for a reuerence which he had, as is supposed, towards the christian religion. Athelstane being certified hereof, omitting his iourne into Mercia, turned all his power against the Picts: and hearing that they were withdrawen into their countrie, he followed them so nere at the heeles, that verie earlie in one morning he was vpon their backs where they lodged by a broke side, not passing two miles from Waddington, before they had any knowledge of his approach. Athelstane vpon a fierce courage, hauing thus found his enemies according to his wished desire, and herewith comming vpon them in such order of battell, as they had no waie forth to escape without fight, he commanded a proclamation to be made by one of his heralds, that all the whole number of the Picts should passe by the edge of the sword.

Athelstane his
cruell procla-
mation.

The Picts
are amazed.

The Picts
enter the
campe.

Athelstane
doth challenge
his enemies.

The Picts
prepare them-
selves into
battell.

The English-
men are put to
flight.

Athelstane is
slaine.

Willstone sayd.

Wodecume.

The crosse of
saint Andrew.

The Picts thus seeing their enemies at hand, and hearing this cruell commandement, were wonderfull amazed with the strangenesse of the thing, and oppressed so with feare, that they wist not what might be best for them to do. At length by commandement of Hungus their king, they fell vnto fortifying of their campe; but yet they quicklie perceived how that it would not long preuaile them, considering that their enemies had gotten into their hands not onelie the spoile which they had brought with them out of Northumberland, but also all other their prouision, trusse, and baggage, which they had left in a field there adioining vnto the side of their campe. Wherevpon manie reasons were put forth amongst them, which way they might escape out of that present danger. In which meane time Athelstane hauing brought his people into good order of battell, prouoked the Picts to come forth of their strength into the plaine field, there to trie their forces. But for that day no notable thing was done, the Picts keeping themselves still within their campe.

In the night following, after sundrie consultations had amongst them, it was agreed by generall consent, that the next day they should giue battell to the Englishmen. And so herevpon preparing themselves for the purpose, euen vpon the breake of the day, forward they make towards their enemies with fierce willes, speciallie encouraged thereto by the comfortable words of Hungus. The Englishmen halfe amazed at the hardie approach and onset of the Picts, were not long able to susteine their foze impression; so that beginning somewhat to swaue, at length they were forced to flee vnto the place, where ye heard how they toke the baggage and spoile of the Pictish campe: where they were beaten downe in greater numbers than before, insomuch that such prisoners as they had before taken of them that kept the said spoile, greatlie now to aduance the victorie of their fellows, shewed more crueltie towards the Englishmen than any of the rest, now that they saw once how the victorie was inclined to the Pictish side.

In fine, such slaughter was made, that of the whole English host which was there assembled, there vnneth escaped five hundred. Athelstane himselfe at the first was run through the bodie with a speare, and so died, giuing name to the place of the battell, which continueth euen vnto this daie, being called Athelstanes feld. This victorie fell to the Picts by miracle: for in the night season, as Hungus was laid downe to sleepe (after it was agreed that they should giue battell) there appeared vnto him the apostle saint Andrew (as the tale goeth) promising him and his people victorie against their enemies on the day next following; and for an assured token thereof, he told him that there should appeare ouer the Pictish host in the element such a fashioned crosse, as

he sometime suffered vpon. Hungus awakened, and beholding the skie, saw the crosse, as the apostle had told him: wherevpon calling his people together, he not onelie shewed them the same sight, but also declared vnto them what vision had appeared vnto him in his sleepe; willing them therefore to be of good comfort, sith there was cause of such assured hope to haue assistance from above against their cruell enemies.

The signe of the foresaid crosse was not onelie scene of the Picts and Scots being there with them in aid, to both their great comforts and gladnesse, but also of the Englishmen to their no lesse discouragement, as they that vnderstood saint Andrews to be patrone and protector of the Scottish and Pictish nations. For it did put such a feare into their hearts, that when they came to the point of fighting, their stomachs failed them, that with small resistance they were easilie vanquished (as is said) and put to flight. For this so manifest a miracle, after the battell was once ended, and the victorie obtained, Hungus repaired with his people following him, vnto the church of that blessed man saint Regulus, now called saint Andrewes, where they made their offerings with humble deuotion vnto the reliques of the apostle, rendering thanks vnto him for their victorie with deuout praise after the accustomed manner. They bowed there also at the verie same time (as the same goeth) that from thenceforth as well they as their posteritie in time of war should weare a crosse of saint Andrew for their badge and cognisance. Which ordinance continuallie after remained with the Picts, and after their destruction and extermination with the Scots euen vnto our time. The bodie of Athelstane was buried in the next church vnto the place where the field was fought, howbeit, some haue left in writing that his head was cut off from the bodie, and brought to Inchgaruie, where being set vpon a stake, it was shewed to the people in reproch of his iniurious enterprise.

Hungus the Pictish king to shew himselfe yet more mindfull of the due honoring of the holie apostle, by whose aid he acknowledged himselfe to haue got the victorie aforesaid, not onelie augmented his church with new bildings and needfull reparations, but increased the number of priests for the celebrating of diuine seruice; he also gaue manie rich and costlie ornaments vnto the same, as chalices, cruets, basons, & such like. Moreover, he caused to be made the images of Christ and his 12 apostles of fine gold and silver, which he bestowed there; with a case also of beaten gold, therein to inclose the reliques of saint Andrew. And besides this, he ordeined that the spiritualitie should haue the tenths of all increase of goods: as of coine, cattels, herbage, and such like through his realme: and further that spirituall persons should not be compelled to answer before any temporall iudge. But these beneficiall priuiledges the Pictish clergie did not long inioy. For Feredeth that was the fourth, which reigned amongst the Picts after Hungus, toke from them all such gifts as this Hungus had giuen them, and further ordeined to the derogation of their priuiledges, that they should answer for secular crimes afore secular magistrats; and that living vpon their former reuenues, shoulders & men of war should inioy the other, which Hungus, had so frelie bestowed vpon them.

The nobles of the land mainteined Feredeth in his doings, reckoning all that spirituall persons had to be put cast away, which was the cause (as some thought) that their kingdome came into such ruine, as shortly after followed. Where some chronicles that write how these things, which are mentioned of Hungus, and Athelstane, chanced not altogether about

Saint An-
drew the
Scottish
patrone.

Saint Regule.

why Scottish
men vsed saint
Andrews
crosse in war-
fare.

Athelstane his
buriall.

Hungus re-
pareth saint An-
drews church.

Images of
gold and sil-
uer.

Tenths to be
giuen to the
clergie.

Feredeth tak-
eth from the
clergie their
priuiledges,
and wip not.

Priests to be
tried afore se-
cular iudges.

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about this season, but Hector Boetius followeth Veremond in most of his accounts, as the author whom he taketh to be most certaine, as well for the account of the time as in the course of the whole historie. And for that we meane not to presume whole to derogate the same Boetius his credit, we haue not much dissent from him, but rather followed him in most places, leauing such doubts as may be worthlie put forth of that which he writeth, vnto the consideration of the diligent reader, sith it is not our purpose to impugne, but rather to report what we find written by others, except now and then by the way to admonish the reader of some vnliveliehoods (as the same doth seeme to vs and others) and happilie not without iust occasion.

But now to our purpose. As well Hungus king of Picts, as Achais king of Scots, after the overthrow and death of Athelstane, liued with their people in good quiet and rest: for the Englishmen attempted nothing against the Scots and Picts afterwards, during the time of their reignes. At length Achais, after he had reigned 32 yeares, departed this life, in the yeare of our Lord 819, which was about the first yeare of Hungus his dominion ouer the Picts. His bodie was buried in Colmekill, according to the maner of kings amongst his predecessors. In the daies of this Achais (beside Clement and others, of whome before ye haue heard) liued bishop Geruadius a notable preacher in Spurrey land, also bishop Glacian with Hodan and Spedan two brethren, all doctors and men of singular knowledge, in respect whereof they were had in great credit and estimation with the people.

Connall.
Connall succeeded Achais.
A true and amitie.

After the deceasse of Achais, Connall that was his vnckles sonne Dongall, the brother of king Ethine, succeeded in gouernement of the Scottish kingdome. Betwixt this Connall and Hungus the Pictish king, there was wonderful loue and amitie shewed, both of them studying by all means how to mainteine the ancient league and alliance betwixt their people, whereupon ensued great wealth and quietnesse vnto both their kingdomes. Finally Hungus waisted with a continuall consumption deceased, deliuering by his kingdome into the hands of his sonne Dorsologus; and that in the presence of king Connall, who likewise liued not long after him, for in the first yeare of his reigne he likewise departed out of this world, by force of naturall sickness.

Dongall.
Dongall succeeded after Connall.

Dongall the sonne of king Soluathius was re- ceived to succeed by the common consent of the states of all the realme, a man of singular wisdom and great knowledge. But for that he was somewhat seuer in punishing the misordered behaviours of the nobilitie, & misgouerned youth of his realme, diuers of the nobles conspired against him, forcing one Alpine the sonne of Achais to make claime to the crowne; who perceiuing there was no remedie, but either to follow their minds, or else to be murdered amongst them, consented to go with them into Argile, where they purposed to crowne him king sitting vpon the chaire of marble, according to the manner. Howbeit, at his comming into that countrie, he found means to conuey himselfe from amongst them, least through his means the quiet state of his countrie should be brought into trouble: and forthwith being escaped out of their hands with a few other that were priuite to his intention, he maketh all the hast he could, till he came to the presence of Dongall, who receiued him in most ioyfull wise, promising that if it should be thought necessarie by the states of the realme, he would gladlie resigne vnto him his whole crowne and dignitie, desirous of nothing more than to see the advancement of the

house of Achais. Such (saith he) were the merits of that famous prince towards the preservation of the Scottish common wealth, that it were too much wickednesse to go about to defraud his issue of the inheritance of the realme.

Alpine giuing the king most hartie thanks, besought him to continue in the administration, obeying God and the world to witnesse, that he minded nothing lesse than to be about to claime the gouernment of the kingdome so long as he liued. For as touching his offense, in that he had gathered an armie, and led the same into Argile, it was not his fault, but the conspirators which had forced him thereto, being determined to haue slaine him, if he had not consented vnto their desires. Within three yeares after, there came messengers from the rebels to excuse themselves also, & to put all the fault in Alpine; but king Dongall giuing small credit to their forged words, gathereth his power, and maketh such speed towards the place where he understood the said rebels were assembled together, that he was vpon them ere they had anie knowledge of his setting forwards. So that before they could make anie shift to escape out of danger, which they went about to do, they were apprehended, and immediatlie condemned and put to death. Which execution put other presumptuous persons in feare, so that the state of the realme remained afterward a great deale more in quiet.

Whilist things passed thus in Scotland, Eganus the second sonne of Hungus the Pictish king, found means to murder his brother Dorsologus, to the end he might reigne in his place: and through support of some of the nobilitie he attained to his purpose. And for that he would assure himselfe the more firmelie in the estate, he franklie bestowed his fathers treasure amongst his lords and chiefeest peers of his realme, and toke to wife Brenna the king of Mercia his daughter, whom his brother the forenamed Dorsologus had married, that thereby the might assuage the said king of Mercia his displeasure, which otherwise he should happilie haue conceived for the death of his other sonne in law the same Dorsologus. His feare was great on each side, and therefore had small affiance in anie person, doubting lest one or other should seeke to reuenge his brothers death. He durst neuer go anie waies forth abroad without a guard of men of warre about him, whome he had wone & made his fast friends by his passing great largesse and bountifull liberality. At length yet, his wife to reuenge his former husbands death, found means to strangle him as he lay one night fast asleepe, hauing dronke a little too much in the evening before, and in this sort he came to his end, after he had reigned much what about the space of two yeares.

Thus both Eganus & Dorsologus being made away, without leauing anie issue behind them, for so much as now there remained none of the posteritie of Hungus to succeed in gouernement of the Pictish kingdome, Alpine nephew to the said Hungus, by his sister Fergusiana, with the aduise of king Dongall, made claime thereto, and therupon sent his messengers vnto the lords and peers of the Pictish dominion, to require them on his behalfe, that he might be receiued to the gouernement of the kingdome due vnto him by lawfull inheritance, as they well understood: and that if they thoughtlie considered of the thing, they might perceiue it was the provision of almightie God, that for want of lawfull succession lineallie descended from Hungus, now to succeed in the estate of the Pictish kingdome, by this meanes both the nations Scots and Picts should be ioined in one, to the abolishing of all such mortall

Li. ly. warres,

Alpine his excuse vnto Dongall.

Dongall maketh an armie against the rebels.

Eganus murdereth his brother.

Eganus lieth in feare.

Eganus is strangled of his quene.

that he wrote the continuance of the.

that he wrote the continuance of the.

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that he wrote the continuance of the.

Alpine was ioyfully receiued of Dongall.

warres, as by discorde and contention might arise betwixt those two people, in like sort as before time there had done, to the great perill and danger of both their utter ruines.

The Scots
chose Fere-
deth to be
king.

The ambassa-
dors come in-
to the court.

King Fere-
deth his an-
swer unto the
Scottish am-
bassadors.

Dongall his
displeasure
with the
 Scots an-
swer.
Ambassadors
sent againe.

Ambassadors
are not recei-
ued.

Warre is pro-
nounced unto
the Scots.

The Scots
willingly giue
themselves
unto the war.

The Scottish nobilitie, hauing knowledge that these messengers with such kind of message should shortly come from Alpine, with generall consent and whole agreement, chose one Feredeth to be their king, a man of great authoritie amongst them, supposing this to be a meane to defeat Alpines title, and that thereby he should seeme to be excluded from any further claime. Within few daies after, came vnto Camelon the Scottish ambassadors, where Feredeth with his nobles at that present were assembled; they being admitted therfore to declare their message, when they began to enter into their matter of the right which Alpine had to the kingdome of the Scots, the people would not suffer them to proceed anie further therein, but began to make such an uprore, that to appease the noise, Feredeth himselfe took vpon him to make answer vnto the ambassadors: and therupon commanding silence, declared vnto them that the Scots neither might nor ought to admit any stranger to reigne ouer them: for there was an ancient law among them, of most high authoritie, that in case of necessitie they might transpore the crowne from house to house: and further, that by the same law there was an ordenance decreed, that if anie man were once made and created king, he might not be deposed during his naturall life. And therfore though it were so, that Alpine were the nephew of Hungus by his sister Fergusiana: yet because he was a stranger bozne, and considering withall, that the people by their full authoritie had translated the regall administration vnto an other house, of the which one was already proclaimed and inuested king, there was no reason now, why Alpine should make anie further claime or demand vnto the kingdome.

Upon the messengers returne home with this answer, Dongall thewed himselfe to be in no small chafe, that the Scots should thus go about by such subtil arguments and contriued inventions to defraud Alpine of his right. And therupon the second time he sent his ambassadors vnto them, requiring them either to doe him reason without anie further furnished cauations; either else within three moneths space after to looke for open warres at the Scottish mens hands. These ambassadors passing forth on their iourneie, at their approaching vnto Camelon, certaine sergeants at armes met them, and did forbid them to enter the citie: also they further commanded them in name of Feredeth their king to auoid out of the confines of his dominions within foure daies space, vpon paine of death.

The ambassadors being terrefied with such manner of inhibitions, they went no further: but yet according as they had in commission, they pronounced the warre in the name of Alpine and Dongall, requiring those that thus came to meet them, to giue signification thereof vnto their maister Feredeth, and to the whole Scottish nation: and so returned home the same way they came. Then did the Scottish lords repaire vnto Dongall, who at the same time late in Carrike castell, and there taking counsell for the maintenance of these warres, not one was found amongst them which offered not to spend both life, lands, & goods in Alpines iust quarell. By this means was great preparation made on both sides for the warre, the Scots minding to set Alpine in his right, and the Scots determining not to receiue any prince of a strange nation to reigne ouer them. But whilist Dongall goeth about to provide all things readie for his enterprise, he chanced to be drowned in the river of Speie, as he was about to passe the same in a

bote. This mishap chanced him in the first yeere of his reigne, and after the birth of our Saviour 830. His bodie was buried in Colmekill, with all funerall obsequies.

930.

After Dongall was Alpine receiued to the crowne and gouernement of the realme, by the generall voices of all the people, whose chiefest studie was vpon his first entring into the estate, to follow his fate touching his title to the Scottish kingdome: and hereupon with all diligence preparing a mightie host and all other things (which were thought requisite for the furthering of his enterprise) he passed forth towards Angus, not staid till he came to the castell of Forfar, which he besieged; but the third day after his comming thither, Feredeth the Scottish king with a great armie of his subiects arranged in good order of battell, came and presented himselfe in sight of the Scots, whereupon immediatlie nere vnto the towne of Kellennoth they met, and joining there in battell, fought right fiercelie. At the first encounter the right wing of the Scottish armie was nere hand ouerthrowne; but Feredoch lieutenant of Athole came speedilie to the succors with 400 of his countremen, and restozed the battell on the Scottish side: whereby ensued a right sore bickering with great slaughter, and no signe of shrinking on either part, by meanes whereof it seemed doubtful for a long space vnto whether side the victorie should incline.

Alpine.
Alpine crow-
ned king of
Scotland.

Alpine with
an armie in-
uedeth Scot-
land.

Feredoch the
thane of
Athole.

At length Feredeth perceiuing the middle ward of his battell a little to shrink, speedilie pressed forth to succor the same with a chosen companie of such as he had appointed to attend him: but entring thus with great violence amongst the thickest preale of his enemies, he was closed in on each side, and excluded so from the residue of his owne people, that he could neither returne the same way he entered, neither yet by anie other, so that he with those that were with him, perceiuing their liues to be in present danger, did cast themselves into a ring, determining yet to reuenge their owne deaths, whereupon rather wearied with continuall fight, than vanquished, or with any feare oppressed, they were slaine all the whole number of them, together with Feredeth their king. Yet herewith did not the other Scots giue ouer the battell, so long as anie daie light was on the skie. So that the night in the end parted them in sunder, both the armies withdrawing to their camps with small joy or triumph, by reason of the great slaughter which had bene made on both sides.

Feredeth is
slaine.

The night
parted the
armies.

The Scots
slew by night.

The captiues of the Scots weeing with themselves the losse of their king, and great multitude of their men, thought it not best to abide any longer in the field: wherefore leauing their wounded people bestrid them, with all their baggage in the campe, they fled incontinently the same night, some into one place, & some into another, where they thought best for their owne wealth and safetie. The Scots had fled immediatlie likewise, but that word was brought them as they were about to depart, how the Scots were gone already, and had left their campe void of men of warre to defend the same. Whereupon the Scots taried till it was day, not farre from the place of the battell. In the morning there were certaine horsemen appointed to ride abroad, and to view the field, thereby to vnderstand whether the Scots ment anie deceit by their departure, as by laung of some attributions, or otherwise: but vpon the returne of those horsemen, when it was once knowen how there was no such matter, but that they were fled in deed, the Scots reioicing thereat, fell to and gathered the spoile of the field, dividing the same amongst themselves according to their accustomed order.

Alpine

The Scots
divide the
spoile.

Alpine himselfe commanded the bodie of his ent-
mle feredeth to be laid in chistian buriall not farre
from Fozfale. After this causing the mulkers of his
people to be taken, he found that he had lost the third
part of his armie in that mortall and cruell battell,
and thereupon brake vp his campe for that time, li-
cencing those that were left alieue to returne vnto
their homes. This battell being fought in the first
yere of the reignes of the two foresaid kings, weak-
ned the forces of both nations, so farre forth that the
Scots doubting to bring the realme into danger of
vttter ruine (if they should commit their whole puis-
sance effionnes to the hazard of another foughten
field) determined to pursue the warre by making of
incursions and invades onelie upon their enemies,
so to vex the Picts, and to bring them vnto reason, if
it were possible. And so much verely the Scottishmen
did by such their continuall robes & incursions which
they made into Angus, that the countrie was left
bold and desolate of all the inhabitants.

Neither did Wyndus the sonne of feredeth,
(whome the Picts had chosen to succed after his fa-
ther in the kingdome) find anie speedie redresse to
withstand those daile inuasions thus made by the
Scots vpon his countreies and subiects. For he was
but a slouthfull person, and verie negligent in his of-
fice, whereupon he was had in derision of his owne
people, who in the end sue him amongst themselves
before he had reigned fullie the terme of one whole
yeare. Then succeded Keneth, the second sonne of
feredeth, with no better hap or end than his brother.
For gathering together an armie of his subiects, and
comming with them into Angus, he came no soner
within sight of his enemies, but that casting off his
armoz, he fled incontinentlie, leaving his people in
the field; and for that his haste, was slaine by a plow
man that met him by chance, and knew him not, but
yet perceiuing how he had fled from his companie,
and therefore deserved not to haue anie other fauour.
His people seeing themselves destitute of their head
capitaine and gouernoz, retired from their enemies,
keeping themselves in order of battell without anie
further attempt.

After this infortunate end of Keneth, the Picts
chose to their king one Wyndus, a man of a stout and
manlike stomack, who immediatlie vpon his entring
into the estate, comming into Angus (which region
the Scots had made waste) caught there certeine
Scottish robbers, and forthwith hanged them vp by
on gibets. After this, he sent forth his ambassadoz
vnto king Alpine for reformation of all iniuries and
wzongs betwixt the two nations, and to haue the an-
cient league renewed betwixt them. Alpine and the
Scottish lordz, hauing quicklie aduised what to an-
swer, declared vnto the Pictish ambassadoz plaine-
lie, that they would not heare anie treatie for peace,
till the Picts had deliuered the kingdome vnto the
right heire. Wyndus vnderstanding by this answer,
that the Scots would still follow the warres against
the Picts, to be the better able to withstand their ma-
lice, he purposed to procure the friendship of the
Englishmen, to haue their aid against the Scots.
He sent therefore his ambassadoz with a great
summe of monie vnto Edwine king of Northum-
berland, requiring him of his fauour, and to haue
some number of his people for his wages to serue
him against the Scots.

Edwine receiuing the monie, promised to come
himselfe with a mightie armie, at what time & place
Wyndus should appoint, to go against the Scots in
defense of him and his subiects the Picts. And of
the Picts reioiced greatlie, that they should haue
aid thus of the Englishmen, hoping thereby to haue
assured victorie of their aduersaries. Other mistrus

ted not a little the Englishmens offers, by reason of
the old enimitie betwixt the Picts and them. In this
meane season the Scots take and seize vpon all the
countrie of Angus, euen from the mountaine of
Gramebene vnto the riuer of Tait, whereof Wy-
ndus being certified, sendeth a post with all speed vnto
king Edwine king of Northumberland, requiring
him to send to his aid a power of Englishmen, to
helpe to resist the Scots, which at that present inua-
ded his countrie. To which demand Edwine made
this answer, that he was not onelie troubled with
cruell war made against him by other Englishmen,
but also had bene requested by Leues surnamed
Wins, as then French king, in no wise to indamage
the Scots his confederats, so that for that yere pre-
sent he might not conuenientlie send to him anie
succours, but if he would defer the warres till the
next yere, he should haue the best helpe that he were
able to shew him.

Wyndus perceiuing himselfe thus mocked and de-
luded by the Englishmen, commanded by solenne
summons, that all such of his subiects, as were a-
ble to beare armoz, should assemble in nether Cali-
don within eight daies after, with conuenable pro-
vision of vittels, there to know his pleasure. His
commandement was obeyed: so that a mightie ar-
mie of men at the day and place appointed came to-
gether, which being mustered, they streitwaies re-
moue vnto Calidon castell, now called Dunkeld,
where they passe the riuer of Tait, and so enter into
Angus, not without some difficultie: but being once
gotten ouer, they march forthwith towards the place
where they vnderstood their enemies did lie. Wyndus
the night before the day in the which he thought they
should haue battell, by the aduise of certeine expert
warriours, which he had with him, appointed all the
hoyses that were in the campe, seruing for burden, to
be bestowed amongst the women, lackies, and col-
strels, part of them being clad in armoz, and part in
white linnen, with long poles in their hands like to
spearcs and iauelins. Amongst them also he ordeined
an hundred hoysmen to be placed, whome he made
pruse as then to his intention, by whose leading that
feat which should be wrought in this behalfe, was to
be achieved. These he caused to lie couertlie within a
wood nere vnto the place where the battell should be
fought, giuing them in commandement not to shew
themselves till the battell were begun.

King Alpine all this while held himselfe in a castell
which stood vpon an hill, a little from Dundee, being
now decayed, so that little thereof remaineth to be
sene at this day. Vpon the north side of the hill, there
lieth a great large plaine, compassed on each side with
mounteins, as then full of woods & launds, but now
for the most part bare and without anie trees or bu-
shes. In this plaine were the Scots incamped. Al-
pine beholding forth of the castell, how the Picts ap-
proched to giue battell, got him into the campe, & ex-
horting his people to shew themselves valiant, pla-
ced them in arais. The Picts no lesse desirous to fight
than their gouernozs would haue wished them, be-
gan the battell before they had commandement, with
such violence, that the right wing of the Scots was
soze disordered. But Alpine perceiuing that, came
speedilie to their succours, greatlie repprouing them
for their faintnesse of courage. To be short, he did so
much to embolden them, that by his means the fight
was renewed in most cruell wise: insomuch that
those which before were put backe, began to winne
ground againe, and to beate downe their enemies
verie fiercelie.

But hereunto did the counterfet troope of hoys-
men, which was hid in the wood suddenlie come forth,
and shewed themselves vpon the backe halfe of the
Scottish

Englishmens
assistance.
The Scots
take Angus.

Wyndus sen-
deth vnto Ed-
wine for aid.

Edwine defer-
reth his aid.

Wyndus be-
ing deceived
of the English-
men, called his
owne subiects
to the warre,
assembling
them at the foot
of Calidon
wood.

Wyndus en-
treth into An-
gus with an
armie.

A wonderfull
politic used by
Wyndus.

The taciturni-
ty of Alpine
his armie.

While the
Picts began
the battell.

Feredeth is
buried.

The Scots
determine to
warre onlie
with incur-
sions.

Wyndus suc-
cedeth his fa-
ther feredeth

The Picts
sue their slouth-
full king.
Keneth king
of the Picts.
The king ca-
sting off his
armoz, fleeth.
He was slaine
by a plowman.

Wyndus king
of the Picts.

Wyndus sent
vnto Alpine
for renewing
their league.

Alpine refu-
seth anie trea-
tie of peace.

Wyndus sen-
deth an am-
bassadoz vnto
Edwine king
of England
for aid, with a
summe of mo-
nie.

The monie is
receiued and
not promised.

The Picts
come to re-
uolt, and come
against the

The Scots
being deceived
with a coun-
terfeit trope
of hoisemen
led.

King Alpine
taken by his
enimies and
after beheaded

Kenneth the
sonne of Al-
pine inuested
king of Scot-
land.

834.

The Picts
give thanks
vnto God for
their victorie.
They make a
bow to conti-
nue the warre.

The good
counsell of
graue men is
despised.

The Scots
are animated.

The Picts
fall at vari-
ance within
themselves.

Widius died.

Drusken is
ouer the Picts

The head of
king Alpine
is stolne, and
solemnlie bur-
ied with the
bodie.

Scottishmen, appearing in fight to be an huge num-
ber, farre more than they were in deed: with which
fight the Scots being brought into a sudden feare,
least they should be compassed about with multitude
of enimies, they brake their arraie, threw off their ar-
moz, and toke them to their feet, so to escape and saue
themselves by flight. Thus few were slaine in the
battell, but a great number died in the chase, & were
beaten downe on ech side as they were overtaken by
the Picts. Alpine himselfe was taken, and hauing
his hands bound behind him, was led to the next
towne, and there beheaded. The place beareth the
name of him vnto this day, being called Palsalpine.
His head also was set vpon a pole, and borne vnto
Camelon, and there set vp vpon one of the highest
turrets of the wall. The Scots that escaped from
this forowfull ouerthrow, got them with all speed in-
to Argile, where they inuested Kenneth the sonne of
Alpine king of their realme. This was in the yere
of our Lord 834, and the fourth yere after Alpine
entred first into the estate.

The Picts hauing atchiued this great and toisfull
victorie, assembled at Camelon by commandeiment
of their king, where causing a solempne procession to
be made, in rendering thanks to almighty God for
their god successe in their passed iourne: they take
a generall oth vpon the gospell booke, that from
thenceforth they would not ceasse to make the Scots
war, till they had vtterlie destroyed the race of them:
and here with ordeined a law, that if anie man made
mention of anie peace or league to be had with the
Scots, he should lose his head for it. There were in-
deed some ancient personages amongst them, that
spake against this insolent outrage of the people, al-
ledging that in time of prosperous successe men
ought to vse a modestie: but certeine youthfull per-
sons offended with such graue aduise, thrust the au-
thors thereof out of the church, within the which they
were as then assembled. The Scots being certified
hereof, were nothing here with discouraged, but ra-
ther put in good hope of better successe, with the eni-
mies abused themselves thus in time of felicitie.

The next summer after, the Picts assembled their
power together, and setting forward towards the
Scots, thorough a light occasion they fell at vari-
ance amongst themselves, and fought with such ha-
tred together, that the king was not able to appease
the fraie, till night parted them in sunder. Then cal-
ling the lords afore him, he assaied alwaies to haue
agreed the parties, but when he saw it would not be,
in the morning he gaue them licence to depart eue-
rie man to his owne home, breaking off his iourne
for that time. Widius liued not past thre moneths af-
ter, for through griefe that things went not forward
as he wished, he fell into a greuous disease, and fi-
nallie thereof died. After whose deceasse, the Picts
chose his brother named Drusken, to succeed in go-
uernment of the kingdom, who applied his whole in-
deuour vpon his first entring into the estate, to ap-
pease the ciuill discord amongst his subiects.

But whilest he was thus busilie occupied about
the same, there were certeine Scots, which for dis-
dained to vnderstand that the head of their late king
should remaine vnburiel, in such reprochfull sort a-
mongst their enimies. Wherevpon hauing perfect
knowledge of the Pictish tong, they feined them-
selves to be merchantmen of that countrie, & com-
ming vnto Camelon, watched their time, till they
found meanes in the night season to steale to the
walls, and secretlie taking awaie the head, escaped
with the same home into their owne countrie.

This act of theirs was not a little commended:
and so now the head of king Alpine being recou-
red, was closed in a ledden coffin, and Kenneth him-

selfe, hauing in his companie a great number of his
nobles, went with it ouer into Colmekill, where he
buried it in the abbey, amongst the sepulchres of his
elders, together with the residue of the bodie in verie
solempne wise, as appertained. And further, those per-
sons that had put their liues in aduenture to fetch
the same head from the walls of Camelon, were by
Kenneth rewarded with rich gifts and lands in per-
petuitie, to remaine to them and to their heires for e-
uer. After this, Kenneth deuising for the suertie of his
subiects, furnished all the holds and castles on the
frontiers of his enimies with men and munition,
according as he thought expedient: and mozeouer
toke order, that all the youth of the realme should be
in a readinesse vpon an houres warning, to go forth
against the Picts, if they attempted anie new inna-
sions.

But the Scottish lords had no great lust to take a-
nie enterprise in hand eilsons against the Picts, re-
membryng how infortunatellie they had sped the last
time: so that for the space of thre yeres there was
no great exploit atchiued, saue certeine roads and
incursions, which both the nations continuallie vsed
to make one vpon an other, as time and occasion ser-
ued. At length king Kenneth being verie desirous
to be reuenged of the Picts, for the death of his father
king Alpine, and other iniuries by them done and
attempted against the Scottish nation, in the fourth
yere of his reigne, he assembled the peeres and chie-
fest nobles of his realme, trusting to persuaide them
to aid him in all such enterprises as he ment to take
in hand against the Picts, whome he purposed to
pursue with open warres, till he had them at his
pleasure. But calling his lords and peeres thus as-
sembled on a day before him, and going earnestlie a-
bout to moue them to the warres, he could stir them
no moze to his purpose, than if he had bene in hand
to haue counselled them vnto that which in no wise
had appertained vnto their duties: which their lacke
of stomach, Kenneth perceiuing, he began to deuise
a prettie shift, whereby to induce them to his accord.

First therefore, breaking vp the assemblie for the
same day, he commanded that they should come to-
gether againe on the next morow, to consult further
for the state of the realme; as they should see cause.
The same euening also he had them all to supper,
which being prolonged till farre in the night, it was
late before they went to bed, so that being ouerwa-
ched, when they were once gotten to rest, they were
sone brought into a sound slape. Now had the king
appointed for euerie one of their chambers one man
apparelled in garments prettie deuised and made of
fish skins vnscaled, bearing in one of their hands a
stafte of fash rotten wood as thyneth in the night, and
in their other hand a great ore bozne, to the end that
uttering their words through the same, the sound of
their voices should seme farre differing from the v-
small speech of man.

Thus appointed in the dead of the night, they en-
ter the chambers to ech of them assigned, where (as
is said) the lords late fast aslepe, who being at the
first as if were halfe awakened, were wonderfullie
amazed at the strangenesse of the sight (doubting
whether it were but a dreame, or some true and unfein-
ed vision.) Here with also were heard certeine se-
uerall voices, far greater than those of men, decla-
ring that they were messengers sent from almighty
God vnto the Scottish nobilitie, to command them
to obey their king, for his request was this: the Pic-
tish kingdom due vnto him by rightfull heritage,
ought to be recovered from that people, which for
their great offenses and sins towards almighty
God, should shortly come to viter destruction: such
was the determinate pleasure of his diuine maie-
tie, in deed:

Kenneth for-
tified the
realme.

Kenneth cal-
led his nobles
to reuenge his
fathers death.

A prettie shift
deuised by the
king to pers-
uade the nob-
ilitie.

Of such
sights there
were made in
those daies:
and oftentimes
no doubt the
mead to be be-
lieued visions
lie, in deed:

testie, against the which might neither counsel nor
puldance of man be able to resist.

When the counterfeited messengers had thus
made an end of their words, they stille hid their
faucies under their innermost garments, and there-
with quicklie conueied their uppermost vestures
made of filly scales (as I haue said) into their bosoms,
in such slight and nimble wise, that it seemed these vi-
sions had suddenlie vanished a waie. Those lords that
had scene these sights, laie still for that night, great-
lie musing on the matter. In the morning being got
up, and assembled in the counsell chamber, they de-
clared to ech other what they had scene and heard in
the night passed. And for that all their visions which
they had scene by ech others report, were in euerie be-
halfe like, and nothing differing one from an other,
they beleued verelie it was some celestiall oracle
& message sent from God. Therefore presentlie they
go vnto the king, declaring vnto him how they had
bene admonished from aboue, to continue the wars
with all their forces against the Pits.

The king told them he had scene the like vision,
but they ought to keepe it close, least by glozing to
much in the fauour shewed by almightie God toward
them, they might happilie displease his diuine mai-
estie, which other wise they might perceiue was ready
in their aid. Then finally might the vision be publi-
shed, when thorough his fauourable assistance, the
warres were brought to a luckie end. This aduise of
the king was well liked of them all, and commande-
ment giuen, that all maner of provision should be
prepared with all speed for an armie to be set forth
into Pictland. The lords going busilie about to pro-
vide themselves of all things necessarie, mustered
their men in all parts, so that there was leuied a great-
er host than had bene scene in those parties of long
time before. When the whole power was come togit-
her, Kenneth marched forth with the same, entering
by great violence into the Pictish borders about
Sterling.

Durken the king of Picts aduertised hereof,
and hauing his armie in a readinesse both of Picts
and such Englishmen as he had retained, to serue
him for his wages, fetcheth a compasse about, and
passing by the Scottish armie in the night, incampeth
betwixt them and home, in such sort that the day did no
soner appeere, but the one part desirous to be in hand
with the other, without token of trumpet, or com-
mandement of capteine, they rushed together most
fiercelie. The hastie speed of the Picts did put
them to no small disadvantage, but the departure of
the Englishmen, withdrawing themselves aside to
the next mountaine, most of all discouraged them:
for the Scots therewith giuing a shout, preclared them
selues to be highlie recomforted with that sight.
Durken in all haste sent vnto those Englishmen a
messenger, willing them with large promises of re-
ward to returne to his aid: but the Englishmen an-
swered, that their vse was not to fight without order
and commandement of their generall, and that the
Picts like vnskillfull men had cast a waie their selues
to be slaine by the enemies hand, where it appertained
vnto warlike knowledge to auoid the battell, when
no hope of victorie appeared.

The middle ward of the Picts seeing themselves
left naked on the one side, and assailed on the backs;
whereas the Englishmen should haue kept their
ground and defended them; they began to shrinke:
which the Scots perceiuing, strooke on the more
fiercelie, till at length the Picts not able to with-
stand their force, fell to running a waie. They made
their course towards the water of Forth, which was
not farre from the place of the battell, where being
overtaken, they were beaten downe & slaine in great

numbers: for Kenneth gaue commandement that
they should spare none of the Pits nation, neither
gentleman nor other, that fell into their hands. The
Englishmen whilist the Scots and Pits were thus
occupied in the fight and chase, withdrew homeward
with all speed; and by reason of the mountaines which
they had to passe, that toke a waie the sight of them
from the Scots, they escaped into their countrie
without any pursute. Durken himselfe so soone as
he perceiued how the field went against him, got him
to his horse, which he had appointed to be ready for
him at hand vpon all occasions, and so escaped out of
danger with a few other in his companie.

The Scots returning from the chase, remained in
the place of the battell all night, keeping strong
watch about their campe, for doubt least the Eng-
lishmen had bene lodged in some secret place neere
by to haue set vpon them at vnwares, if they might
haue scene any aduantage; but in the morning when
it was knowne how they were quite gone their
waies, and returned into their countrie (as before we
haue heard) then was the spoile of the field and Pic-
tish campe gathered and bestowed amongst the sol-
diers, after the ancient custome of that nation. And
then were they all licenced to depart euerie man to
his home, with thanks for their seruice and paines in
this tourne so manfullie imploied. Within few
daies after, the Pictish king Durken sent his am-
bassadors vnto king Kenneth to sue for peace. Ken-
neth was contented to heare him, and promised to
grant a peace, so they would surrender into his
hands the gouernement of their kingdome due vnto
him by right of inheritance. But this condition be-
ing bitterlie refused of the Pits, was the cause that
the warre was effones renewed with more cruel-
tie than before.

The yere next ensuing this battell, Kenneth got
Peres, Angus, and Jife into his hands, furnishing
all the castles and holds with men, munition, and
 vittels. But whilist he went about to subdue the
countries about Sterling, word was brought him
that such as he left thus in garison in those countries,
were betrayed by the inhabitants, and slaine euerie
mothers sonne. Kenneth wonderfullie kindled in
tozath for the newes, lest off his treatie, which then he
had in hand with the people of Perth and Ster-
lingshire for their submission, and returned in great
hast towards Jife, where being arrived, he put all to
the fire and sword, not leaving one aliue of the Pic-
tish nation within all those quarters. The like cruel-
tie was shewed through the whole countries of Per-
res and Angus, for an example to other to beware
how they falsified their faiths once giuen by waie of
allegiance.

In the meane tyme that Kenneth with his Scots
raged in such wise through those countries, Durken
assembling all the power of his countries, came
forth into the field to meet the Scots, meaning ei-
ther to put them backe out of the confines of his do-
minion, either else to die with hono: in the attempt
thereof. Thus passing through the countrie, at length
he came vnto Dore, where afterwards stood a fa-
mous abbie of chanoins of saint Augustines order,
and here he found Kenneth with his armie already
incamped. The next day, when both parties were re-
dy to haue giuen battell, Durken wishing rather
to aske peace whilist his power was yet in safetie,
than after he were once vanquished (if such were his
misadventure) to intreat for the same in baine, sent
an herald at armes vnto Kenneth, willing that he
might talke with him before he joined, for that he
had to say certeine things, which being followed,
might turne to the great benefit and commoditie of
both the Scottish and Pictish nations.

Kenneth

The English
men escape.

Durken es-
caped by flight

The Pits
sue for peace,

Kenneth get-
teth Peres,
Angus, and
Jife.

Jife is put to
the fire and
sword.

Peres and
Angus is
cruellie pun-
ished.

Durken
commeth to
rescue his
people.

meth for-
d the
me.

The lords de-
clare their vi-
sion vnto the
king.

The answer
of king Ken-
neth.

meth cal-
lis nobles
venge his
vers death.

Kenneth en-
tered into
Sterling-
shire.
Durken ha-
ving invaded
his enemies.

perie thit
ised by the
y to pers-
e the no-
ne.

The English-
men fled.

Durken sen-
deth to the
Englishmen.

The Pits
are vanqui-
shed.

such
as there
are made in
the daies:
offending
our bette-
re to be be-
lie visions
and;

The persua-
sion of peace
by Dzusken.

Agnes, An-
gus, and Jife
is required of
the Picts to
release.

Kenneth his
answere.

The order of
the battell.

King Dzus-
ken imbolde-
neth his peo-
ple the Picts.

The women
were a cum-
brance to the
Picts.

Kenneth for that he would not seeme to refuse a-
nie indifferent offers, was contented to come to a
communication, and so thereupon both the kings in
presence of both their armies arranged in the field
readie to fight, came together in a place appointed,
either of them being accompanied with a like num-
ber of their nobles, as by the heralds it was accor-
ded. Here Dzusken with manie reasons going a-
bout to persuaue peace, shewed how necessarie the
same was betwixt the two nations: and againe, how
doubtfull fortune was to them that trusted too
much in hir vnstedfast fauour: at length he grew to
this end, that if Kenneth could be contented to grant
a peace, the Picts should release all such right, title
and interest as they had in the countreies of Agnes,
Angus, and Jife, vnto him and his successors the
Scottish kings for euer, so that he should make no
further claime vnto anie other of those countreies
which the Picts as yet possessed.

Herevnto Kenneth answered, that he well vn-
derstood how vnstable fortunes lawes were, but si-
thens the Picts fought in an vnjust quarell, as to
defraud the posteritie of their lawfull king Hungus,
who lately reigned amongst them, of the rightfull
inheritance of their kingdome, they themselves had
iust cause to doubt fortunes chance, where the Scots
hauing put vpon lawfull armour, and seeking to at-
taine that by warre which by other means they could
not attaine at the hands of the vnjust possessors, they
had lesse cause to mistrust hir fauour, & therefore if
the Picts were desirous of peace, they ought to cause
a surrender to be made of their kingdome into his
hands, accordingly as they well knew it was rea-
son they should. And what commoditie might there-
of insue to both nations, being by such means once
ioined and vnited into one iustre kingdome, he doub-
ted not but they vnderstood it sufficientlie inough.
And as for other conditions of peace than this, he
told them plainelie there would be none accepted.
Thus did the kings depart in funder, without anie
agreement concluded: and being returned to their
armies, they make readie to trie the matter by dint
of sword.

Kenneth exhorted his people that day to shew
themselves men, sith the same should iudge whether
the Scots should rule and gouerne the Picts, or the
Picts the Scots. With these and manie other effec-
tuall words when he had encouraged his folks to the
battell, he diuided them into three wards, as two
wings and a maine battell. In euerie of them he
set first archers and arcuballisters; and next vnto
them pikemen and speares, then bilmen and other with
such short weapons: last of all, an other multitude
with all kind of weapons, as was thought most
expedient. The fore ward was committed to the lea-
ding of one War, a man right skillfull in all warlike
knowledge, the second one Dongall gouerned, and
the third was led by Donald the kings brother. The
king himselfe with a troupe of horsemen followed
them to succour in all places where he saw need.

Then commanded he his trumpets to sound to
the battell, which the Scots began with such a chere-
full shout, that the Picts euen vpon the first onset
were so amazed, that if Dzusken had not with com-
fortable words relieved their fainting stomacks, the
most part of them had fled without anie stroke stric-
ken. But being encouraged through the presence of
their king, the wing himselfe with cherefull counte-
nance amongst them, and therewith exhorting them
to stand by him at that present, there was fought a
right sore and cruell battell betwene them. The wo-
men that were amongst the Picts, of whom there
was no small number, speciallie in the right wing,
made such a wooll noise, when they beheld the men

one kill an other, that they were a more cumb-
rance to the Picts, than aid, when it came to the point of
seruice: by reason whereof that wing was shortly
beaten downe, and put to flight. Which when Ken-
neth beheld, he set in with his horsemen on the
backs of the Picts, now left bare by the running thus
away of those in the foresaid wing: and so entring
in amongst them, disordered their arraie in such wise,
that by no means they were able to aid themselves,
or come into anie order againe: so that in the end
they were faine to throw downe their weapons, and
take them to their sate, thereby to escape the dan-
ger. Such heaps of slaine men, armour, & weapons
laie here & there strewd in the place of the battell,
that the Scots were forced in following the chase
to breake their arraie, so to passe the more speedilie by
means whereof, falling amongst whole bands of
the Picts, manie of them were slaine.

This mischiefe Kenneth perceiving, comman-
ded to found the retreat, and so gathering his peo-
ple about their standards, he appointed certeine
companies in warlike order to pursue in chase of
the enemies, whilst he himselfe with the residue a-
bode still in the place (where the field was fought)
all that day and the next night following. The Sco-
tish capteins that were sent to follow the chase,
earnestlie executing their kings commandement,
made great slaughter of Picts in all places where
they might ouertake them. Dzusken the Pictish
king himselfe being pursued to the riuer of Tawe,
for that he could not passe the same, was there slaine
with the whole retinue which he had about him. It
is said, that the Scottishmen incountred with the
Picts that day at seven sundrie times, and in seven
sundrie places, and still the victorie abode with the
Scots. The day after the battell, such as had followed
the chase returned to the campe; where they presen-
ted vnto Kenneth their king, the armour and other
spoile of Dzusken the Pictish k. which they brought
with them, besides great abundance of other pil-
lage and riches, which they had gotten of the enemies
that were slaine. Dzusken's armour and other things
belonging to his owne bodie, was offered vp to
saint Colme, in the church dedicated to his name
with in the Ile of Colmekill, there to remaine as a
monument of this victorie to such as should come
after.

After this the whole preie and spoile was gathered
and diuided amongst the souldiers. Kenneth was
counselled to haue discharged his armie, and to haue
departed home; but he purposing now to make an
end of the whole warres, sith he was in such a for-
wardnesse, called together the multitude, and in
this wise began to utter vnto them his mind and
purpose. It is the dutie of a good capteine, when
he hath the victorie in his hands, & as yet the warres
not ended, if he mind the preservation of himselfe
and his countrie, and to vse the victorie as he ought,
not to cease from pursuing the enemies once van-
quished, till he haue either made them his friends,
or else utterly destroyed & rid them out of the way;
for if anie man shall thinke it best to suffer the en-
emie to remaine in quiet, after he be once weakened
and brought to a low ebbe, till time peraduenture he
shall haue recovered his forces againe, he shall pro-
cure to himselfe (as I gesse) more danger than hap-
pils he is well ware of. And that we may speake
somewhat of this dangerous now present, the state of
the Pictish kingdome (as ye know) is sore inteebled,
their power being diminished by force of warre, is
brought to that point, that it resteth in our hands ve-
terlie to destroye and exterminat the whole nation.
Which act ought to be abhorred, if it were possible for
vs by anie means to draw them (our honours faued)
vnto

Kenneth with
the horsemen
disordered the
Picts arraie.

The right
wing of the
Picts is put
to flight.

Kenneth can-
sell the re-
treat to be
sounded.

The king of
the Picts
slaine.

In opinion of
king Kenneth

into our friendship. But the Picts are of such a
stubborne nature, and so desirous of reuenge, that
so long as there remaineth anie one of them aliuie,
they will beare in their hearts a desire to reuenge
all such losses as they haue in anie wise sustained by
this warre. Whereupon I doe verelie beleue, that
there is none of the Pictish nation from henceforth,
will beare anie faithfull friendship towards the
Scots. Therefore sith we can not make the Picts,
thus latelie scourged by vs, our friends, I thinke
it best (except we will neglect our owne safeties) to
terlie to destroye the whole nation, by putting to the
sword not onlie both men and women, but also all
their youth and young children: least they being de-
cended of that linage, hereafter in time to come,
arise themselves to the reuenge of their parents
deaths, and that not without perill of the vtter loss
of our countrie and kingdome.

This sentence of the king, though it seemed too cru-
ell to many, yet together for that they saw the same to
stand with the kings pleasure, or that they thought it
most expedient for the libertie of the Scottish com-
mon-wealth, it was allowed and ratified by them
all. Such crueltie hereupon was forthwith shewed
throughout all the Pictish regions, that there was
not one liuing creature of humane shape left aliuie,
sauius such as saued themselves within the walles
of Camelon, or in certeine other holds and fortres-
ses, and also about two thousand of those that fled in-
to England: for all the residue were most unmerci-
fullie murdered and slaine, without respect either
of age, sex, profession, or estate. Thus Kenneth ha-
ving dispatched the inhabitants, seized the countrie
into his owne hands, making partition of the same
as he saw cause, and diuiding it amongst his nobles,
according to the merits of euerie of them duilie
tried and considered, he added new names vnto eu-
erie quarter and region (either after the name of the
gouernor, or else of some promontorie, riuer, or
other notable water or place, according as was the
ancient custome of the nation) that the memorie of
the Pictish names might end together with the in-
habitants.

The countrie ancientlie called Horestia, was gi-
uen vnto two brethren, Angusian, and Spennan, by
reason whereof the one part of the same countrie
was called Angus, and the other the Spennes. The
linage of those two noble men remaine vnto this
day. The region which till then was named Athol-
nia, was turned afterwards to the name of Fife, af-
ter the name of one Fife Duffe: whose baliance
was throughlie tried in these last warres with the
Picts. There remaine vnto this day tokens and old
ruines of a castell situate betwixt the riuer of Leuin
and saint Kenneths church, which (as yet appeareth)
was fenced about with seuen rampires, and as ma-
nie ditches, wherein the posteritie of this worthy
man after his decesse had their habitation by the
space of manie hundred yeeres. Louthian retained
still the former name, so honorable was the remem-
brance of that famous prince king Loth amongst
all men. The strongest castell of the whole countrie,
Kenneth bestowed vpon that valiant captaine na-
med War, whose counsell and forwarde seruice stood
the Scots in no small stead in those warres, in which
the Picts were thus subdued. That fortreffe euer si-
thence (after his name) hath bene called Dunbar,
that is to say, the castell of War.

There descended of him a noble house or familie,
bearing the name of this castell, continuing in great
fame and honor, euen vnto our time, of the which the
earles of Sparch had their beginning, and continued
long in that dignitie from one to another, with sur-
dy branches of right famous memorie. The names

of diuerse dales were also changed, but yet some
kept their old names still. *Spodolucia* thortlie after
began to take the name of Annandale, of the riuer
of Annan that runneth through the same. And so
likewise *Tweddale* took name of the water of
Twed. And *Cluderdale* of the riuer of *Clude*. In
like maner manie other countries, townes, and ca-
stels had their names changed at the same time, af-
ter they came into the possession of the Scottishmen,
vpon sundrie considerations, for a witness of their
victorious acts atchieued against the Picts. Further-
more, into the citie of Camelon were withdraine
the most part of all the noble mens wives of the
Picts, with their children, vpon trust to be in safetie
in the same, as well by reason of strength of the
place, as also of the strong garrison which was appoin-
ted to defend it.

Kenneth therefore hauing taken his pleasure a-
broad in the countrie, came thither with a nightie
armie to besiege the citie. And first sending vnto
them within, to know if they would yield, he was an-
swered, how sith it plainly appeared, that the Scots
could be satisfied with nothing but with the slaughter
of all such as fell into their hands, as well of women
and children, with impotent aged, as of others, they
were minded neuer to surrender their hold with life.
Whereupon the siege continued by the space of ma-
nie daies. Whilist the Scots in the meane time got
together a great number of fagots, and other such
brush and stufte to fill the ditches withall, which were
verie deepe and broad, at length when they within be-
gan to want vittels, they required a truce for three
daies, in the which meane time they might take ad-
uile for the surrender of the citie. Kenneth mistrus-
ting no deceit, granted their request, and thereupon
commanded his people to cease from all manner of
annoiance of the enemies, for that terme.

But in the meane time the Picts prepared them-
selves of all things necessarie to make an issue vpon
the Scots. There was also an old gate forlet and
stopped by with earth and stones vpon the one side of
the citie, so that of a long time before there had bene
no way forth by the same. Therefore in the darke of
the night the Picts ridding away the earth and ra-
mell therewith it was closed vp, about the third
watch they passe forth at that gate in good order of
battell, setting first vpon such Scots as kept the
standing watch, who were in doubt of nothing lesse
than of anie issue to be made on that side, by means
whereof they were easilie oppressed, and likewise the
other that kept the inner watch, insomuch that the
slaughter went on almost euen to the kings tent
with great noise and clamor, as is commonlie saide
in such sudden tumults, especiallie chancing in the
night season.

When the day began once to appeare, the Picts
withdraine towards the citie by the same waie
they came, were pursued by the Scots, and no small
number of them slaine at the entering. The citie al-
so had bene taken at the same time, but that the
Picts out of the turrets and loupes of the walles,
discharged a wonderfull number of quarrels, darts,
arrows, stones, and other things vpon the Scots,
as they approached nere to the gate, where their fel-
lowes (that made the issue) halied to enter againe
into the towne. There were slaine of the Scots at
this bickering about six hundred, wherewith Ken-
neth was so kindled with wrath, that detesting the
falschod of the Picts, he botred by open oth that he
would not depart from the siege, till he had put the
citie and them within to fire and sword, without
sparring of anie, either one or other.

Sundrie times he attempted to haue towne the
citie by force of assault, but the Picts still defended
their

The chan-
ging of the
names of the
dales.
Annandale.
Tweddale.
Cluderdale.

The gentle-
women are
preferred in
Camelon.

Kenneth send-
eth vnto Cam-
elton, coman-
ding them for
to yield.

They of Cam-
elton require
truce for three
daies.

The Picts
issue vpon the
Scots with
great fortrune.

An extreme
vow made by
king Kenneth

The constan-
ce of the
Picts when
they were be-
sieged.

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arrie.

right
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neth came
the re-
to be
ded.

King of
Dias

The common
allow the
kings raising.

I cruel act
committed by
the Scots
vpon the
Picts.

Shiland par-
to vnto di-
was men.

From names
origin vnto
to euerie
region.
Angus.
Spennan.

Fife.

nation of
Kenneth

Louthian.

I reward gi-
uen vnto War
which was
the fortreffe
of Dunbar.

The familie
of Dunbar.

their walles so stoutlie, that he could not atchieve his purpose. Whereupon the siege continued for the space of foure moneths togither. So that such scarcitie of all kinds of vittells still arose amongst them, that the wretched citizens abstained from nothing that might in anie wise be eaten, though it were neuer so much to be abhorred. And yet although they were brought into such miserable state, that there was no hope longer to defend themselves, if anie man notwithstanding all such extremitie, were heard make mention of surrendering, he was forthwith slaine by his fellowes, as an enimie to his nation and a friend unto the Scots. It was thought that Kenneths oth made them so obstinate in their wilfull contumacie, because they saw nothing but death, which way soeuer they inclined.

A pretie craft
bled by Ken-
neth.

The Scots
enter the
citie.

The Picts
are miserable
slaine, with-
out regard
of person.

Ladies and
gentlewomen
desire the king
to be pardo-
ned of their
lives.

All the Pict-
ish nation
destroyed.
The citie of
Camelon is
throwne
downe.

The castell of
Maidens is
left of the
Picts.

At length when the citie was thus reduced into all extreme miserie, and the ditches filled with faggots and other such stufte, Kenneth one night appointed six hundred of his choicest souldiers to lie in ambush within a wood, joining nere to one side of the citie, so that in the morning when he should give the assault on the contrarie side, they might suddenlie come forth and scale the walles on that other. These souldiers, according to that which they had in commandement, shortly after the breake of day, hearing that Kenneth had begun the assault on his part, quicklie came forth of the wood, and having their ladders readie, came to the walles, reared them by, and swiftlie getting into the citie, opened one of the gates where one part of the armie entered; the citizens standing in no doubt at all of anie attempt on that side: so as being gotten togither to defend the walles on that part where Kenneth gaue the approach, and now hearing how the enimies were got into the citie, and coming on their backs, they were wonderfully amazed, but yet so long as they were able to make anie resistance, they did what lay in their uttermost power to beat backe the Scots, and to drive them out of the citie againe.

The slaughter therfore was great which the Scots made of the Picts in euerie passage & corner of the streets, insomuch that the Scottish lords and other capteins, in reuenge of the late receiued losse of their men, through the false practised policie of the Picts, commanded in a great furie to set fire on the houses, and to kill and slea all such of the Pictish nation as came in their way. Thus the murder proceeded upon all estates, aswell religious as other, and likewise upon women and children, without anie difference. A number of ladies and gentlewomen, getting them into the presence of king Kenneth, besought him in most lamentable wise, to haue pittie upon their wofull estate, and to saue their liues from the hands of his most cruell souldiers. But such was the rage kindled in the Scottishmens hearts, that there was no more fauor shewed toward them than toward the other, and so immediatlie were they also slaine without all compassion. So farre forth was the murder executed on all hands, that there was not one left aliuie of the Pictish nation, neither man, woman, nor child to bewaile that miserable destruction of their countrie and kinsfolkes. Then were the walles throwne downe & made euen with the plaine ground. The houses and buildings aswell priuate as publike, with churches and chappels, were set on fire, and that which might not be consumed with the rage of fire was ruinated and destroyed with hand, so that there remained of all that famous citie, nothing but the ashes, with heapes of the broken and burned stones, and likewise of the pavement and foundation of some part of the walles.

At the same time the castell of Maidens, now called commonlie Edenborough castell, was still kept with

a mightie garrison of Picts, but they hearing of the miserable destruction of Camelon, and doubting to fall into the like mischance, left the castell bold, and fled to Northumberland. Thus ended the kingdome of the Picts in Albion, in the yere after they first began to reigne therein 1173, and in the yere after the birth of our Saviour 839, from the first coming of Fergus 1166, and after the creation of the world 4806, if the Scottish chronicles be true. ¶ But where as the truth concerning the time of the first coming into this Ile, aswell of the Scots as Picts, is doubtful, and that aswell by authoritie of approved writers, as by reasonable conjectures, we haue in the historie of England more largelie written thereof: we referre those that be desirous to see further of that matter, unto the same, following here in this historie of Scotland the report most an end, as we find it in Hector Boetius, and other the Scottish writers, not taking upon vs so frankelie to set downe our owne opinion in this Scottish, as in the English historie, through want of such helpes in the one, as we haue got in the other.

There were seene the same yere two comets or blasing starres of dreadfull aspect to the beholders, the one went before the sunne rising in haruest season, and the other followed the going downe thereof in the spring of the yere. There was oftentimes also seene in the aire a vision of fire armies, running togither with burning staves, and the one being vanquished, they suddenlie both of them vanished away. Also at Camelon, as the bishop was at service holding his crozier staffe in his hand, it was kindled so with fire, that by no meane it could be quenched, till it was burnt euen to ashes. About none daie, the aire being faire and cleare, as well in the countries of the Scots as of the Picts, there was heard such a noise and clattering of weapons and armor, with brasteng of hozes, as though two armies should haue bene togither in fight, whereby manie of either nation which heard it, were put in great feare. These uncouth wonders were interpreted by diuiners diuerslie: some of them affirming the same to be token for and hapie prosperitie, and other alledging, how they signified rather mishap and bitter calamitie.

But to returne to our purpose. King Kenneth having thus destroyed the Pictish kingdome, togither almost with the whole nation, caused the marble stone (which Simon Breke sometime brought out of Spaine into Ireland, and the first Fergus out of Ireland into Albion, as before is recited) to be brought now forth of Argile (where till that time it had bene diligently kept) into Courie, which region before appertained to the Picts, there to remaine from thenceforth as a sacred token for the establishment of the Scottish kingdome in that countrie: he placed it at Scone upon a raised plot of ground there, because that the last battell which he had with the Picts was fought nere unto the same place, the victorie (as before is specified) chancing to the Scots. Upon this stone (as before is rehearsed) the Scottish kings were used to sit, when they receiued the investiture of the kingdome. ¶ Some writers haue recorded that by commandement of Kenneth, at the same time when this stone was thus by him removed, those Latine verses were grauen upon it, whereof mention is made before, where the spake of the aforesaid Fergus the first his coming ouer forth of Ireland into Albion there to reigne.

Now in the meane time, when those few of the Picts, which by flight had escaped the Scottishmens hands, and were gotten into England, could by no meanes persuade the Englishmen, being troubled with intestine warre, to aid them in recoverie of their countrie, some of them passed the seas ouer into

829.
1421. H.B.
60:8. H.B.

Prodigious
tokens seene
in the aire.

The interpreta-
tion of these
tokens.

The marble
stone is remo-
ued from Ar-
gile into Cour-
ie, in the
place called
Scone.

The residue
of the Picts
were disper-
sed.

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to Norway, and some into Denmarke, and diuerse other of them remained still in England, where they got their living either by some manuell occupation, either else by service in the warres. The Scots from thenceforth lined in quiet, during the life time of James Kenneth, who deserved eternall fame, by the enlarging of the bounds of his kingdome, so mightilie and in such wise, that where he found the frontiers, he made the same well nere the middelt of his kingdome. Other things he did also touching the politike gouernement of his subiects in time of peace, no lesse worthie of praise than his noble and famous conquests: but speciallie he ordeined certeine lawes for the wealth of his people, whereby his iudges and other officers shoud proceed in the administration of iustice, of the which I haue thought requisite to rehearse part as yet being vied, that aswell the author, as the time of their first establishment, maie the better appeare, vnto such as shall peruse this historie.

The Chapters of those lawes which yet remaine to be obserued, are these.

Et euerie shire haue certein men skilled in the lawes appointed to be resident in the same, according as in the beginning it was instituted. Let their sonnes also in their youth be brought vp in knowledge of the same lawes.

Let them onelie keepe in their custodies the tables of the lawes, with the register booke of the kings & peres of the realme.

If any of them be conuicted of extortion, or other the like iniust dealing, let him die vpon the gallowes, and his bodie remaine vnburi.

Such as are codenmed for theft, let them be hanged, and those that are proued guiltie of murther, let them lose their heads.

A woman which is condemned to die, either let hir be drowned in some riuer, either else let hir be buried quicke.

He that blasphemeth the name of God, of the saints, of his prince, or of the capitaine of his tribe, let him haue his tongue cut out.

He that is conuicted of a lie to his neighbours hinderance, let him haue his sword taken from him, and be banished out of all mens companie.

Such as be accused of any crimes that deserue death, let them passe by the sentence of 7 honest men, either else of 9, 11, 13, 15, or moze, so that the number be od.

Robbers by the high waies, destroyers of cozne growing in the fields, as is vied by enemies in time of warre, let them die by the sword.

Fugitiues, vagabonds, and such other idle persons, let them be whipt and burnt in the chiefe.

Let not the wife suffer for the husbands offense, but the husband shal answer for the wifes misdeeds, if he be priuie thereunto.

Any mans lemmen or concubine shal suffer the same paines that he doth which offendeth with hir.

He that rauisheth a maid shal die for it, vnlesse she require for safegard of his life, to haue him to hir husband.

If any man be taken with an other mans wife in adulterie, she consenting vnto him therein, they shal both suffer death for it. But if she consent not, but be forced against hir will, then he shal die onelie for the same, and she shall be released.

If the child hurt the father either with tongue, hand, or foot, let him first be deprived of that member, and then hanged, his bodie to remaine without buriall.

A murtherer, a dumbe person, or he that is vnthankfull to his parents, shall not inherit his fathers patrimonie.

Fuglers, wizzards, necromancers, and such as call by spirits, and vse to seke vpon them for helpe, let them be burnt to death.

Let no man sow in the earth any graine before it be purged of all the weeds.

He that through negligent slouth, suffereth his arable ground to be choked vp and ouergrowne with weeds; for the first fault let him forsaite an ore, for the second ten ore, and for the thirde let him forgo the same ground.

Thy companion in the warres, or thy friend being slaine, let him be buried, but let the enimie lie vnburi.

Anie straie cattell that cometh into thy grounds, either restore them to the owner, either els deliuer them to the searcher out of theues, comunilie called *Tonoderrach*, or to the parson or bicar of the towne: for if thou reteine them in thy hands by the space of thre daies, thou shalt be accounted guiltie of theft.

He that findeth anie thing that belongeth to an other man, let him caule it to be cried in the market, or els he shall be iudged for a fellow.

He that striketh him, with whom he goeth to the law, about anie matter in controuersie, shall be iudged guiltie of the action, and the other set free.

If foren or kine chance by running together to kill one another, the truth being not known which it was that did the hurt, that which is found without hoznes shall be iudged the occasion of the death, and he that is owner of the same, shall haue the dead beast, and sacrifice him for the losse to whome it belonged.

If a sow eate hir pigs, let hir be stoned to death, and buried, so that no man eate of hir flesh.

A hogge that is found eating of cozne that groweth in the field, or wroting vpon the tilled grounds, let it be lawfull for anie man to kill the same without danger.

Other kinds of beasts, wherein other men haue anie propertie, if they breake into thy pastures, or eate by thy cozne, impound them, till time the owner haue satisfied thee for the quantitie of the damage.

These were ciuill ordinances belonging to the good gouernement of the people, or ther there were, which appertene to religion:

Smith is of mites shall die.

Adulterers shall die.

A child hurting his father shall die.

Who are not to inherit.

Fuglers and wizzards, &c.

Sowing of graine.

Small husbandrie.

Warriell of friends.

Woffes and strales.

Things found.

Worsharries in suite of law.

Open or kine hurting each other.

A sow.

Swine.

Beasts damage fault.

Articles teaching religion.

The Scots were in quiet.

James Kenneth made lawes & ordinances.

James Kenneth made lawes & ordinances.

The tables of the lawes to be kept.

Subers to be hanged.

Punishment for theft and murther.

A woman condemned to be drowned, or burned quicke.

Blasphemers haue their tongues cut out.

The punishment for a lie.

A man accused to be condemned by an odd quest of men.

Robbers to be put to the sword.

Vagabonds to be whipped and burnt in the chiefe.

The wife shal not suffer for the husbands offense.

The concubine and hir mate to haue a like punishment.

9. H.B. H.B.

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gion: as these.

Thou shalt deuoutlie reuerence the altars, temples, images, oratories, chapels, priestes, and all men of religion.

Keeping of holie daies.

Thou shalt obserue with due reuerence festiuall and solemne holie daies, fasting daies, bigils, and all maner of ceremonies instituted by the godlie ordinance of man, in the honor of our S. Christ & his saints.

Priests.

To hurt a priest, let it be accounted an offense worthe of death.

Ground to be left untilld.

That ground wherein anie that is slaine lieth buried, leaue it untilld for seven yeres space.

Graues.

Repute euerie graue holie, and adorne it with the signe of the crosse, so as thou shalt be well aduised that in no wise with thy feet thou tread vpon it.

Buriall.

Burie the dead according to the quantitie of his substance.

Buriall of noble me.

The bodie of a noble man & of him that hath well deserued of the common-wealth, shall be buried in solemne and pompous wise, but yet in mourning sort & dolorous manner.

Let there be two knights or esquires to attend his bodie to the graue. The one being mounted vpon a white horse shall beare the coate-armoz of the dead, and the other in mourning apparell with his face couered shall ride vpon a blacke horse; who after the corpse is brought to church, turning his horse from the altar, shall crie out how his maister is dead: and there with the people making an outcry against him, he shall streitwaies depart and get him with all speed to the place from whence he came: the other going straight to the altar, shall there offer by vnto the priest his coate-armoz with his horse, as a token to signifie thereby that his maister doth enjoy euermourning life, in the land of permanent light and ioies eternall.

¶ But this custome of buriall, as that which was supposed not appertaining to the order of the christian religion, the age that followed did vtterlie abolish, appointing to the priests in steed of the horse and armor, five pounds sterling in monie for the offering. With these and diuers other ordinances, which time and other statuts by other kings deuised haue abrogated, Kenneth gouerned his people in great felicitie during his life time.

S. Kenehis church, now called Saint Andrewes.

The bishops see, which before had bene at Abirnes, he translated vnto the church of that holie man S. Kene. Euer since which time the towne hath bene called S. Andrewes, and those which gouerned the same church a long time after, were called the great bishops of Scotland: for the realme was not diuided into dioceses till the daies of Malcolm the 3, who by diuine inspiration (as is said) ordeined the see of Purthlake, now called Abirden: but such as were reputed of vertuous behauiour and knowledge meet for the office, used the authoritie & name of bishops, in what place soeuer they were resident. Yet such was the continuance of those which gouerned the church of S. Andrewes, that there haue bene about the number of forty bishops resident there, since the first institution of that see: manie of them

for the opinion conceiued of their holinesse, being numbered according to the manner in times past in the register of saints. But now to returne vnto Kenneth, who hauing (as is said) enlarged the bounds of his kingdome, so as the same stretched forth vnto the confines of Northumberland on the one side, and to the Isles of Orkney on the other, the sea compassing the residue, at the length after he had reigned about twentie yeres in great renoume and glorie, he departed out of this life, through too much abundance of rheumatike matter, at Forthuiot, in the yere of our Lord 856. His bodie was conueied into the Ile of Colmeckill, and there honorable buried amongst his ancestors.

The bounds of the Scottish kingdome.

King Kenneth departed out of this life, 855. H. B.

After his deccesse succeeded in gouernment of the realme his brother Donald, farre differing in qualities from his noble brother the foresaid Kenneth; but yet before he came to the rule of the realme, he disclosed not his vicious nature, for doubt of offending the king his brother. Neuertheless he had continued scarce two yeres in the estate, but that he had subuerted all good orders in his realme, by his naughtie examples of dissolute liuing: for his mind was set on nothing but on wanton pleasure; as in the vnlawfull vse of concubines, riotous banquetting, keeping of hawkes, hounds, & horses for pleasure, and not for the vse of warres, whereof he had no regard at all: for such charges as he should haue bene at for maintenance of men of warre to keepe the frontiers of his realme, were employed on a sort of rascals, that serued him in the furtherance of his wanton delights and voluptuous desires, as huntsmen, falconers, cokes, balwdes, ruffians, and such like lozels.

Donald. Donald the fourth of that name succeeded his brother Kenneth. The king is of dissolute behauiour.

Wherevpon diuers of the nobles remembryng what appertained to their duties, spared not, but freely admonished the king what danger would insue of his misordered behauiour, if he reformed not his manners, nor restrained the licentious doings of his seruants and familie. But when they perceiued that their words were not regarded, but for the same they themselves ran into displeasure; they forrowed not a little, to see so small hope of amendment of such enormities, as euerie where reigned through the region: for all youthfull persons giuen to sensuall lust followed the same without any feare or care of correction, so that there was no measure of offending and haunting of euill rule in all parties, insomuch that shortly, through want of all good gouernance, wrong was placed in steed of right, and contempt of Gods honor imbraced euerie where in place of vertue and godlinesse.

The king is admonished of his nobles.

In this meane while, the residue of the Scots remaining amongst the Englishmen, ceased not to solicit the gouernors of the countie to aid them towards the recouerie of their dominion out of the Scottish mens hands, promising to be subiects vnto the English nation, if by their helpe they might be restored to their ancient seats. At length Osbert and Ella kings of Northumberland were perswaded through instant suite to take that enterprise in hand, the rather vpon trust of gods successe; for that they understood what sort of politike gouernement then remained amongst the Scots, by reason of the kings naughtie demeanour and most inordinat trade of life. But first there was a league concluded with new articles of agreement betwixt the Englishmen and Britains, as yet inhabiting along the coasts of Cumberland, by means of which league both Britains and Englishmen joined their powers together, and in most speedie and forcible wise passed the water of Tweed, first pitching their campe in the countie of Berwick. From thence immediately King Osbert (being appointed as generall in that warre) sent

The English request aid of the Englishmen.

Osbert and Ella kings of Northumberland.

The Englishmen and Britains joined their powers with the Scots.

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English
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Obert is put
a fight at
Jethworth, or
Jethburgh.

Obert his
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ken by the
Englishmen.

A great del-
uder in the
Scotch
camp.

The Scots
camp in-
dente man-
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Scots
whom flane.
King Donald
is taken with
the nobilitie.

The campe is
riden.

The whole
realme of
Scotland del-
uidered.

sent an herald vnto Donald the Scottish king, com-
manding him either to surrender vp vnto the Scots
all such regions as the Scots had taken from them,
either else to loke to haue the Englishmen and Bri-
tains no lesse their enimies than the Scots, whose
cause they had taken vpon them to mainteine and
defend.

Donald being at the first sore troubled with these
newes, yet at length (by the aduise of his nobles) he
toke a good hart vnto him, and in defense of his
realme caused musters to be taken throughout all
his dominions, and forthwith came into the field to
incounter his enimies, whome he found at Jeth-
worth readie to giue battell: where after sore fight,
in the end Obert with his people was chased to
the next mountains. Donald hauing thus obtai-
ned the victorie in this conflict, supposed all had
bene his owne, and thereupon remoued ouer
Tweed with all possible hast, marching forth till he
came to the mouth of that river, where there laie at
anchor certeine English vessels, laden with proui-
sion of vittels and all other things necessarie for the
furniture of an armie. Donald setting vpon these
ships, with small resistance toke them, spoiled them
of all such things as were found aboard, and after set
fire on them. The spoile was diuided amongst the
soldiers and men of warre, which serued them to
small vse or commoditie: for all the youth of the ar-
mie, through example of their prince, was so corrup-
ted in vicious customes, that the campe was reple-
nished with hoyses, batons, stetos, and dining tables,
in such sort, that all such prouision as should haue
serued for foode and staple of vittels, was spent in
riotous banquetting without anie order or measure:
e oftentimes (as it chanced) where politike governe-
ment lacked) there happened amongst them in the
armie, discord and variance with sundrie murders
and slaughters.

When the enimies were aduertised how far out of
order all things stood in the Scottish campe for want
of good and discreet chieffes, might with all speed
got a mightie host togither againe, and before his
approch was looked for of the Scots, he cometh vpon
them one morning in the breake of the day, and
assailed them in their lodgings, wherein he found
them so bryppouided of all helps to make resistance,
that it was a wonder to see the disorder that appea-
red amongst them: some of them running vpon
their enimies naked without all discretion, other
breaking forth of the campe to save themselves by
sight, not sparing hill nor dale where they saw anie
way to escape the enimies hands, though it were
with present danger of breaking their necks doونه
the floeing banks and craggie rocks, being forced
thereto by the fierce peruite of the Englishmen and
Britains, who most eagerlie pleased vpon them in
all places, to reuenge the late receiued ouerthrow
and slaughter of their friends and kindred. There
died of the Scots in this mortall bickering aboue
threentie thousand persons. King Donald being full
astroke at the first assault of the enimies, as he that
had drinke ouer night more than enough, was ta-
ken before he could make anie shift for himselfe,
with the residue of the nobilitie, that escaped with life.

The Scottish campe, the next day after this
ouerthrow, was rifled, the spoile being diuided a-
mongest the Englishmen and Britains: But when
the fame of this infamit batell was noised once
through the realme of Scotland, how the king was
taken prisoner, his campe taken, the armie discor-
ded, and almost all the soldiers and men of warre
slaine, those few of the nobles which were left alive
remaining prisoners in the enimies hands, there
was such dole and lamentation made ouer all, as

though the realme had already bene lost without re-
coerie. Some there were that blamed fortune,
some cursed the wicked trade of life in the king, o-
ther bewailing the great calamitie of this mischance
put the fault in diuers other things, as in such cases
commonlie it falleth out: for in sundrie heads are e-
uer sundrie opinions. Some ran vp and doونه
the streets and high waies, to inquire the certentie
of all things, and whether there were anie hope at
all left to resist the enimies, also which way the eni-
mies held, whereabout they went, and what they pur-
posed to do.

Anon after, when it was certeinly known that
the Englishmen were entred by Louthian, and the
Britains by Galloway, there was such feare mixed
with sorow (for losse of their friends and kindred) as
stricken into the peoples hearts, and namelie into
the women, that a greater hath not bene heard
of in anie region. So that all prouision to defend
their countrie was quite neglected, so amazed were
the Scots with the sudden change of fortunes fauor.
The Englishmen hereupon toke all the countrie e-
uen to the water of Forth, and likewise the Britains
seized into their hands all that which lieth from the
bounds of Cumberland vnto Sterling bridge, find-
ing no resistance in their way at all. Whereunto as-
well the Englishmen as Britains vied the victorie
verie cruelly, sparing neither one nor other of the
Scottish blood, that by anie means fell into their
hands, but priests and all passed one way, that is, by
the edge of the sword.

King Obert purposed to haue passed the water
of Forth, that waie to haue entred into Fife, & so
ouer Tait into Angus: but hearing that the Scots
had gathered a power to impeach his passage, he
staied certeine daies. At length vnderstanding that
the enimies were nothing of that puissance or num-
ber, as at the first they were reported to be; he de-
termined to set out in certeine boats ten thousand
of his men; but through a sudden tempest of wind
and weather, that rose in that instant, there were
foure thousand of them drowned, the residue being
constrained to land againe on the same side from the
which they loosed, hauing lost through violence of the
weather all their tackle and whole furniture of their
vessels. Obert being also admonished with this mis-
fortune, thought good to attempt no more the furio-
us rage of the water, but determined by land to
go vnto Sterling, where he vnderstand he should
find the Britains, with whome he might ioine his
power, and passe ouer the bridge there, and so diuide
other of the Scottish regions which lay thereabout.

But at his coming thither, certeine Scottish am-
bassadors came vnto him to sue for peace; which
they humbly requested at his hands in name of the
whole realme, beseeching him to consider well the
state of the case as it stood, and not to trust too much
in his little fortune, the which seemeth his selfe neuer
stable, but commonlie vied to call backe againe his
grant of prosperous success, where the receiuer
hath not skill to vse it moderatlie, and the banquet-
ten seemeth to haue bene sufficientlie corrected. As
for the Scots, though it might appeare that their
force was grentlie abated, & that resistance should
little auail them: yet were they minded to die in
defense of their libertie, rather than to submit them-
selues vnto anie conditions of vile seruitude. The
words of these ambassadors being throughly weighed
(though some toke them in great disdain) yet in the
end it was supposed that after victorie thus had a-
gainst the enimies, honorable conditions of peace
ought to be preferred before doubtful warre.

Whereupon answere was made to the ambassa-
dors, that both the English and British people with
their

The English
men made
Louthian, the
Britains
Galloway.

The Scots
left comfort-
lesse.

The Bri-
tains as yet
kept posses-
sion of Cum-
berland, and
those other
counties li-
eng by the
coast of the
west seas.
The victorie
vied cruelly.

A great manie
Englishmen
drowned.

Ambassadors
sue for peace.

Fortune is
vied.

Peace granted with conditions.

Articles of peace proposed.

The Forth called the Scottish sea.

Dunbretton. It was called before Caer Arclunith, that is, the citie upon Clud, as H. Lhoid holdeth.

Hosages are required.

The Scots unlike the articles of peace.

Calene his grave counsell taketh place.

The multitude consented unto Calene his sayings.

The Scots receive the peace.

their kings were contented to have peace with the Scots (though it laie in their hands now to destroy the whole nation) if so be the Scots would agree to resigne aswell to the Englishmen as Britains all such lands and countries as they had now gotten in to their possessions, without anie claime or title to be made to the same from thenceforth, either by them or anie of their posteritie, so that the water of Forth on the east halfe, should divide the Scottish dominions from the confines of the Englishmen & Britains, and be called from that time ever after, the Scottish sea. On the west the water of Clide should divide the Scottish lands from the Britains; the castell of Alcluith, standing at the mouth of the same river, to remaine in the hands of the Britains, from thenceforth to beare the name of Dunbretton, that is to say, the castell of the Britains. And furthermore, that if anie of the Scots should attempt to passe the said bounds into anie of the British or English borders, he should die for that offense. And if by force of tempest it chanced anie of them to be driven to land on the south shore, within anie of those parties, they should take nothing away with them but water or bittels, and depart within three daies, except some reasonable cause of Raie constrained them to the contrary. Moreover, they should not fortifie anie townes or castles on the frontiers nere to the English or British confines. And further, they should covenant to pay unto the Englishmen and Britains, within the space of twentie years, the summe of one thousand pounds of silver. For performance of which articles of agreement, the Scots should deliver threecore hostages, being the same as heirs apparant of the chiefe nobles of all their realme and countrie. And if it so were that they misliked and refused anie of these articles, he commanded that there should no other ambassage come to him for anie other treatie of accord.

The ambassadors returning home, and declaring how they had spied, manie of the Scots thought the articles nothing reasonable for free people to accept; other iudged that either they must come to some agreement with the Englishmen and Britains, or els put the land in extreme perill. Thus had the people bene divided into two contrarie opinions and factions, had not one Calene a noble man, bozne of high parentage, and gouvernour of Angus, with sober reasons and strong arguments appealed this contention, persuading them to have respect to the time. And with the force of the realme was so intreated, abated, and brought under, that through aduerser fortune: better it was to yeld unto necessitie in saving part at that present, in hope after, when occasion served to recover the residue, than through obstinate wilfulness to lose the whole. For considering the present danger, it could be reputed no dishonor to receive conditions of peace at the enemies hands, with there wanted not the like example of the Romans, who gladly accepted such articles of peace, as that noble prince king Cald appointed them: and yet it is not to be iudged, that there wanted men of great knowledge and wisdom amongst them, and such as regarded their honor, so far forth as reason in anie wise did reach.

The multitude moved with these words of Calene, whose grave authoritie (by reason of his age and come) was of no small reputation amongst them, having lost nine of his owne shires in the last battell, they finally determined to follow his opinion in receiving the same conditions of agreement which Osbert had prescribed: and thereupon sent against their ambassadors with the hostages appointed for the establishing of the peace, in manner as is before rehearsed, which being throughly accomplished in

such solemnne wise, as in those daies and in the like cases was accustomed, Osbert set Donald with his nobles at libertie, sending them home together with the ambassadors, being earnestly required so to do, both by the English lords, and also by the Britains.

The agreement being thus made, the lands were divided betwixt the Englishmen and the Britains, in such sort as the Britains had for their part all that which lieth from Sterling unto the west sea, betwixt the rivers of Forth and Clide, unto Cumberland; and the Englishmen possessed the other parcels, lying from Sterling unto the east sea, betwixt the Scottish sea and Northumberland: so that by this means, Clide water, Forth, and the Scottish sea (where Forth runneth into the maine sea) divided the Scots from the Englishmen and Britains. And thus was the towne of Sterling a common march unto those three people; the same towne with the castell remaining unto Osbert, as it was covenanted amongst other articles of this peace. Here (as the Scottish writers have) he ordeined his mint, and his coiners of monie to inhabit, whereupon came by the name of Sterling monie: but therein they are deceived, for (as in the historie of England shall appere) that name came not in use till manie yeres after. Osbert also in this place caused a stone bridge to be made over the water of Forth, in stead of the wooden bridge which the Picts had made there, and was now pulled downe, and in the midst of this new stone bridge he set up a crosse, whereon were ingrauen these verses, to be read of the passers by:

Anglos & Scotis separat crux ista remotis,

Arma hic sunt Briti, sunt Scoti hac sub cruce tuti.

I am free march as passengers maie ken,

To Scots, to Britains, and to Englishmen.

The Picts which had bene with the Englishmen in this iournie, ever hoping to be restored to their lands and former possessions by Osbert, when they saw how he retained the same in his owne hands, appointing his subjects to inhabit therein, they doubted that which afterwards came to passe in deed, least the Englishment of friends would now become enemies, seeking the destruction of the whole Pictish generation, thereby to assure themselves in the possession of those lands and livings, whereunto the Picts (as they thought) would ever make some claime and title, whilst anie of them remained alive.

Upon this mistrust therefore did those Picts, which were amongst the Englishmen, make the best shift they could for themselves, so that manie of them got ships, and sailed into Norway and Denmarke, unto their countreymen there: the other that could not make shift to get away, were slaine anon after by the Englishmen, so that one of them was not to be found alive within anie of the English dominions. And such was the end of the Picts that fled unto the Englishmen for succour. In this meane time the Scottish king Donald being restored againe to his countrie, was received with more ioy and honor than he had deserved, in hope yet by this scourge of aduerser fortune, that he would have reformed his former abuses. Nevertheless, he had not bene at home a long time, but that he fell to his old vice of oustrade of life againe, remouing from his company the honorable personages as with the suretie of his estate, with the advancement of the common weale, to the reliefe and ease of his poore miserable subjects. At length the nobles of the realme, perceiving the danger that their countrie stood in, by reason of Donalds insolent misorder, and disorderly rule and gouernement, they found means to apprehend and commit him unto safe keeping. But this monstrous creature, within a few daies after he was

King Donald with the noble men are sent home againe.

Lands divided betwixt the Britains and Englishmen.

A bridge of stone made at Sterling.

Belenden the Scot.

The Picts hope is deceived.

The Picts went into Norway and Denmarke.

King Donald falleth to his old vices againe.

King Donald is laid in prison.

The first hundred

Year

Month

Day

Hour

Minute

Second

Third

Fourth

Fifth

Sixth

Seventh

Eighth

Ninth

Tenth

Eleventh

Twelfth

Thirteenth

Fourteenth

Fifteenth

Sixteenth

Seventeenth

Eighteenth

Nineteenth

Twentieth

Twenty-first

was thus put in trade in great desperation due himselfe; in the first yeare after he had begun his in-
fortunaire reigne, and in the yeare of our Lord our
860.

The same yeare that the realme of Scotland was brought unto such miserable state by the pillant force of the Englishmen and Britains; as above is rehearsed, there were sundrie wonders heard of in the countrie; as in Louthiana a child of one moneth old and a halfe, admonished the mother to flee out of that countrie; for it would come to passe, that the enimies should come and take that region out of the Scottishmens hands. Was also, as they were pa-
sturing abroad in the fields there, roaring after a strange sort; suddenly died. Fishes likewise, in shape resembling the figure of man, were found dead in the sands of the Scottish sea. In Galloway there fell such abundance of adders and snakes out of the skie, that the aire being corrupted with the sauer of them lying on the ground, both men and beasts died of certaine diseases, which they took through infection thereof.

Such as were accounted to be skillfull in divination, affirmed that these things did signifie an in-
fortunaire reigne, with an euill end vnto king Do-
nald, as afterwards it happened. Who hauing made away himselfe in prison (as before is expressed) Con-
stantine the sonne of king Kenneth was crowned king at Scone, in the chaire of marble there, accom-
panying to the manner as then vsed. After his first en-
tering into the estate, he would gladlie haue gone in hand with the wars against the Englishmen, to haue recovered out of their possessions, those coun-
tries which they had lately taken from the Scots in his predecessors time; but his counsell aduised him otherwise, declaring that the state of the common-
wealth was so decayed by the misgouernance of his said predecessor, that till the same were reformed, and such intestine discord, as through licentious li-
bertie reigned amongst his subjects might be ap-
peased and quieted, there was no hope to atchieue anie worthie enterprise abrode against forreigne e-
nimies.

Whereupon by their aduertisements and good ad-
uise, he deuised a reformation of all such disorders as were growen vp in all parts of his realme: and first for the spiritualtie, he ordeined that priests should attend their cures, and not to intermeddle with anie secular businesse, but to be free from going forth to the warres: neither should they keepe hordes, halles, or hounds. And if anie of them were found negligent in doing his dutie appertaining to his vocation, he should for the first fault forfeit a peece of monie, but for the second he should lose his benefice. For the youth of his realme he took order (to brydle them the better from wanton delights and sensuall lusts) that none of them should haue past one meale a day, and that of no fine or deintie deli-
cats, and to abstaine from all such drinke as might dissemper their braine, so that if anie yong person, either man or woman were knownen to be drunken, they should die for it.

He commanded further, that all the youth of his realme, should exercise running, wrestling, shoo-
ting, throwing of the dart and bowle: so to auoid slouthfulness, that their bodies might with such ex-
ercises be made the more able to indure paines and trouell: and for the same purpose he took order, that they should lie vpon the bare boyds, with one man tell onelie thowen vnder them, so that they should fast nothing neither by day nor night, that might nowell them in anie wanton delights or effeminate pleasures. It was also ordeined, that all such as kept bittelling houses for banketting there, should

be banished the realme. With more that kept brothell houses: Thus were the Scots by obseruing of these ordinances made within short time of glut-
tous and excessive feeders, sober and temperate men: of delicate and soft persons, hard, tough, and able to abide anie trauell or labour. Were the same nearer so plentiful and hereof the state of the common-
wealth began to grow to good perfection, so that Constantines administration was liked of the most part of all his subjects.

The first that went about to disquiet the prospe-
rous reigne of that worthy prince, was one Euan, a man of an ancient house, borne in the westerne Isles. Such haue bene the vniquiet nature of the Scottishmen, euen from the beginning, neuer to lye contented anie long time either with peace or warre: for being once wearied with the charges of the warres, they streightwaies wish for peace; and hauing in time of peace heaped together some wealth, then can they not suffer the gouernement of their superiours, but either are ready to fall out with some forreigne enemy, or else to raise some commotion amongst themselves. This Euan therfore being the kings lieutenant of his castell of Dunstaffage in Louthquhaber, practised a conspira-
cie against the king, with a number of other light persons being gentlemen borne, mistaking the ad-
ministration of things, onelie for that they saw how their inordinat libertie to oppresse inferior persons, and to vse such wild and insolent misdeuour, as they had done afore time; was now restrained by lawfull iustice and execution of due punishment for the same.

But as these conspirators went about to haue moued the people of Louthquhaber, Murray land, Koss, and Cathness, to haue ioined with them in their traitorous enterprise, some of them in whom Euan put most trust, secretly aduertised the king of all the whole matter, who gathering a competent number of men together, made such speedie hast to-
wards Dunstaffage, where the chiefe captaine of the rebels as then lay, that he came before the same per-
anie inkleing were knowen to them within of his approach. By meane whereof comming vpon them so at vnwares, he had the castell some at his pleasure; and immediatlie here vpon caused Euan to be trust-
ed vpon a high paire of gallows, for a spectacle to all his complices. And furthermore, least the other conspirators might prouide them of some other chiefe-
teine, he apprehended diuerse of the nobilitie that were accused to be of Euans confederacie, the which he put in streit prison, there to be fastlie kept, till the peeres of the realme had determined with god deli-
beration, what should become of them. This busines being in this wise appeased, when all men looked for quietnesse, there suddenly followed a greater and more pernicious trouble: for such is the course of the world, that when men least thinke of mischief, they fall oftentimes into most danger.

Cadane king of Denmarke, pretending a title to all such lands as sometimes belonged to the Picts, for that the residue of that nation which had escaped the hands of the Scots and Englishmen, had resigned vnto him all their right and interest of the same lands, he determined in that quarrell (and in reuenge of the iniuries which the Picts alledged they had sustained) to make warres both vpon Scots and Englishmen. He caused therfore an huge number of ships to be prepared, and a mightie armie of men to be put in a readinesse, to passe in the same ouer into Albion, vnder the leading of his two brethren, the one named Hungar, and the other Hubba. These two chiefe-
teins hauing their ships and men with all provision appertaining once ready, took the sea, and sailed

houses he be-
mused.

Scots were
made sober
and able to
abide hardnes

Euan disqui-
eted the king
and realme.

The vniquiet
nature of
Scottishmen.

Euan lieute-
nant of Dun-
staffage conspi-
red against
the king.

The king is
aduertised of
Euan his trea-
son.

The king com-
meth to Dun-
staffage with
an armie.

Euan is exe-
cuted.

Quene kept
in prison.

One trouble
followeth
another.

Cadane king
of Denmarke

The cause
that made the
Danes to
make warre
against Eng-
land and
Scotland.

A great nauie
sent into
Scotland.

ing Donald
th the noble
n are sent
ne againe,

mba diuis
betwixt
Britains
English.

the safety
himselfe in
prison.
860.

A yong babe
quichly re-
uining vnto his
mother.

Walls ro-
uing back.

Fishes like in
shape to men.

Adders and
snakes fell
downe out of
the skie.

The interpreta-
tion of the
prodigious
things.
King Con-
stantine crow-
ned.

He ain would
recoier his
predecessors
lollis.
He was adu-
ised otherwise
by his coun-
sell.

ridge of
made as
thing.

nden the
phie
is deue-

Whorehous
are repressed.

Priests should
onelie attend
their vocation.

Penaltie for
not doing
their duties.

Youth should
eate but one
meale a day.

Drunkenness
punished with
death.

Phas
into
oate and
marke.

Donald
to his
residence

Donald
to his
residence

Youth to be
trained vp in
hardnesse.

Whorehous
punished

forth till they came to the coasts of Scotland, where they toke land within the countie of Fife, before anie tidings were heard of their coming thither.

The Danes
be great
crueltie.

The inhabi-
tants fled the
countie.

They that
fled into May
Island were
slaine.

The uncerten-
tie of writers
in this matter
of this mar-
tyrs.

Constantine
assembled a
mightie army.

The Danes being let on land, spared no kind of crueltie that might be shewed against the inhabitants, and namely for that they had not as yet received the faith of Christ, they raged without all measure against priests, and religious persons, overthrowing and burning up churches and chapels, where soever they found ante in their way. Whereupon the Englishmen that inhabited in Louthian, and the Scots that dwelled in Fife, left their houses & possessions, fleeing into other parties, where they thought they might best escape the hands of their new come aduersaries. A great companie also of such vertuous and godlie persons, as about the same time laboured busilie in setting forth the word of life vnto the people in those parties, fled with one Adrian as then bishop of the Scottishmen, into the Island called Spate, which lieth in manner in the midway of the passage ouer the Forth betwixt Fife and Louthian, where as then there was a famous monasterie of monks. But neither the reuerence of the place, neither the innocencie of those harmles creatures could restraine the Danes from polluting their wicked hands in murdering that deuout companie, as they were then esteemed.

This is that reuerend band of martyrs, which the Scottish people haue had in such reuerence in the foresaid Island of Spate; a few names of some of that multitude as yet remaining in memorie amongst writers, as the foresaid bishop Adrian, Glodian, Caius, or (as others write) Ponanus archdeacon of saint Andrewus, and bishop Stolzband; the names of the residue are forgotten. ¶ Some there be that affirme how this companie were Hungarians, the which fled out of their countrie, from the persecution which was their exercised by men of nobelie against the christians, they arrived here in Scotland, and applied themselves to the instructing of the Scottishmen in the way of saluation. Whether write that they were Scots and Englishmen thus assembled there together. But of whence soeuer they were, certaine it is that by custome they were become Scots, and instructed the Scots (as before is said) in the way of saluation. After this cruell slaughter thus by the Danes committed, they continued in their wood rage, as they passed through Fife and the other countries nere bordering vpon the same, till all the inhabitants were auoided out of their houses, either by sight or slaughter.

Constantine the Scottish king being kindled in the meane time with passing great displeasure, for these so notable iniuries receiued at the hands of the Danes, thought good with all speed to go against them, and to attempt the chance of battell before they had wasted anie further within his dominions, so greatlie to the diminishing of his roiall power and estimation amongst his subjects. Whereupon leuieng his people, and assembling a mightie host together, he passed forth with the same towards his enemies, the which were lodged in two severall camps, the one being distant from the other about a quarter of a mile, severed in sunder with the course of a little river called Leuin, the which (vpon the approach of the Scots vnto that part of the campe that lay on the further side next vnto them) chanced to be raised on such hight, thorough abundance of raine, that in two daies after vnneth it might be passed ouer at the fords.

After this soe and tempestuous weather, the aire cleared vp and waied verie faire and calme, giving occasion to the Scots to worke their feat against one part of their enemies, whilest the other could not

come out into their aid and succor. In it is crime which lay on that side the river next vnto the Scots, Hubba was longer, who did what he could to haue staied his men from issuing forth of the campe, to giue battell when the Scots drew nere to the same, and assiged all waies by prouoking the Danes with skirmishes to come forth and fight with them in plaine field. But notwithstanding all that he could do, forth they rushed in such wise by plumps, and with so great noise and clamour, that the capitaine were constrained of necessity to let them in order of battell, with they would needs giue the on-set vpon their present enemies.

The Danes did weare aloft vpon their armor, cer- teine linen garments, wrought with red silke, shewing faire and white both at hand and a far off. Their weapons were of such sort as serued for the push rather than for downe-right blowes, the points being of such a handsome strong fashion, that no armor might lightlie hold forth against them. These kind of weapons, together with the multer of their huge bodies, was dreadfull at the first for the Scottishmen to behold, as they marched towards them in arae of battell. But anon coming nere together ready to foine, the Scots manfullie taking to them new courages, set vpon the Danes with great violence, who likewise began the battell verie stoutlie, so that the same continued right fierce and cruell a good space. At length the Danes being assailed on each side, both afront before, and on their backs behind, oppressed as it were with multitudes, did throw downe their weapons and fled amaine. Many of them making towards their campe were overtaken and slaine, diuerse of them falling into the ditches were oppressed with throng, as well of their owne companie, as of their enemies, as they passed ouer them in following the chase, and striding to enter the campe vpon such as stood to defend them from entering. Whether there were that leaping into the water in hope to get ouer, were drowned in the whirling waues of the streame; though some, through helpe of their fellows (which stood on the other side ready to haue passed the wa- ter, if they might so haue done without manifest danger of drowning) escaped and got ouer, amongst whom Hubba was one, to the great reioicing of his brother Hungar, to see him thus deliuered twise from perill of death, as first from amongst his enemies, and secondlie out of the roving streame of that deepe and swift raging river.

The Scots hauing thus put one part of their enemies to the worke, with that happie successe toke such comfort and immoderate ioy, as though they had bene now sure of victorie ouer all the residue; so that for two daies together, there was such dancing, singing, and piping amongst them, as the like hath not bene heard of. And so farre proceeded their insolent outrage, that they began to contend amongst themselves for the prisoners and spoiles, which they counted now their owne, as though already they had the same whole in their possession: and further reasoned, not without altercation, whether the Danish captives after they had them once in their hands, should be put to death, or els be kept alive to be shewed to the people in triumph; or no. Great adoe and manie vaine wordes were spent hereabout, in such earnest sort, that they were at point to haue fallen out amongst themselves: but there was no mention at all made touching the ordering of their battels, and other the necessaries proceedings against their enemies. At length, when the river was fallen and come to his old course againe, so that it might easilie be passed, Constantine in order of battell got ouer with his people, to the other side where the Danes were lodged, who hauing more mind to let themselves in such order, where by

The Scots &
Danes ioint
their battels.

The Danes
apparel.

Their wea-
pons.

Call men of
bodie and
lungs.

A battell.

The Danes
take the flight.

Hubba was
saued from
drowning.

The Scots
toke of this
victory im-
mediate ioy.

The Scots
for ioy ready
to fall out.

Constantine
proceeded
against his en-
emies.

The old
placing of
Danes &
Hubba &
the right
buene
the left

Hungar
the battell

Hungar
a word.

The fo-
do mas
like box

King C
stantine
his
like man

An inc
ment of
his soul

The in-
approel
wards
Scots

The in-
that qu-
and the
bars,
The in-
that an
and dai-
thick
belle.

The in-
are put
fight.

Con-
stantine

whereby they might gaine the victorie, than to deuise for the winning of the spoile, perceiving occasion now offered to giue the onset, forthwith armed their people in this sort.

Hungar with his host of Danes, was placed in the right wing. The left was led by one Buernie an Englishman borne, who was fled out of his countie, so that he could not beate such injuries as Albert offered him in forcing his wife, to the great reproach and dishonour of his house and name. He had with him in this left wing certaine bands of Englishmen, with those Danes that had escaped ouer into Denmarke (as before is mentioned.) Hungar with all the residue of the armie, kept the battell in middle ward, exhorting his men to shew their force & manhood that day, with the same should either put them in possession of the whole land of Albion, with all the substance and riches contained therein, either else bring them perpetuall seruitude with ignominie amongst their most cruell and fierce aduersaries. He therefore himselfe openlie in presence of them all, bowed with solempne oth, either to retorne with victorie to his campe, either else to die in the place, willing them all to make the like covenant. Whereby on the vniuersall multitude allowed him so much for this his motion, that there was not one amongst the whole number, which agreed not to sweare the like oth. Constantine keeping in manner the like order, placed in the right wing his brother Ethus, in the left Duncane the lieutenant of thame of Athole, appointing to either of them ten thousand men a peece.

All the residue were set in the battell where he himselfe stood. And first he gaue them all hartie thanks in that they had so valiantlie attained the victorie in the last battell, requiring them now not to blemish their former glorie with any faintnesse of courage, recreant cowardise, or dishonorable flight: and further he willed them in no wise to be afraid of their enemies, in respect more for their hugeness of bodie, than for any of their valiant stoutnesse of heart: for if they assailed them with one whole and entire consent, according to their wonted forwardnesse & manlike prowes, they should quicklie put them to flight, and obtaine a full victorie. Herewith he also warned them not to run rashlie vpon the enemies, but to suffer them first to giue the charge: for by that meanes he thought the Danes would with their earnest violence disorder themselves, and so should it be more easie for the Scots to breake in amongst them.

But this deuise did not a little abate the Scottish mens courages. For the Scots vse is, when they shall enter into battell, to make a great shout and noise, and therewith to run vpon their enemies, by which meanes (as they suppose) they both put the enemy in feare, and encourage themselves to the battell. The Danes at the sound of the trumpet marched forth towards the Scots, where they stood thus in order of battell: but when they perceived that the Scots came not forward, they also staied in the mid way to refresh themselves, least at the joining they should be out of breath. Anon after, passing forward an easie pace, they shot quarrels, and threw darts at their enemies verie freshlie, and the Scots let lie at them againe with arrowes and darts as thicke as it had bene a storme of haille.

After this they rushed together with great violence on both sides: but within a while, the Danes had put both the wings of their enemies to flight, and after compassing the maine battell round about, they confreine the same in the end with great blowes and slaughter to giue backe and set out of the field. Ten thousand Scots died that day in this unfortunate battell with Constantine himselfe, who being first taken was had into a cage by the sea side

amongst the rocks, and there cruellie murdered by the cruellies. The place was called certaine yeeres after, the blacke den: but now they name it the diuels den, in memorie of that heinous murder there committed. The Scottish nation also had bene bitterlie as then destroyed, had not Ethus the brother of Constantine, perceiving how the field was lost, escaped awaie with two companies of his best men of warre, so reseruing himselfe to the time of more luckie fortune.

The people likewise doubting for want of a gouernor: to be the sooner overcome by their enemies, did lead the said Ethus to Scone, where they crowned him king, in the yeere after the birth of our Saviour 874, and the 13 after Constantine began to rule the estate of the realme. The same yeere were manie wonders and unkinde sights seene within the Scottish dominions. In the mouth of the Forth, otherwise called the Scottish sea, there appeared fishes in great numbers, like unto men in shape, swimming by and dohne in the streame with halfe their bodies aboue the water, and hauing a blacke skin, which couered their heads and neckes, from their shoulders vponwards like an hood. These are called Ballinates, and vse to go in great companies together, as though they were skulles of herrings, signifieng (when they are seene) some great misfortune vnto the countie, as the common people haue long had an opinion. Also the loches, riuers, and all maner of other waters were frozen from the beginning of Nouember, till the latter end of April: and when the frost brake, and the snowe melted, there was such a flood flowing ouer all the plaines even to the roots of the mounteins, as the like had not bene seene. Furthermore, when the same shanke and went away, in the mud and slime there was such a sort of frogs left, that when they were dead, and began to putrifie, the aire was so infected, that manie deadlie diseases ensued, whereof great numbers of the inhabitants did perish. Moreover, there was a mightie starre or comet seene with fire raies issuing forth of the same, which both night and day folowed the mone during the moneth of Aprill, to the great horro: of all that beheld it.

But to proceed. The Danes (as is said) hauing vanquished the Scots, and wasted the countie of Fife, passed ouer into Louthian, where robbing and spoiling all before them, they pursued the inhabitants into Northumberland, whither they fled for refuge. There the Danes being aided with certaine Englishmen in fauour of Buernie, slue in battell both Albert and Ella, kings of that countie. The crueltie of the Danes was such after they had attained the victorie, that few escaped with life, but such as saved themselves by flight. But chieflie there rage appeared most against priests, and such as professed themselves men of religion. For the Danes being Ethnicks, persecuted most egerlie those that in any wise professed Christ. The like outragious murdering of the christians was practised through out the countie, and at length came vnto that blessed king saint Edmund, reigning as then ouer the people of the East angles, as in the English historie more plainlie maye appeere. Howbeit other of the English kings maintained the warres with these Danes certaine yeeres after this, with variable fortune: the most part of those people which inhabited on that coast toward the Germane seas, either being slaine or brought into miserable bondage and thalidome. But Alured, which succeeded his brother king Ethelred, not in the kingdome of Northfolke and Suffolke (as Hector Boetius affirmeth) but in the kingdome of the Westsaxons, redressed a great part of this miserie, into the which the countie was thus

is taken and murdered. The blacke den or cage.

Ethus brother vnto Constantine was saved by flight.

Ethus.

874.

Fishes like unto men in shape.

Ballinates.

A long winter.

Frogs in the mud & slime.

A comet.

The Danes went into Louthian.

King Albert & Ella slaine.

This crueltie inuaded Northfolke also.

King Alured redressed those harms. Hector Boetius misbeth thus

The other placing of the Danes armie. Hungar had the right wing Buernie had the left wing.

Scots as to the battell.

Danes with the sword.

men of and still.

Danes the flight.

he was from ming.

Scots of this the inme 109.

Scots preadie out.

The Danes approach towards the Scots.

The Danes shot quarrels and threw darts. The Scots shot arrowes and darts as thicke as haille.

The Scots are put to flight.

Constantine

Constantine dede this eni

divers mat-
ters touching
the report of
our histories.

Æthusa surna-
med Lightfoot

Æthusa neg-
lected the op-
portunity.

A conspiracie
made against
king Æthusa,

King Æthusa
is arrested,
with his fa-
vourers.

Gregorie is
chosen king.

Gregorie.

876. H.B.
875. 10. Ma.

A convoca-
tion of the cler-
gie.
Priests are
free of all tri-
bute.

They should
not be called to
serve in the
warres.
Authority gi-
ven unto bi-
shops to order
kings.

thus brought by the Danes, by subduing them in
Æthusa conflicts, and leaving their two captains the
foresaid Hungar and Hubba, as in the same En-
glish historie is further expressed.

But now to returne unto Æthusa, I find that he
was of such swiftnesse of foot, that he would watch
and make waie in running with harts and hounds,
and thereupon was surnamed Lightfoot; but of what
nimble lightnesse of bodie sooner he was, truth it is
that he was of disposition in mind unfit to have the
order of anie publike regiment. For whereas he
might have recovered Fife and Louthian with other
regions, whilst the Englishmen and Danes were
together by the eares, he passed over that occasion,
delighting more in following the pleasures of the bo-
die & sensuall lusts, than to bestow his time in seates
of chivalrie and other warlike exercises. The nobles
of the realme perceiving him thus to abuse the wo-
rthy gifts of his person, mistrusting least his insolent
doings should indamage the publike state of the
common-wealth, they took counsell together how
they might apprehend him, and to send him some whi-
ther out of the waie where to be safely kept, and then
to place some other in the gouernement of the
realme, that might rule the same with more discreti-
on & better aduise. And least their resolution should
be disclosed before it took effect, they slackened no time,
but went secretly about their businesse. And com-
ing to the king, whome they found a hunting in
Calidon wood, they suddenly arrested him, and ther-
with committed him to safe keeping: & those whome
they knew to be fauourers of his euill rule and mis-
gouernance, they put them also fast in irons, till they
had answered unto such articles as should be laid to
their charge. This done, they proceeded to the election
of a new king; and in the end by the persuasion of
one Dongall gouernor of shane of Argile, they chose
Gregorie the sonne of that Dongall, which reigned
before Alpine, who was not past two moneths old
when his father died.

This Gregorie being knowne to be a man wor-
thy of the ronne, though he himselfe onlie was
against it, at length by persuasion receiued the inue-
sture of the kingdome at Scone, with all due solem-
nitie. Æthusa hearing thereof, through anguish of
mind died within three daies after, in the second
yere of his reigne, and 876, after the birth of our
Saviour. There be that write how he was strangled
in prison by Dongall his procurement, least by ad-
venture he might haue bene restored unto libertie,
and withall haue made claime to the crowne againe.
Gregorie being thus established in the estate, consi-
dering that the suertie of all realmes rested in the
hands of the diuine maiestie, to begin his gouern-
ment with some luckie enterprise, caused a convoca-
tion to be holden at Forfar, for the aduancement of
Christs religion: where amongst other things, it was
ordained, that priests from thenceforth (to the end
they might more freely attend to their vocation)
should be exempt from paying of tribute and all man-
ner of exactions. Also that they should not be con-
strained to go unto the warres, neither to come be-
fore anie temporall iudges, but onlie before their or-
dinaries and bishops, by whome they should be iud-
ged in all causes. The same ordinaries and bishops
should also haue authoritie to order all men, both
publike and priuate, as well for the keeping of faith gi-
uen, as to constraine them to confirme the same, and
to punish such as should be found in the contrarie;
likewise in causes of controuersie touching matri-
monie, tithes, testaments, legacies, and such like:
moreouer the correcting of those that blaspheme ei-
ther God or his saints.

Heretikes and necromancers, with other the like

offenders against the lawes and articles of the chri-
stian religion, was assigned unto the bishops and
their substitutes, so that all those which were found dis-
obedient unto them, and refused to be at their com-
mandement, they should haue authoritie to excom-
municate them out of the church, and from compa-
nie keeping with anie of the congregation, so as they
that were thus excommunicated, should be deprived
of all abilitie to intey anie inheritance or right to
lands or possessions whatsoeuer they were. Neither
should they be accepted as a witness in anie maner
of cause, neither beare anie office or rule in the com-
mon-wealth. This Gregorie also (as is said) was
the first author of that ordinance, by the which the
Scottish kings at their coronation vie of ancient cu-
stome to hold by solemne oth, that during their liues,
they shall mainteine and defend the church with his
ministers, in all ancient liberties and priuileges,
and not to suffer anie man to hurt or infringe the
same.

There was suertie in this Gregorie a certeine na-
tural inclination to vertue, with such aduisednesse
in all his words, that he uttered few or none but that
the same seemed to be spoken with verie great con-
sideration. He was neuer married, but continued in
chastitie all his life time. Of meate & drinke he was
verie spare, delighting in all kind of sobrietie, more
watchfull than giuen to slepe. But his fame increa-
sed most for his maintaining of iustice and ciuill ad-
ministration concerning the state of the common-
wealth, not omitting the practise of warre, where ne-
cessitie required. The first expedition which he took in
hand, he made into Fife, to recouer that countrie to
the crowne of Scotland. At whose entrance into the
same, the Picts, whome the Danes had left in those
parties at their departure thence, being stricken with
fear to fall into the hands of the Scots their ancient
enemies, fled forthwith into Louthian, leaving Fife
in manner void, and without anie that would offer
to defend it against the Scots.

Whereupon Gregorie so finding it desolate of
inhabitants, sent for people out of other parts of his
realme, appointing them dwellings in that countrie
as he thought most expedient. This done he passed
into Louthian, where taking the fortresses and pla-
ces of defense, some by force, and some by surrender,
he easilie reduced that countrie into his subiection, so
that within a few daies, hauing there all at his plea-
sure, he came unto Berwik, where there were a
great number of Danes joined together with the
Picts, as men not minding to flee anie further, but
to fight with the Scots even there, if they should
come forward vpon them. But when they saw what
number the Scots were of, and herewith doubting
the Englishmen to come on their backs if the mat-
ter went not well with them; they thought it best
that such Danes as were of anie great reputation
of nobilitie, should withdraw into Berwik before
the enemies were at hand, and the residue to passe o-
uer Tweed into Northumberland, there to ioyne
with other Danes that in those parties were lately
arrived.

But the Englishmen within Berwik, abhorring
nothing more than to be under subiection of the
Danes, in the euening after the recruiting of the
Danish nobles into their towne, deliuered it to-
gether with their ghesse unto the Scottishmen, who suf-
fering the Englishmen at their pleasure either to go
their waies with all their goods, or to remaine still in
their houses, due the Danes, without sparing either
man, woman, or child. Then leaving a strong garri-
son of Scottishmen within Berwik, Gregorie
marched forth with the residue of his people into
Northumberland, to bridle that countrie to other of
his

When the
Scottish
kings first be-
gan to pro-
mise by oth to
mainteine the
libertie of the
church.

King Grego-
rie was giuen
solle into
goblineffe.
King Grego-
rie was neuer
married.
He was sober.

He made an
expedition in-
to Fife.
The Picts
fled into Louth-
ian.

The king set
inhabitants
in Fife.
He subdued
Louthian.

The Danes
and Picts
ioined them-
selues to-
gether.

They fled in-
to Northum-
berland.

The Danish
nobilitie fled
into Berwik.

The Danes
are slain in
Berwik.

Herbert
threatened
Scots.

The Dan
prepare to
battell.

The Sco-
tish king
their enim-
ies.

King Gri-
gorie's
saint to the
soul
etc.

The Dan-
es to their
camps.

Herbert al-
sembled his
men together.

Herbert w-
toward Ma-
in, chief g-
nerall of the
Danes in
England.

Herbert re-
mained in
camp.

King Greg-
orie suffered
with his
people.

his dominions that bordered upon the same.

In those parties at that selfe time there were two armies lodged in the fields, the one of Danes not far from Forke, under the leading of one Herdunt, who had lately taken and sacked that citie, and the other of Englishmen that laie 20 miles off from the said Danes. Herdunt hearing of the slaughter which the Scots had made of his countrymen at Berwick, threatened fore that he would not leaue a man aliue of the Scottish race within any part of the confines of Albion. Which word manie of the companie, following their captains example, likewise made. Shortly after, hearing of their enemies approach, the whole host (by commandement of Herdunt) issued forth of their campe to giue battell.

Herdunt threatened the Scots.

The Danes prepare to the battell.

The Scots agrie in made their enemies.

King Gregorie his fauour to the Scots.

Here the Scottish king standing with his people in order of battell, had thought to haue used some comfortable speech vnto them, thereby to encourage them to fight: but such haile was made by the Scots to please vpon their enemies, that he saw it more needfull to take heed to the ordering of them in perfect arate, than to stand about to exhort them, whome he saw ready enough of their owne accord to fight. Therefore he said no more vnto them, as he went amongst the ranks, but onlie tolled them to remember how cruellie Constantine their king was sometime murdered, after he had yielded himselfe prisoner to these enemies, with whome they should now loine.

The Scots hereupon running to the battell with no lesse stoutnesse of mind than violent force, gaue their enemies scarce space to charge their weapons, but bare them downe with long speares and iauelins, and withall the bilmen following them made great slaughter on eche side, so that there needed neither exhortation of captains, nor diligence of soldiers to keepe them in arate. For the wrathfull stomachs of the souldiers onlie wrought the feat in such sort, that the Danes were quicklie put to flight and chased. Those that could not escape to the campe, got them vnto the next mountains, who chanced vpon better lucke than those that escaped to the campe, for the egerneesse of the Scots was such in chasing the enemies, that neither ditch nor rampire could staie them from entring the campe vpon the Danes where they made greater slaughter than they had done in the field.

The Danes led to their campe.

The next daie Herdunt goeth about to assemble his men together againe, being disperfed here and there: but when he understood how he had lost the more halfe of his whole host, he cursed that wretched day, and determined to retire vnto Hales; who as then was captaine generall of all the Danes that were in England. But Herdunt by reason of his wounded men, in that he was faine to carie with him, could not make forward with any great speed, so that he was scarce fortie miles got forth on his waie, when word came to him, that Rolly fighting with the Englishmen vntowardie, at a place called Helcades, chanced to be slaine with a great multitude of his people: and therewith his head was carried abroad vpon and downe the countrie from tostone to tostone to be seene. By such mishaps the prosperitie of the Danes so much flourishing of late, began now manifestlie to decaye.

Herdunt assembled his men together.

Herdunt went toward Hales, chief generall of the Danes in England.

Herdunt although he was not a little discouraged therewith, yet he chose forth a plot of ground most meet for his purpose; where he determined to abide in campe, till he might understand what the Danes in other places were intended. But Gregorie king of Scots, hauing thus expelled the Danes forth of Northumberland, brought that countie vnder his subiection: neuertheless he permitted the inhabitants to introp all their possessions still on the re-

Herdunt remained in campe.

King Gregorie suffered the inhabi-

ceiuing of them in name of souereigntie a parcelle tribute. So that within a few daies after, he brake vp his armie, and went himselfe into Berwick, where he remained all the winter season in consultation with his nobles about the publicke affaires of the realme.

In the beginning of the next summer, he prepared againe for warre, and raising an armie, he purposed to make a iourne against the Britains, who held (as before ye haue heard) a great part of Scotland. But he was not driuen to vse any force in this warre: for the Britains being vered afore this time with warre by the Danes, had compounded with them for an huge summe of monie to haue truce for thortie yeeres space: but the Danes without regard to their promise, shortly after (with a greater power than at the first) entered into the British borders, renewing the warre so fiercelie, that albeit their force was fore enfebled, by reason of the two last overthrowes; yet the Britains doubting the worst, feared to incounter with them, and therefore after consultation had, they thought it best to assaie if they might happilie allure the Scots, of their enemies to become their friends. Hereupon sending vnto the Scottish king an herald, they require to loine with them in armes against the Danes, common enemies to both their countries, promising that if they would so do, they would willingly render into his hands all such possessions which they held at any time belonging vnto the Scottish kingdome.

Gregorie weighing with himselfe how necessarie this friendship should be, not onlie to the publicke weale of all the whole land of Albion, but also of the good fertilitie and aduancement of Christiens religion, wherof the Danes were greuous aduersaries (for this he thought, that if Scots, Englishmen, and Britains did loine in one, and knit themselves together in aiding each other, there was no nation in the world that they needed to feare) he consented vnto the request of the Britains, and so accepting their offer, he had all those regions which pertained sometime to the Scots, and were now in possession of the Britains, surrendered into his hands, and so by this means were the Scottish confines enlarged and extended vnto their owne ancient limits and former bounds.

This dissention and variance being ceased after this manner, it greatly reioiced the minds of all the inhabitants of this Ile, but contrariwise the Danes looked for nothing more than present destruction to introp vpon them, if this amitie should continue any while amongst their enemies. Wherefore they practised sundrie means to breake th amitie thus remaining betwixt their aduersaries, Scots, Englishmen, and Britains. Wherein they needed not greatly to trauch, for within a short time after the conclusion of the same league, the prosperous successe of the Englishmen (which for a season had followed them under the conduct and gouernement of the King Alured against the Danes) occasioned the Britains also (hauing now no further feare of the Danish puissance) to repent themselves of the league, which they had lately made with the Scots, so that Constantine, whome a little before they had receiued to be their king after the deccesse of his father, raised a power, and with the same entered into Annandale, to reconquer that countrie out of the Scottishmens hands. But hearing in the end that Gregorie was coming with a great armie to succour his subiects, whome the said Britains on each side had so afflicted, they began to draw backe towards Cumberland with their hostie, thinking there to be in safetie, untill a time more conuenient.

But king Gregorie coasting the countrie, met with

tents of Northumberland to introp their lands. King Gregorie wintered at Berwick.

King Gregorie prepared an armie against the Britains.

The Britains find to king Gregorie.

King Gregorie his consideration.

A peace concluded, and lands surrendered to the Scots.

The Britains repent them of the league made with the Scots.

King Gregorie coasting the countrie, met with

King Gregorie coasting the countrie, met with

The Scots
ouertrow the
Britains.

Constantine
is slaine.

Herbert king
of Britaine
sent ambassa-
dours vnto Gre-
gorie.

King Grego-
rie his an-
swere.

Gregorie re-
quired a relig-
nation of
Cumberland
and Westmer-
land.

Peace was
concluded.

Humf. Lhoid.
870.

with them at Lochmaben, and there gaue them bat-
tell, wherein when Constantine perceiued how his
people began to thinke backe, as one hauing more
regard to his honoz than to the suertie of his life, he
rushed forth into the foremost paele, there to succour
and relieue his standards: but being compassed a-
bout amongst a great companie of his enemies,
his chance was there to be slaine with a number of
the chieffest lordes of all the British nation. The other
multitude seeing the day go thus against them, fled
to saue their liues, leaving the victorie vnto the
Scots.

This ouertrow did put the Britains in danger to
haue bin utterly ouerrun, what by the Scots on the
one side, and Danes on the other: for as for forren aid
to be looked for of the English, they had plaine an-
swer they should haue none, with they had so vntrust-
lie broken the league concluded with their confede-
rats the Scots, to the great hindrance of the pro-
perous proceedings of all the inhabitants of this
Ile, against their common enemies the Danes.
Yet the better to establish the estate of their coun-
trie, and in hope of some reuerie of their former
damages, they crowned to their king one Herbert
or (as some copies haue) one Hebert the brother of
the last Constantine, and herewith sent ambassa-
dours vnto Gregorie king of the Scottishmen to ex-
cuse themselves, in that they had so wrongfullie at-
tempted the warres against him and his people,
laing all the fault in Constantine, who against the
wills and contrarie to the minds of his subjects, did
take vpon him that dishonorable and most infortu-
nat enterprife.

Gregorie hauing heard the message of these am-
bassadors, for answer declared vnto them, that
he vnderstood well enough, that the Britains now
sued for peace vpon no reuerend consideration they
had vnto their oths of covenant; but onelie for that
they saw how if they should pursue the warre still,
they were sure that in the end they should be like to
haue the soile: and therefore he was fullie thus resolu-
ed, not to conclude anie peace or truce with such
disloyal people, till they had resigned ouer into his
hands the whole possession of the countries of Cum-
berland and Westmerland, with assurance neuer to
pretend anie claime or title vnto those dominions
from thenceforth: and herewith for performance of
covenants, to render into his hands not onelie the
keies of all the townes, castles and fortresses in the
same countries, and to auoid quite their waies into
Wales to offer their countriemen there, but also to
deliuer firtie noble mens sonnes and heires appa-
rant as pledges to remaine with the Scots.

The ambassadors returning home with this
message, and reporting it accordingly vnto their
king, when all men had said their aduise, in the end
they condescended to conclude a peace with the
rehearsed conditions prescribed by the Scottish
king, with they saw no better meane to preserve their
nation from present destruction. And thus deliue-
ring the appointed number of pledges, they left the
countries of Cumberland and Westmerland void,
surrendering into the Scottishmens hands the pos-
sessions of all the townes, castles and fortresses, and
therewith departed into Northwales, where they
placed themselves in the countrie betwixt Conuay
and the riuer of De, out of the which they expelled the
Englishmen (that were then in possession thereof)
and therewith they erected a kingdome there, which
they named Strathclyd, maintaining warres a-
gainst the Englishmen in anie yeares after.

King Gregorie hauing thus enlarged his king-
dome, assembled his nobles at Carleill, where he
resolved (with their aduise) to followe such good for-

tune as by Gods prouidence shal be chanced vnto
them. Wherevpon it was agreed, that they should
go first vnto York to conquire that citie, whilst
the Englishmen in Kent were occupied with the
Danes that were come thither; so as neither the
one nation nor the other could attend to make anie
attempt to hinder the Scottishmens enterprife. But
in the meane time came ambassadors vnto Gre-
gorie from king Alured, to congratulat his prosper-
ous successe against his enemies the Danes and o-
thers. These ambassadors also willed to haue the
ancient league betwixt Englishmen and Scots re-
newed, by which means both their powers might
ioine together against their common enemies, when
they should attempt anie wrongfull inuasion.

This request was granted, so that hostilie there-
vpon peace was established betwixt those princes
and their people, with confirmation of the old league,
thereto were added these articles; That the Scots
should inioy possession of Northumberland without
anie claime to be made to the same by the English-
men; If the Danes chanced to inuade either of their
dominions, the warre should be accounted as com-
mon to them both; Neither should the Scots grant
passage to anie enemie of the Englishmen through
Scotland, neither the Englishmen suffer the Scot-
tishmens enemies to passe through England; If a-
nie Englishmen did rob or steale anie thing out of
Scotland, that should not breake the league; but the
offenders with the receiuers should be deliuered to
the Scottish magistrats to be punished according to
the qualitie of the offense; and the like should be ob-
serued by the Scots towards the Englishmen.

Thus things being quieted with the Englishmen,
as Gregorie was about to lay armour aside, word
came to him of new troubles forth of Galloway, by
reason of an inuasion made by the Irishmen into
that countrie. For the Irishmen hauing knowledge
that the inhabitants of Galloway had spoiled two
ships of Dublin arriving on their coast, sent ouer a
great power of men, the which landing in Galloway,
made great slaughter of the people on each side.
King Gregorie being aduertised hereof, streitwaies
made towards them, but they hauing knowledge
of his coming drewe to their ships with a great prey
of goods and cattels, and returned therewith imme-
diatlie backe into their owne countrie.

Herevpon Gregorie without delay got together
his ships and followed the enemie with all his armie,
and landing in Ireland, put the nobles of that realme
in great feare, who as then were in contention to-
gether which of them should haue the gouernement, by
reason their king was lately dead, and had left a
sonne behind him being but a child in yeeres, to suc-
ceed him in his throne. Some therefore of the wisser
sort, and such as tendered the wealth of their coun-
trie, went earnestlie about to agree the parties, but
when they saw that it would not be, they did so much
prouaile, that a truce was taken betwixt them for
a while, least fighting still amongst themselves, they
should put their countrie in danger to be ouerrun of
the Scots: against whom when they had agreed vpon
the foresaid truce, either of the factions raised a
power, one Bren being generall of the one, and Cor-
nelius of the other: for these two princes were heads
of the parties, betwixt whom the controuersie for the
gouernement of the realme remained: therevpon by
consent of the residue had the leaping of all them
that were of their faction.

These two captains with their armies incamped
themselves vpon the banke of the riuer Bane, be-
tween the mountaine called Fute: their camps being
seuered by a small distance the one from the other,
in such a strong place, that it was not possible for
the

The policie of
the Scots to
haue taken
York.

King Alured
sent ambassa-
dours vnto
king Grego-
rie.

Peace confir-
med.

New condi-
tions of peace.

No passage to
be granted
vnto the eni-
mie.

Punishment
of robbers.

Galloway in-
uaded by the
Irishmen.

A truce was
taken betwixt
the two
parties.

The two Ir-
ishmen gather
their
powers.

Two armies
one nere the
other.

the enimies to approach them without manifest danger to cast away themselves. Their chiefe purpose was to prolong the time here in this place, till they had furnished the Scottish armie, and then to deale with them at their pleasure. But the industrious provision of Gregorie passed the politike devise of the Irishmen: for he had commanded that everie one of those Scottishmen, which passed the seas with him, should purue himselfe of vittels, according to the custome of the countrie, for fittie daies space, as of bread, cheefe, butter, lard, and powdered biefe: as for drinke, they knew they should not need to care, sith they were sure to find water inough in everie place where they chanced to come: for as yet filthie & servile gluttonie had not softened nor inured with wanton delicacie the warlike natures of the Scottish people.

In the end Gregorie, hauing for certelne daies rested himselfe and his men, and deuising in the meane time which way he might best indamage the enimies; at length concluded to send in the night season two thousand of his souldiours vp to the ridge of the forenamed mountaine called fute, through the thicke bushes and woods, therewith the same was couered, to the end that getting to the top of that hill, right ouer where the Irish camps laie, they might in the morning (at what time Gregorie with the rest of the armie went about to assaile his enimies) tumble downe stones from the bowes of the hill vpon them, thereby either to destroy great numbers of them, either else to constraine them to come forth of their strength into the plaine fields, and so to fight with them in a place indifferent.

Kenneth Cullan the thane of Carrike, took vpon him to haue the conduct of them that should go about this interprise, who conueieng his hand ouer the water of Bane, and so vp on the backeside of the mountaine, in the morning when their felows fell in hand to assaile the Irish campe, where Ben lobge, they tumbled such plentie of mightie stones downe vpon the Irishmen, that aboue a thousand of them being slaine, all the residue were forced to forsake their ground, & to flee in maner without anie stroke stricken. The Scots that were sent to pursue them, took a great number of them prisoners, and slue but a few; hauing before hand such commandement from their prince.

Whilist this mischiefe fell vpon Ben and his people, Cornelius with his folkes cursling that unfortunate daie, lest their lodgings, and marched their waies in good order of battell, till they were farre inough out of danger. The bodie of Ben also was found amongst other in the rising of the campe, with the head bruised in peeces, and the brainesashed out with some stone wholone downe by the Scottishmen from the hill side: which Gregorie at the request of some of the prisoners, caused to be buried in christian sepulchre. He caused also women and children to be sent awaie harmlesse, onelie retaining the men of able age prisoners. Furthermore he commanded that they should be neither fire nor sword; but against such onelie as with weapon in hand made anie resistance: and commanded them also that they should provide themselves of vittels to serue them, whilist they should lie abroad & remaine there in that countie.

Here vpon instantie of the Irish people thus tassing the more instantie of the Scottish king, yielded the misdoers vnto him with sundrie fortresses, so that Gregorie finding sufficient provision of vittels to serue his host for a long season, he went vnto the strong citie of Doungary, or Doungard, which he eruloned about with a strong siege, & continuing the same certelne daies, at length they within wearied

with continuall trauell and lacke of vittels, opened the gate, and suffered him to enter. He would not permit his men to meddle with anie of the spoile, but appointed the townesmen to redeeme the same (their armour excepted) of his souldiours for a peece of monie.

Afterward, tarieng in this citie by the space of thre daies, he departed and came afore another citie called Pontus, which he receiued by surrender, and therfore persued the citizens from all hurt & annoyance. From thence he purposed to haue gone vnto Dublin, about 14 miles distant from Pontus, but as he marched thitherwards, he was aduertised that Cornelius was comming towarde him with such an huge armie, as the like had not bene sene with, in the memorie of man in that Ile. Wherevpon Gregorie changing his purpose of going to Dublin, vpon report of these newes, he got him vp into the next mountaine.

The next day came the Irishmen ranged in thre battels. In the first there was a great multitude of Bernes with darts and bowes: in the second were a great number of mightie tall men, armed in cotes of male, with bucklers and great long swords, which they caried vpon their right shoulders. In the thirde battell, wherein stood their generall Cornelius, with all the chiefest nobles of the countrie, were an infinite companie of all sorts of souldiours, chosen forth of all the whole numbers. The Scots (according to their custome) diuided themselves into two wings, and a middle ward, in euerie of the which were thre sorts of souldiours: as first archers, and those with long speares, then bilmen, and last of all such as bare long swords and leaden mallets.

Thus the battels being ordered on both parts, forward they make one towarde another to begin the fight. The Scots (after their shot and throwing of darts was spent, and that they came to ioine) kept off their enimies with long speares or sauelins, in such sort, that they were not able to come nere them: which disadvantage Cornelius perceiving, commanded a high that they should with their swords cut those sauelins in sunder. And as he lifted by the visor of his helmet, the better to exhort his people to the execution hereof, he was so wounded in the face with a speare, that he was faine to withdraue apart out of the field. The Irishmen supposing he had fled, incontinentlie saue themselves, threw off their armes, and fell to running awaie. This did the victorie incline to the Scottish standards.

There died but a few (to speake of) in the battell, howbeit in the chase there was a wonderfull number slaine: for the Scots pursued them euen vnto Dublin gates, which citie the next daie Gregorie beset on each side with a mightie siege. There was got into this citie at the same time a wonderfull multitude of people, what of such as were recciued into it fleeing from the battell, as also of other which were there assembled before, in hope of assured victorie and safegard of their goods. By reason therof being thus besieged, they began quicklie to want vittels, so that either they inall of necessitie yeld, either else by some illie auail that danger wherein they were presentlie bewarped.

But forasmuch as they saw no great likelihood of good successe in that exploit, in the end it was concluded amongst them, that sith there was no meane for those noble men which were inclosed within that citie to escape the enimies hands, and that there were none other of anie reputation abroad able to defend the countrie from the Scottishmen's puissance) they should fall to some treatie with the Scottish king for a peace to be had, with so reasonable conditions as might be obtained: for other remedie in that present

The town was peised.

A gentle ransom.

Pontus was surrendered also.

Cornelius came with an huge armie.

The Irishmen came in thre battels. Bernes. These might be sene Gal long speares, as they had bene furnished with axes.

The Scots came in two wings.

Two battels ioine.

Cornelius was sore wounded.

The Irish ran away.

Dublin was sieged.

They consule vpon a treatie of peace to be made.

dicke of
vnto
Ben

Stured
battles
vnto
Grego-

confer-

condi-
of peace.

stage to
need
be end-

thement
deta.

way the
by the
men.

The Irish
mens practice.

The Scots
had made pro-
vision of vit-
tels apace
hand.

The kings
mills.

Kenneth
Cullan.

King Grego-
rie assailed the
Irishmen.

The Irish
are pursued.

Ben was
slaine.

women and
children are
sent a waie.

Armed
men were
spared.
Whilist they
were comman-
ded to be pro-
vided.

Doungary
or Doungard
was sieged.

ce was
betwixt
the

two Je-
en ge-
hies
the

armies
are the

sent mischief they could deuise none, and therefore this was iudged the best waie of the whole number, namele of Cozmach bishop of Dublin, a man for his singular vertue and reputation of vpright life, of no small authoritie amongst them.

Cozmach B.
of Dublin
went vnto R.
Gregorie.

Duncane.

A Wittie
saieing.

King Grego-
rie his wife &
godly answer.

Dublin is sur-
rendered vnto
R. Gregorie.

Gregorie was
received with
procession.

Cozmach bi-
shop of Dub-
lin becometh a
crosse-bearer.

He kisseth the
crucifix.

He entred the
castell.

A peace con-
cluded with
Ireland.

He took vpon him also to go vnto Gregorie to breake the matter, & so comming afore his presence, besought him most humble to haue compassion vpon the poore miserable citie, and in such sort to temper his wraith, if he had conceiued anie pece of displeasure against the citizens, that it might please him yet vpon their humble submission to receiue them vnto his mercie, and further to accept into his protection his cousine yong Duncane, vnto whome the kingdome of Ireland was due of right, as all the world well vnderstood. He besought him also to remember, that it appertained more to the honor of a king, to preserue the lawfull right of other kings and princes with the quiet state of cities and countries, than by violent hand to seke their destruction.

Wherevnto the king answered, that he was not come into Ireland for anie couetous desire he had to the realme, or to the intent to spoile his kinsman of the gouernement thereof, but onelie to reuenge such iniuries as the Irishmen had done to his subjects. Not the Scots but the Irishmen themselves were they that had giuen the occasion of the warre, which they had derelie bought with no small portion of their blood (which had bene shed) as punished for that crime worthilie by the iust iudgement of almightie God. But as touching an end to be had of his quarrell, & for the reseruing of the kingdome vnto yong Duncane hereof, when he had the citie at his pleasure, he would then take such order as he should thinke most conuenient.

This answer of the Scottish king being reported vnto them within the citie, they determined forthwith to let open their gates to receiue him: who, when he had caused search to be made whether all things were truelie ment according to the outward shew or not, he marched forth towards the citie to enter the same in order of battell, with all his whole armie, into the which he was receiued with procession of all the estates: for first there met him all the priests and men of religion, with the bishop the foresaid Cozmach, who hauing vpon him his pontificall apparell, bare in his hand the crucifix: then followed the nobles with the other multitude.

Which order when Gregorie beheld, he commanded his battell to staie a little, and therewith he himselfe advanced forth on foot till he came to the bishop, and falling doونه vpon his knees, he reuerentlie kissed the crucifix, wherevpon receiuing humble thanks with high commendation of the bishop for such his clemencie, he entered the citie, not staieing till he came into the market place, where commanding one part of his armie to keepe their standing, he went with the residue vnto the church of our ladie, and after to that of saint Patricke, where hearing the celebration of diuine seruice, when the same was ended, he entered the castell, where his lodging was prepared. In the morning he caused execution to be done of certeine vncleie persons of his armie, who in the night passed had broken vp the houses of some of the citizens, and rauished diuerse women. And for this act Gregorie being had in high reuerence of the Irish people, lodged part of his armie within the citie, and part he commanded to lodge without in the campe.

At length hauing remained a season in this estate at Dublin, he caused the Irish lords to assemble in counsell, where in the end the peace was concluded betwixt him and them, with these articles and covenants. First it was agreed that the yong king

Duncane should be brought vp vnder the good n-
ment of wise and discret persons, to be instructed in all princelie knowledge, within a strong castell, (wherein he had hitherto remained euer since his fathers decease) till he came to yeres of discretion. And that in the meane time Gregorie should haue the gouernance of the realme, receiuing all the fortresses into his possession. He should also haue the appointment of the magistrates, who should see iustice ministered according to the old statutes & ordinances of the Irish kingdome. That the Irishmen should receiue neither Englishman, Britaine, nor Dane, into their countrie, no not so much as for trade of merchandize, without safe conduct to be granted by him. So that things being thus brought to a quietnesse in Ireland, he receiued an oth of the chieftest of them for performance of the covenants, and here-
with taking with him thyscore hostages, he returned with his victorious armie backe into Scotland.

After this there chanced no notable trouble to the Scots, neither forreine nor ciuill, by all the time of king Gregories reigne, so that passing the rest of his life in quietnesse, he studied chieflie for the politike gouernement of his people in good order and rule, to the advancement of the common-wealth: and finally died an happie old man, in a castell called Doundoore within the countrie of Carioth, in the 18 yere after his entring into his estate, and after the birth of our Saviour 893. He was neuer maried, but liued in continuall chastitie: for his famous victories and other his princelie doings, he deserved of the Scots to be numbered amongst their most high and renowned princes. Amongst other his princelie acts which he set forthward in his life time, to the adoznement of his countrie and common-wealth, Aberdine (of a village) was aduanced by him to the state and dignitie of a citie, and the church there indowed with faire reuenues, and sundrie priuileges. His bodie was conueied vnto the abbeye of Colmekill, and there buried with all solemne pompe and erequies: ouer the which his next successor, Donald the first of that name, caused a faire towne to be erected.

In the daies of this Gregorie also, there liued that famous cleark John Scot, a Scottishman in deed borne, but brought vp in studie of god literature at Athens, where hauing learned the Græke tongue, he was sent for into France, to come vnto the emperor Lewis, with whom he remained in seruice for a time: and by whose commandement he translated the booke of saint Dionysie, intituled Hierarchia, into Latine. Afterwards being sent ambassadoe from the same Lewis vnto Alured or Alfred king of England, he continued with him and taught his children, hauing a place thereto appointed him within the abbete of Spalmeburie, where he had such resort of hearers and scholers, that it was a wonder to behold. Notwithstanding, at length when he ceased not to blame and chagelle to reprove the corrupt maners of such his scholers, as were giuen more to libertie than learning, he was by them murdered with daggers, as he was reading vnto them, and was afterwards registred amongst the number of martyrs.

As to our purpose. After Gregorie succeeded Donald the first in gouernement of the kingdome, he was the sonne of Constantine the second, who finding the state of the realme in great want and flourishing in wraith, he applied his whole studie to maintaine the same in semblable plight and condition. And before all things he caused iustice to be publicly ministered, so that no iniurie, speciallie if it were done to anie poore person, escaped unpunished. Christ the Lord of all vertue had giuen him such a godlie disposed

Articles of
covenant.

Their pang-
king to be
brought up.

R. Gregorie
to haue the
gouernment
of the realme.

He should also
appoint the
magistrates,
to see men to
traffike in
Ireland with
out a passport.

R. Gregorie
returned into
Scotland.

The king
died.

893.

Aberdine is
made a citie.

King Grego-
rie is buried
in Colmekill.

John Scot.
Some hold
that he was
an English-
man.
Bale.

Dionysie
pagita was
translated by
John Scot.
He taught R.
Alured in
England.
He taught in
Spalmeburie.

He was kil-
led of his scho-
lers.

Donald the
first.

He was a good
iudic.

He was re-
ligious.

A panthe
blaspheme

God ordi-
nes are in
need.

Common
rioted for
made in
chamber

King D
worthy to
fill him.

Common
burne be
number

Donald
young man
the old
English

Common
worthy
by R. 3

A peace
concluded.

The D
to be
and to
in Eng
God no
baptize
nature

They
seem
spare

They
such
nature.

223

the song is
glorious.

Which things passed thus in England, there was
 much trouble betwixt the inhabitants of Sur-
 reylant and Herts, which disquieted King Donald
 not a little. The occasion grew in reason of certain
 thieves, which committing robbes in the night
 time, Donelle entered into Surrey land, to fetch
 them thence. At the first they of Surrey land
 made resistance against them as well as they might,
 but after calling their neighbours to assist them, they
 attempted in such wise, that within short mo-
 ments space, there were slain betwixt them about hundred
 of the one side and of the other. Donald being more
 able to overcome to have his peace broken with in-
 trol.

The Parties being certified, that King Colaba
has thus being conceived such hope of good success
after to come, that albeit they were at this time van-
quished, they immediately made new preparation
for the warre, and first of all he called the one of the
most chieftains before mentioned, sent unto Caesar
the Spanish King, to allure him to come with
them against the Englishmen, which with great
gifts and large promises he easily thought to passe.
The same night following which remained before

the

The Scots and Danes confederate themselves together. Malcolme is made chiefe generall of the armie. He is created also heire apparant. The earle of Cumberland heire apparant to the king of Scots. The Scots and Danes joine their powers together. They begin a cruell warre.

Athelstane bafe some time to king Edward.

Athelstane came against the Scots. 937.

The Scots and Danes out of order.

The Scots and Danes overthowne.

The nobilitie went to foracke.

Athelstane toke Northumberland.

Westmerland and Cumberland recovered.

Malcolme escaped his hurts.

A counsell called by Constantine.

the English and Scottish nations. Hereupon both the Scots and Danes made the greatest provision that might be, thinking hereto to subdue the Englishmen, and to bring them to utter destruction.

Malcolme sonne to king Donald was appointed by king Constantine to have the leading of the Scottish armie, containing the number of twentie thousand men. The same Malcolme also at the same time was created heire apparant of the realme, having Cumberland assigned unto him for the maintenance of his estate. And even then it was ordained, that he which should succeed to the crowne after the kings deceasse, should ever inioy that province. Malcolme joining his power with Aualafus and Godfrie (who had assembled in like manner a mighty host of Danes) they all together brake into the English confines, sparing no kind of crueltie that might be devised, murdering the people without a nicie pitie or compassion in all places where they came, to the intent that the Englishmen moved with the slaughter of their kinsfolks and friends, should come forth into the field to giue battell, supposing they should not be able to withstand the force of the Danes and Scottishmen now joined in one armie together.

But the more vilanie they shewed in their doings, the sower were they punished for the same. For Athelstane the base sonne of king Edward (whome the Englishmen had chosen to succeed in gouvernement of their kingdome after his fathers deceasse) with all speed sought to be reuenged of such inuious doings. Whereupon getting together an armie, he encountered with them at a place called Bronningfield, or Brunenburgh, in July, in the yere 937, where the English at the first of purpose gaue something backe, as though they had fled: which manner when the Danes and Scots beheld, supposing the Englishmen had fled in deed, they began to pursue amaine, leaving their order of battell, ech of them striving who might be the foremost.

The Englishmen (according to the order appointed to them by their capteins) suddenlie fell into array againe, and fiercelie returning upon their enemies, did beat them downe in great numbers, & so achieved a most triumphant victorie. There died in this mortall battell manie thousands of Danes and Scottishmen, but chieflie the Scottish nobilitie bought the bargain most deere, who choosing rather to die in the field than to suffer rebuke by dishonorable flight, it came so to passe that few of them escaped. There died on that side (as some write) 20000 men in this battell, together with Wilfert king of the Cuentas, Pantwall king of Britains, and seven dukes that came to helpe the Scots and Danes. Athelstane by good aduise following the victorie, entred into Northumberland, and finding the countrie dispurueied of men of warre, he easilie made a full conquest thereof, hauing all the holds and fortresses deliuered into his hands.

Then without further delaie he passed into Westmerland, and after into Cumberland, where the inhabitants of both those regions, bare-footed and bare-headed, in token of most humble submission, peeled themselves unto him, promising from thenceforth to continue his faithfull subiects. In the meane time Malcolme being sore wounded in the battell, escaped, yet with great danger, and in an horse-litter was conueied home into his countrie, where he declared to king Constantine the whole circumstance of the overthrow and losse of his countrie asforesaid. Whereupon Constantine caused a counsell to be called at Abirnesbie, where he perceived how sore his realme was weakened through lacke of such of the nobilitie as were lost in the last battell, by reason the re-

sidue that were left, seemed through want of yeres, neither able by counsell nor by force to defend the realme, so as he utterlie despaired either to be of power to beate backe the enemies, or to gouerne his realme in such politike sort, as he would haue wished. And therefore, to rid himselfe of all such cares and troubles, and withall despising all such worldly pompe as might withdraue him from diuine contemplation (whereunto he was partie bent) he gaue ouer his kinglie estate, and became a canon within the abbey of saint Andzeloes amongst the couent there.

This was in the yere of our Sautour 943, and in the fortieth yere of his alone reigne (as Hector Boetius saith:) but if he did thus forsake the world, and entred into religion immediatlie after the battell fought at Bronningfield or Brunenburgh (for so we find it named by some writers) then must it needes be before this supposed time alledged by the same Boetius, for that battell was fought anno 937, as the best approued amongst our English writers doe report, so that it should rather seeme that Constantine refused in deed to deale with the gouernement of the realme, about the same yere of our Lord 937, or shortly after; and that Malcolme gouerned as regent and not as king whilst Constantine liued, who departed this life (after he had continued in the abbeie of saint Andzeloes a certeine time) in the foresaid yere 943, falling in the fortie yere after he first began to reigne. He was first buried in the church there amongst the bishops, but afterwards he was taken vp and translated vnto Colmekill, where he had a towe set ouer him, as was conuenient for the memorie of his name.

In the 36 yere of his reigne there were two monstrous creatures borne in Albion, the one amongst the Danes being an hermaphrodite, that is to say, a child with both sexes, hauing the head like a swine, the best standing forth moze in resemblance than the common shape of man, a fat bellie, with seate like a gosse, legs like a man, full of byssels, and a berie cuill fauored thing to behold. The other was borne in Northumberland, onelie hauing a mans ser, with one whole bellie from the nauill downe, but aboue the same diuided with two breasts created or compassed ridge-wise, and not broad like to the shape of man: beside this it had foure armes and two heads. And euen as from the nauill upwards it was thus diuided into two bodies, so did it appeare there was two contrarie wills or desires in the same, euer lusting contrarie, as when the one did sleepe, the other would wake; when the one required to haue meat, the other passed for none at all. Oftentimes would they chide and biall together, insomuch that at length they fell so far at variance, that they did beat and rent either other berie pitifullie with thier nailes. At length the one with long sicknesse wearing away and finalie deceassing, the other was not able to abide the greuous smell of the dead carcase, but immediatlie after died also.

About the same time there issued forth a founteine of blood out of the side of a mounteine in Gallo-way, and flowed in great abundance for the space of seuen daies together, so that all the riuers therabout (whereof there is great store in that countrie) had their waters mixed with blood, and so running into the sea, caused the same to seeme bloudie certeine miles distant from the shore. These prodigious sights put men in great feare, for that diuiners did interpret the same to signifie some great bloudshed to fall vpon the Scots shortly after. They were also the better beleued, for that within a while after, that great overthrow hapened at Bronningfield, as before is specified.

After

Constantine became a canon.

943.

March, West.

943. Constantine died.

A monster.

In other monster.

Two contrarie wills in this monster.

One part died before the other.

Bloud issued out of an hill.

what was ment by these wonders.

Mal

Aualaf had giue prophie made.

A counsell.

The Danes men and Danes out tog and sigl

Aualaf into the land, rill the of 2 and got into the

They g proceede shotle up.

Imbas sent vnt Malcol

The lea was con med aga

Stephen

land also into En land.

Cumber and the land to be made vnt England

Malcolme

After that Constantine (as is said) was entred into religion, the before named Malcolme the sonne of Donald was admitted king, or rather regent: who although he perceived right well how the force of the realme was so infiebled, that there was no hope to maintaine warres abroad; yet his chiefe studie was by all means possible to defend the borders of the Scottish dominion, and before all things to procure peace with the Englishmen. But as he was about to have sent ambassadours unto king Athelstane, to have treated for peace, he was suddenly informed, how Athelstane had given Northumberland unto Aualassus, and made a league with him to have his aid against the Scots. Which newes put Malcolme in wonderfull dread, for that he understood how his realme was imperilled of skillfull capitaine to make resistance. Yet he caused a counsell to be called, wherein when such as were assembled proponed many fond and churlish reasons, it might happen there was small hope of any good conclusion; but even as they were at a point to have broken by without any certaine resolution, word was brought how through seditious discord, which had chanced betwixt the Danes and Englishmen being assembled together in campe, they had fought a right cruell and bloudie battell, the victorie in the end remaining with the Englishmen, who ceased not to pursue the Danes in chase, so long as any day light appeared in the skie.

Aualassus with such Danes as he might get together after that overthrow, fled into Westmerland, and within thre daies after, in such ships as he found there upon the coast, he sailed over into the Ile of Span, and spoiling the same, with all the prey he passed from thence over into Ireland: In the meane time king Athelstane having lost no small number of his people in the foresaid battell, and with his iourne into Scotland, and lay still in Northumberland, no man understanding what he intended to do. Which newes were so pleasant to the Scottishmen, that there was common supplications and processions made through the whole realme, in rendering thanks to almighty God for delivering the people by this means from so great and present a danger.

Shortlie after came ambassadours from Athelstane unto Malcolme, to move means for a peace to be concluded betwixt the Scottish and English nations, according to the articles of the old league, which motion was so fullie heard of Malcolme, though he set a countenance of the matter as though he passed not whether he had warre or peace; but in the end, for that (as he said) peace was most necessarie for all parts, he shewed himselfe willing to have the old league renewed betwixt the Englishmen and Scots, with any reasonable conditions which should be thought reasonable.

After the returne of the ambassadours, the league was as newlie confirmed betwixt the two kings and their people, with the semblable articles as were comprised in the old league, with this article onelie added therunto; that Northumberland, being as now replenished most with Danish inhabitants, should remaine to the Englishmen; and Cumberland with Westmerland to the Scots: upon this condition, that he which should succeede here unto the crowne of Scotland after the kings decease, being borne anywhere, should hold those regions, and do homage unto the king of England as his vassall perpetuallie for the same. This peace being thus established betwixt these nations, Indulph the sonne of Constantine, the then king of Scotland, prince of Cumberland, and inheritor to the kingdom of Scotland, was borne and grew up to manhood.

After this, Malcolme passed the rest of his life

in good quiet, without any troubles of warre, as a most onelie studie to maintaine the state of his realme in good order, as well for the locality of the temporallie, as spirituallie, wherunto he was equallie inclined. At length, as he rode about the precincts of his realme, to see the lawes duly ministered, at Ulrine a village in Murray land, where he caused iudice to be somewhat stridely executed upon offenders, he was murdered in the night season by treason of a few conspirators, in the sixteenth yeare of his reigne. But such as did this wicked deed with their complices, by diligent examination were tried out, and on the next day being apprehended, suffered due execution, according as they had deserved, being torne in peeces with wild boyles, and those peeces sent unto sundrie cities, where they were hanged up on the gates and corners, untill they rotted away.

They that were the doers of the murder also, and procured the doers thereof, were thrust quite through upon sharpe flukes, and after hanged by about on high gibbets; and other of the conspirators were put to other kinds of death, as the case seemed to require. The death of Malcolme chanced in the yeare after the death of our Saviour 959. Where we have thought good to put you in remembrance, that either the Scots are deceived in their account of yeares; or else mistake the names of the kings of England: for where they write that this Malcolme departed this life about the 22 yeare of Athelstane king of England, that can not be; if Malcolme deceased chanced in the yeare 959, for Athelstane was dead long before that time, to wit, in the yeare 940, and reigned but sixteen yeares.

Wherefore, where the Scottish writers make mention of the warres which king Edmund that succeeded Athelstane had against Aualassus and the Danes of Northumberland, in the daies of king Indulph that succeeded Malcolme, it can not stand by any means (if they mistake not their account of yeares): for the same Edmund was slaine in the yeare 942. But herelie this fault in the first account of yeares is but too common in the Scottish historie, and therefore to him that should take upon him to reforme the errors thereof in this behalfe, it were necessarie to alter in a manner the whole course of the same historie. And therefore we will not with any man to give any credit unto their account in yeares, touching the reignes of the English kings, further than they shall see them to agree with our writers, whom in that behalfe we may more safely follow; and by conferring the same with the Scottish writers in some places, haply perceive the true time, as well of the reignes of their kings, as of acts done, to fall out in yeares and seasons, much differing from their account: whereof to admonish the reader, as well here as in the English historie, we have thought it not unpertinent.

And albeit that some may aske what reason we haue to move us to doubt of their account of yeares, more than we do of that in our owne writers: We will referre the same unto their iudgements that are learned; and haue treated indifferentlie aske, as well in perusing the one as the other without aske doubt. But as the errors are lesser found than answers; so haue we thought good to set downe in the margin of this booke, the yeares as we find them noted in the Scottish writers, specially in places where we differ any thing from them, because we will not seeme by way of contrivance to periuade the authors, further than by due consideration the well advised reader shall thinke it expedient.

As to my purpose: After the corps of Malcolme was buried (according to the custome) amongst

King Malcolme was murdered.

The conspirators were put to execution.

The murderers were torn with boyles.

The procurers of the murder were flayed.

959. The mistake of the names and times of the English kings in the Scottish historie.

Indulph.

hitherto
into
the enemies
began through
negligence.

R. Indulph
was slain
with a dart
and died.

961 fally 10.
Ma
9 6 8
Duffe.

The king
went unto the
western
Iles.

he purged the
Iles.

Barretors ta-
ken and put
to death.

Flagaboundis
compelled to
learn an oc-
cupation.

The nobles
were discon-
tented with
the kings do-
mings.

The occasion
of murmuring
of the nobilitie.

The king fell
sicke.

the same lay in covert within a close ballie, being fled from the field thither upon the first joining of the battels, with the which entering into fight, he was shot through the head with a dart, and so died; but not before he was reuenged of those his enemies, the whole number of them being slaine there in the place. His bodie was first buried in Cullane, a towne of Boene, and after translated vnto the abbie of Colmekill, and there interred amongst other his predecessors the Scottish kings. Indulph reigned about nine yeares and died thus valiantlie, though infortunatlie, in the yeare after the incarnation 968, as saith Hector Boetius.

After the corps of Indulph was removed vnto Colmekill and there buried, Duffe the sonne of R. Malcolme was crowned R. at Scone with all due solemnitie. In the beginning of his reigne, Culene the sonne of R. Indulph was proclaimed prince of Cumberland: immediatlie whereupon the king transported ouer into the western Iles, to set an order there for certaine misdoers used by diuers robbers and pillers of the common people. At his arrivall amongst them he called the thames of the Iles afore him, commanding strenghtie as they would avoid his displeasure, to purge their countries of such malefactors, whereby the husbandmen and other commons might live in quiet, without veration of such barretors and idle persons as sought to live onlie vpon other mens goods.

The thames vpon this charge given them by the king, took no small number of the offenders, partly by publike authoritie, & partly by leng in wait for them where they supposed their haunt was to resort, the which being put to execution according to that they had merited, caused the residue of that kind of people either to get them ouer into Ireland, either else to learne some manuell occupation wherewith to get their living, yea though they were neuer so great gentlemen bozne. Whobett the nobles with this extreme rigor shewed thus by the king against their linage, were much offended therewith, accounting it a great dishonor for such as were descended of noble parentage, to be constrained to get their living with the laboz of their hands, which onlie appertained to plowmen, and such other of the base degre as were bozne to trauell for the maintenance of the nobilitie, and to serue at their commandement by order of their birth, and in no wise after such sort to be made in maner equall with them in state and condition of life.

Furthermoze, they murmured closetie amongst themselves, how the king was onlie become friend to the commons & cleargie of his realme, hauing no respect to the nobilitie, but rather declared himselfe to be an utter enemy thereof, so that he was vnknowne to haue the rule of the nobles and gentlemen, vnles he knew better what belinged to their degre. This murmuring did spread not onlie among them in the Iles; but also through all the other parts of his realme, so that they ceased not to speake verie enill of the gouernement of things. In the meane time the king fell into a languishing disease, not so greuous as strange; that none of his physicians could perceiue what to make of it: for there was sene in him no token, that either choler, melancholie, flegme, or any other victious humoz did any thing abound, whereby his bodie should be brought into such decaye and consumption (so as there remained vnneth anie thing vpon him save skin and bone.)

And sithens it appeared manifestlie by all outward signes and tokens, that naturall moisture did nothing faile in the vitall spirits, his colour also was fresh and faire to behold, with such limelines of looks, that moze was not to be wished for; he had also

temperat desire and appetite to his meate & drinke, but yet could he not sleepe in the night time by anie prouocations that could be deuised, but still fell into exceeding sweats, which by no means might be restrained. The physicians perceiuing all their medicines to want due effect, yet to put him in some comfort of helpe, declared to him that they would send for some cunning physicians into foreigne parts, who happlie being siured with such kind of diseases, should easilie cure him, namelie so soone as the spring of the yeare was once come, which of it selfe should helpe much therevnto.

Whobett the king, though he had small hope of recouerie, yet had he still a diligent care vnto the due administration of his lawes and good orders of his realme, desisting oft with his counsell about the same. But when it was understood into what a perillous sicknesse he was fallen, there were no small number, that contemning the authoritie of the magistrats, began to practise a rebellion. And amongst the chiefest were those of Spurrey land, who slaying sundrie of the kings officers, began to rage in most cruell wise against all such as were not consenting to their misordered tumult. The kings physicians forbad in anie wise, that the king should be aduertised of such businesse, for doubt of increasing his sicknes with trouble of mind about the same. But about that present time there was a murmuring amongst the people, how the king was bered with no naturall sicknesse, but by sorcerie and magicall art, practised by a sort of witches dwelling in a towne of Spurrey land, called Foxes.

Wherevpon, albeit the author of this secret talke was not knowne: yet being brought to the kings eare, it caused him to send forthwith certaine wittie persons thither, to inquire of the truth. They that were thus sent, dissembling the cause of their iourne, were receiued in the darke of the night into the castell of Foxes by the lieutenant of the same, called Donwald, who continuing faithfull to the king, had kept that castell against the rebels to the kings vse. Vnto him therefore these messengers declared the cause of their coming, requiring his aid for the accomplishment of the kings pleasure.

The souldiers, which late there in garrison, had an inkling that there was some such matter in hand as was talked of amongst the people; by reason that one of them kept as concubine a yong woman, which was daughter to one of the witches as his paramour, who told him the whole manner used by his mother & other his companions, with their intent also, which was to make awaie the king. The souldier hauing learned this of his lemmann, told the same to his fellowes, who made report to Donwald, and he shewed it to the kings messengers, and therewith sent for the yong damosell which the souldier kept, as then being within the castell, and caused hir vpon streit examination to confesse the whole matter as she had sene and knowen. Wherevpon learning by hir confession in what house in the towne it was where they wrought there mischievous mysterie, he sent forth souldiers about the middest of the night, who breaking into the house, found one of the witches resting vpon a wooden brooch an image of wax at the fier, resembling in each feature the kings person, made and deuised (as is to be thought) by craft and art of the diuell: an other of them sat reciting certaine words of incantment, and still basted the image with a certaine liquo; verie buslie.

The souldiers finding them occupied in this wise, took them together with the image, and led them into the castell, where being streitlie examined for what purpose they went about such manner of incantment, they answered, to the end to make away

The king being sicke, yet he regarded iustice to be executed.

A rebellion practised.

The rebellion was kept fro the kings knowledge.

Witches in Foxes.

Inquire was made.

The matter appeared to be true.

A witches daughter is examined.

The witches are found out.

An image of waxe resting at the fire.

The witches were examined.

The whole
matter is
confessed.

The nobles
of the countrie
set the wit-
ches on worke.

The witches
were burnt.

The king is
restored to
health.

The king
with an arme
pursued the
rebels.

The rebels
are executed.

Captain Don-
wald craved
pardon for
them but not
granted.

Donwald
conceived ha-
tred against
the king.

Donwalds
wife counsell-
ed him to mur-
der the king.

The womans
counsell
is followed.

the king: for as the image did waste afore the fire, so did the bodie of the king by cake forth in sweat. And as for the words of the enchantment, they served to keepe him still waking from slepe, so that as the war ever melted, so did the kings flesh: by the which meanes it should haue come to passe, that when the war was once cleane consumed, the death of the king should immediatlie follow. So were they taught by euill spirits, and hired to worke the feat by the nobles of Murray land. The standers by, that heard such an abhominable tale told by these witches, straightwaies brake the image, and caused the witches (according as they had well deserved) to be burnt to death.

It was said, that the king at the verie same time that these things were a doing within the castell of Fozes, was deliuered of his languor, and slept that night without anie sweat breaking forth upon him at all, & the next daie being restored to his strength, was able to do anie maner of thing that lay in man to do, as though he had not bene sicke before anie thing at all. But howsoeuer it came to passe, truth it is, that when he was restored to his perfect health, he gathered a power of men, & with the same went into Murray land against the rebels there, and chasing them from thence, he pursued them into Koffe, and from Koffe into Cathnessle, where apprehending them, he brought them backe into Fozes, and there caused them to be hanged by, on gallows and gibets.

Amongest them there were also certeine yong gentlemen, right beautifull and goodlie personages, being nere of kin vnto Donwald captaine of the castell, and had bene perswaded to be partakers with the other rebels, moze through the fraudulent counsell of diuerse wicked persons, than of their owne accord: whereupon the foresaid Donwald lamenting their case, made earnest labor and sute to the king to haue begged their pardon; but hauing a plaine deniall, he conceived such an inward malice towards the king (though he shewed it not outwardlie at the first) that the same continued still boiling in his stomach, and ceased not, till through setting on of his wife, and in reuenge of such vnthankfulness, he found meanes to murder the king within the foresaid castell of Fozes where he used to sojourn. For the king being in that countrie, was accustomed to lie most commonlie within the same castell, hauing a speciall trust in Donwald, as a man whom he neuer suspected.

But Donwald, not forgetting the reproch which his lineage had sustained by the execution of those his kindred, whom the king for a spectacle to the people had caused to be hanged, could not but shew manifest tokens of great griefe at home amongst his familie: which his wife perceiuing, ceased not to traueill with him, till she vnderstood that the cause was of his displeasure. Which at length when she had learned by his owne relation, she as one that bare no lesse malice in hir heart towards the king, for the like cause on hir behalfe, than hir husband did for his friends, counselled him (with the king oftentimes used to lodge in his house without anie gard about him, other than the garrison of the castell, which was whole at his commandement) to make him awaie, and shew him the meanes whereby he might soone accomplish it.

Donwald thus being the moze kindled in tozash by the words of his wife, determined to follow hir aduise in the execution of so heinous an act. Whereupon deuising with himselfe for a while, which way he might best accomplish his cursed intent, at length gat opportunitie, and sped his purpose as followeth. It chanced that the king vpon the daie before he purposed to depart forth of the castell, was long in his or-

ratorie at his prayers, and there continued till it was late in the night. At the last, coming forth, he called such afore him as had faithfullie serued him in pursute and apprehension of the rebels, and giuing them heartie thanks, he bestowed sundrie honorable gifts amongst them, of the which number Donwald was one, as he that had bene ever accounted a most faithfull seruant to the king.

At length, hauing talked with them a long time, he got him into his priue chamber, onelie with two of his chamberlains, who hauing brought him to bed, came forth againe, and then fell to banquetting with Donwald and his wife, who had prepared diuerse delicate dishes, and sundrie sorts of drinks for their reare supper or collation, wherat they sate vp so long, till they had charged their stomachs with such full gorges, that their heads were no sooner got to the pillow, but asleepe they were so fast, that a man might haue removed the chamber ouer them, sooner than to haue awaked them out of their drunken slepe.

Then Donwald, though he abhorred the act greatlie in heart, yet through instigation of his wife he called foure of his seruants vnto him (whome he had made priue to his wicked intent before, and framed to his purpose with large gifts) and now declaring vnto them, after what sort they should worke the feat, they gladlie obeyed his instructions, & speedilie going about the murder, they enter the chamber (in which the king late a little before cocks crow, where they secretlie cut his throte as he lay sleeping, with out anie bulking at all: and immediatlie by a posterne gate they carried forth the dead bodie into the fields, and throwing it vpon an horse there provided readie for that purpose, they conuey it vnto a place, about two miles distant from the castell, where they staied, and gat certeine labourers to helpe them to turne the course of a little riuer running through the fields there, and digging a deepe hole in the channell, they burie the bodie in the same, ramming it vp with stones and grauell so close, that setting the water in the right course againe, no man could perceiue that anie thing had bene newlie digged there. This they did by order appointed them by Donwald as is reported, for that the bodie should not be found, & by blinding (when Donwald should be present) declare him to be guiltie of the murder. & For such an opinion men haue, that the dead corps of anie man being slaine, will bleed abundantly if the murderer be present. But for what consideration soeuer they buried him there, they had no sooner finished the worke, but that they slue them whose helpe they used herein, and straightwaies thereupon fled into Wyndie.

Donwald, about the time that the murder was in doing, got him amongst them that kept the watch, and so continued in companie with them all the residue of the night. But in the morning when the noise was raised in the kings chamber how the king was slaine, his bodie conueyed awaie, and the bed all be-
raied with blood; he with the watch ran thither, as though he had knowne nothing of the matter, and breaking into the chamber, and finding cakes of blood in the bed, and on the floze about the sides of it, he forthwith slue the chamberlains, as guiltie of that heinous murder, and then like a mad man running to and fro, he rancked euerie corner within the castell, as though it had bene to haue sene if he might haue found either the bodie, or anie of the murderers hid in anie priue place: but at length coming to the posterne gate, and finding it open, he burdened the chamberlains, whome he had slaine, with all the fault, they hauing the keies of the gates committed to their keeping all the night, and therefore it could not be otherwise (said he) but that they were of counsell in the committing of that most detestable

to me to
than other
the more
inspired.

The king re-
sented by a
friends.

The king
went to bed.

His chamber-
lains went to
banquetting.

Whodid
weather.

Culene

The him
had the
of the
weather.
The truth
answer to
the king.

The his
quere
his
be had.

The his
made an

The his
went to
armie in
Murre

A little
science
with a m

Donni
with him
cattle

The papels
boxers are
slaine.

Donwald
kept himselfe
amongst the
watchmen.

Donwald a
berie
bitter.

The m
of the
venale

The c
fozes
ben an
habits
slaine.

ble murder.

Finally, such was his over earnest diligence in the severe inquisition and trial of the offenders herein, that some of the lords began to mislike the matter, and to smell forth the tokens, that he should not be altogether cleare himselfe. But for so much as they were in that countrie, where he had the whole rule, that by reason of his friends and authority together, they doubted to utter what they thought, till time and place should better serve thereunto, and hereupon got them awaye everie man to his home. For the space of six moneths together, after this heinous murder thus committed, there appeared no sunne by day, nor moone by night in anie part of the realme, but still was the skie covered with continuall clouds, and sometimes such outrageous winds arose, with lightnings and tempests, that the people were in great feare of present destruction.

Culene.

In the meane time Culene prince of Cumberland, the sonne (as I have said) of king Indulph, accompanied with a great number of lords and nobles of the realme, came unto Scone, there to receive the crowne according to the manner: but at his coming thither, he demanded of the bishops what the cause should be of such untemperate weather. Who made answer, that undoubtedly almighty God shewed himselfe thereby to be offended most highly for that wicked murder of king Duffe: and suerly unless the offenders were tried forth and punished for that deed, the realme should feele the iust indignation of the divine iudgement, for omitting such punishment as was due for so greivous an offense. Culene hereupon required the bishops to appoint publike processions, fastings, and other godlie exercises to be used of the priests and people, through all parts of the realme, for the good appeasing of Gods wrath in this behalfe; and in such sort and manner as in semblable cases the use and custome in those daies was. He himselfe made a solemne vow, confirming it with a like oath, before all the pères & nobles there assembled, that he would not cease till he had renewed the death of king Duffe upon the false inhabitants of Spurrey land, to the example of all other.

The multitude being present, getting them to arise, followed their prince, taking his iourne without further delay towards Spurrey land, the inhabitants of which region hearing of his approach, and the cause of his coming, were stricken with exceeding feare: but namely Donwald, being gilty in conscience, doubted lest if he were put to torture, he should be enforced to confesse the truth. Whereupon without making his wife priue to his departure, or anie other of his familie, save a few such as he took with him, he secretly got him to the mouth of the river of Spey, where finding a ship ready, he went aboard the same, purposing to have fled his waies by sea into Norway: for this is the peculiar propertie of a gilty conscience, to be afraid of all things, and either in gesture or countenance to betraie it selfe, accounting flight most sure, if occasion may serve thereto. For this Donwald, whom no man (though some partly suspected him) might well have burdened with the crime of his masters death (by reason of his faithful service shewed towards him aforetime) had he not thus sought to have avoided the countrie, was now detected of manifest treason, everie man detesting his abominable fact, and wishing him to be overwhelmed in the raging floods, so to paie the due punishment, which of right he ought, for his vile treason in murdering his naturall lord.

Culene being hereof advertised, passed over Spey water, and taking the castell of Forres, slew all that he found therein, and put the house to sacke and fire. Donwalds wife with his three daughters were

taken: for Culene commanded, that whosoever could light upon them, should in anie wise save their lives, and bring them unto him. Which being done, he had them to the racke, where the mother upon his examination confessed the whole matter, how by his procurement chiefly his husband was moved to cause the deed to be done, who they were that by his commandement did it, and in what place they had buried the bodie. Here would the multitude have run upon him and torne him in pieces, but that they were restrained by commandement of an officer at armes. The king with the residue for that night rested themselves, and in the morning took order for due provision of all things necessarie to take up the bodie of king Duffe, and then to convey it unto Colmekill, there to be buried amongst his predecessours.

But as they were busie hereabout, word came that the traitor Donwald was by shipwracke cast upon the shore within foure miles of the castell, as though he were by Gods provision brought backe into his owne countrie to suffer worthy punishment for his demerits. Whereupon the inhabitants of the places next adjoining took him, and kept him fast bound till they knew further of the kings pleasure: who verie glad of the newes, sent forth immediatly a band of men to fetch him. They that were sent did as they were commanded: and being scarce returned, there came in divers lords of Kasse, bringing with them Donwalds four servants, which (as before is said) did execute the murder. Thus all the offenders being brought together unto the place where the murder was both contrived and executed, they were arraigned, condemned, and put to death in manner as followeth, to the great reioicing of the people that beheld the same.

They were first scourged by the hangman, and then bowelled, their entrails being thowen into a fire and burnt, the other parts of their bodies were cut into quarters, and sent unto the chiefest cities of the realme, and there set up aloft upon the gates & highest towers, for example sake to all such as should come after, how heinous a thing it is to pollute their hands in the sacred blood of their prince. This dreadful end had Donwald and his wife, before he saw anie sunne after the murder was committed, and that by the appointment of the most righteous God, the creator of that heauenly planet and all other things, who suffereth no crime to be unrevenge. Those that were the takers of the murderers were highly rewarded for their paines and travail therein sustained, being exempt from charges of going forth to the warres, and also of all manner of payments belonging to publike duties, as tributes, subsidies, and such like.

These things being thus ordered, the bodie of king Duffe was taken up, and in most pompous manner conveyed unto Colmekill, accompanied all the waie by Culene, and a great multitude of lords both spiritual and temporal, with other of the meaner states. There be that have written how his bodie (though it had lain six moneths under the ground) was nothing impaired either in colour or otherwise, when it was taken up, but was found as whole and sound as though it had bene yet alive, the scarres of the wounds onely excepted. But to proceed, so soon as it was brought above the ground, the aire began to cleare up, and the sunne brake forth, shining more bright than it had bene some aforetime, to anie of the beholders remembrance. And that which put men in most deepe consideration of all, was the sight of manifold flowers, which sprang forth over all the fields immediatly thereupon, cleane contrarie to the time and season of the yere.

Within a few yeeres after this, there was a bridge made

The murder
is whole con-
fessed.

King Duffe
his bodie to be
taken by.

Donwald is
taken prisoner

Donwalds
four servants
were taken
also.

Donwald
with his con-
federates are
executed.

Rewards gi-
uen unto the
takers of those
murderers.

The bodie of
king Duffe
honorable bu-
ried.

Marvellous
things are
seen.

Some teller
than other.
The matter
suspected.

ling re-
d his
r.

ing
o bed.

ember-
ment to
ting.

Spurrey land
weather.

The king al-
red the cause
of the foule
weather.
The bishops
answer unto
the king.

Donwald
is cut
off

The king re-
quired pub-
like prayers to
be had.

ing his

The king
made an oath.

The king
went with an
armie into
Spurrey land.

gilty
ie

A gilty con-
science accu-
seth a man.

to
slike
the
en.

Donwald get-
teth him se-
cretly awaye.

to a
leare

The murder-
of the king is
revealed.

The castell of
Forres is ta-
ken and all the
inhabitants
slaine.

Exhib.

Hozles eat
 their owne
 flesh.
 A monstrous
 child.
 A sparhawke
 strangled by
 an owle.

972.

King Culene
did not conti-
nue as his be-
ginning was.

He follows
his sensual
insteg.

Guill doors
were not pu-
nished.

**Good counsell
was not heard**

The kings
answer vnto
his graue
poets.

**We would not
displease.**

made ouer the water in the same place, where the bodie had bene buried, and a village builded at the one end of the brydge, which is called vnto this day, Killflos, that is to say, the church of flowres: taking that name of the wonder there hapened at the removing of the kings bodie, as the same authors would seeme to meane. But there is now (or was of late) a rich abbeie, standing with a verie faire church, consecrat in the honoz of the virginie Marie. Spontuous sights also that were scene within the Scottis kingdome that yere were these: hostles in Louthian, being of singular beautie and swiftnesse, did eate their owne flesh, and would in no wise taste anie other meate. In Angus there was a gentlewoman brought forth a child without eyes, nose, hand, or foot. There was a sparhawk also strangled by an otiole. Neither was it anie lesse wonder that the sunne, as before is said, was continuallie couered with clouds for six moneths space. But all men vnderstood that the abhominable murder of king Duffe was the cause hereof, which being reuenged by the death of the authors, in maner as before is said: Malene was crowned as lawfull successor to the same Duffe at Scone, with all due honoz and solemnitie, in the yere of our Lord 972, after that Duffe had ruled the Scottis kingdome about the space of foure yeres.

The beginning of Calenes reigne, begun with righteous execution of iustice, promised a firme hope of an other manner of prince, than by the administration which followed he declared himselfe to be: for shortly after losing the reins of lascivious wantonnesse to the youth of his realme, through giving a lewd example by his owne disordered doings, all such as were inclined vnto licentious living, followed their sensuall lusts and vnbridled libertie, abandoning all feare of correction more than euer had bene seene or heard of in anie other age. For such was the negligence of the king, or rather maintenance of misordered persons, that whatsoeuer anie of the nobilitie did either against merchants, priests, or anie of the commons, though the same were neuer so great an iniurie, there was no punishment bled against them: so that all men looked for some commotion in the common-wealth the rebpon to issue, if there were not other order provided therefore in time. The ancient peres of the realme also being græued thereat, spared not to admonish the king of his dutie, declaring vnto him into what danger the realme was likelie to fall through his negligent behaviour.

Culene answered them, that he wist well enough how young men were not at the first borne graue and sage personages, like to them with hoarie heads: therefore their first youthfull yeeres could not be so stable as they might be hereafter by old age and continuance of time. But as for such rigorous extremitie as diuerse of his elders had vsed towards their subjects, he minded not (as he said) to follow, being taught by their example (as by the kings, Indulph, Duffe, and such other) into what danger he might incur by such sharpe feruities shewed in the government of the estate. Whereupon he was determined so to rule, as he might giue cause rather to be beloved than feared, which was the onelie meane (as he thought) to retaine his subjects in due and most faithful obedience. His answer was long, that although it seemed nothing agréable for the preservation of the publike state in quiet rest and safetie, yet was there no man, by reason of his regall authoritie, that durst reprove the same, but diuerse there were that praised him therein, as those that hated all such as would the bright administration of Iustice.

But such ancient counsellors as had trulie ser-

ued in rule of the common-wealth in the daies of the former kings, Indulge & Dissuade, unliking the state of that present world (wherein the youth of the realme, nameilie all such as were descended of noble parentage, and bled to be about the king, followed their wilfull & sensuall lusts, growing euerie day through want of correction to be worse and worse) departed from the court, and withdrew to their homes, without meddling anye further with the publike administration. In whose place there crept in others, that with their flatterie corrupted the residue of such sparks of good inclination as yet remained in the king, if anye were at all; inso much that in the end he measured supreme felicitie by the plentifull intolence of voluptuous pleasures and bodilie lusts. He sanctified onelie such as could deuise pzonocations thereunto, and in filling the bellie with excesse of coslie meates and drinke, those that could excell other were chiefeie cherished, and most highlie of him esteemed.

Here will he be was giuen into lecherie beyond
 all the bounds of reason, sparing neither maid, wi-
 dow, nor wife, prophane nor religious, sister nor
 daughter (for all was one with him) that to heare of
 such villanie and violent forcings as were practised
 by him and his familiars, it would loth anie honest
 hart to vnderstand or remember. He was so farre
 past all shame in this behalfe, that when his leche-
 rous lust by too much copulation was so tired, that he
 might no more exercise his former lewdnesse, he
 toke speciall pleasure yet to behold other to do it in
 his plesence, that his decayed lust might be the more
 stirred vp with sight of such filthinesse. This abhorri-
 nable trade of life he practised for the space of thre
 yeeres together, giuing occasion of much spoile, rai-
 uine, manslaughter, forcings, and rauishments of
 women, with all such kind of wicked and diuelish
 transgressions: no execution of lawes (instituted by
 authoritie of the former kings, for restraint of such
 flagitious offenses) being put in vze, through negli-
 gence of this monstrous creature.

So farre forth also increased the libertie of theenes, robbers, and other offenders, mainteined by such of the nobilitie as consented vnto their vnlawfull doings, and were partakers with them in the same, that if anie man went about to withstand them, or refused to accomplish their requests and demands, he should be spoiled of all that he had, and happilie haue his house burnt ouer his head, or otherwise be mislead in such outragious and violent sort, that it would grieue all those that had anie zeale to iustice, to heare of such enormities as were daillie practised in that countrie. Wherebeit, at length the death of king Culene brought an end to all such wicked dealings: for falling into a filthy disease (through abuse of excessive drinking and lecherie) called the wasting of nature, he consumed awaie in such wise by rotting of his flesh, that he appeared more like vnto a dead carcase, than vnto a liuelie creature, insomuch that his owne seruants began to abhor him.

Whereupon the lords and other honorable persons of the realme, understanding his case, caused a parlement to be summoned at Scone, where they determined to depose King Culene, and appoint some other (whome they should iudge most meetest) to reigne in his place. Culene also not knowing thereof, this counsell was called; as he was going thitherwards, at Speffen castell, being almost in the mid-waile of his iournie, was murdered by one Cadbard the thane of that place, whose daughter he had rauished before time amongst diuerse other. This end had Culene together with all his filthie sensuality; but the repproachfull infamie thereof remaineth in memorie with his posteritie, and is not like to be forgotten.

Ancient coun-
cillors leave
the court.

The youthful
court follow-
eth their sense-
less lusts.

A wicked
time of balap
suoufneffe.

Teacherous
bing.

Forcing of
women into
excesses.

Debauched behaviour!

241 honest/
6/14/80.

Robberies,
theft, etc. were
maintained.

**Death made
an end of all.**

Genérbia

21 patients.

King Culture Was murdered.

976.

Kenneth.

all life is re-
formed.

King Ken-
neth was of
virtuous li-
ving.

The Ioned Strangers.

He abhorred
South.

De id panti
offendozs.

3 session b
at Laimika
n Lanerke

The guilty
await.

The king
sembled
these down

The king
went to be
saint Nini.
The king
consulted
to call the
transgression
into a
ment.

In a letter
 dated at 20

Armed and
laid in

gotten himself the world goeth about. He was thus dispatched in the first yeare of his reigne, and after the birth of our Saviour 976; the nobles & great peres of the realme reioicing at his death, though they allowed not of the manner thereof.

976.

Kenneth.

After that the bodie of king Culene was once conueied vnto Colmekill; and there buried amongst his elders, the nobles and great peres assembled together at Scone, where they proclaimed Kenneth the sonne of Malcolme the first, and brother vnto Duffe, king of the realme. In the beginning of his reigne, he had inough to doe to reduce the people from their wild and sauage kind of life (into the which they were fallen through the negligent gouernment of his predecesor) vnto their former trade of ciuill demeanour. For the nature of the Scottishmen is, that first the nobles, and then all the residue of the people transforme themselves to the vlsage of their prince: therefore did Kenneth in his owne trade of liuing shew an example of chastitie, sobrietie, liberallitie, and modestie, misusing himselfe in no kind of vice, but restraining himselfe from the same. He banished all such kind of persons as might prouoke either him or other vnto anie lewd or wanton pleasures. He maintained amitie alwell with strangers as with his owne people, punishing most rigorously all such as sought to moue sedition by anie manner of meanes. He toke busie care in causing the people to auoid sloth, and to apply themselves in honest exercises, iudging (as the truth is) that to be the waie to aduance the common-wealth from decaye to a flourishing state.

Thus when he had somewhat reformed the misorders of his subiects, he intended himselfe by all meanes he could deuise to punish offenders against the lawes and wholesome ordinances of the realme; and to purge all his dominions of theues, robbers, and other such as went about to disquiet common peace. At Lanerke, a towne in Baile, was a sessions appointed to be kept for execution of iustice, where certaine offenders were summoned to appeere. But at their coming thither, perceiuing that such manifest proofes would be brought against them of such crimes as they had committed, that they were not able to excuse the same, through perswasion of diuerse noble men vnto whom they were of kin, they fled secretly their waies, some into the westerne Isles, and some into other places, where they thought most expedient for safegard of their liues. The king perceiuing that through the distoll meanes of the lords his purpose was so hindered, that he might not inuise iustice, according to the institution of his lawes, he dissolved his wrath for a time, and licensed euerie man to depart to their houses, his traithe onelie excepted. Then went he into Galloway to visit saint Pinian for performance of his vow, which he had made so to doe. Where he inuented (by conseruance which he had with some of his priue counsell) a denise, whereby he might fetch againe the offenders vnto iudgement: but this was kept close till the yeare following, for doubt least if those lords which bare the good will had come to anie thinking thereof, they would by vndering it haue disappointed his purpose.

At length, after a yeare was passed, he appointed all the lords and nobles of his realme to assemble at Scone, as though it had bene to haue continued about some weightie affaire touching the state of the realme. The night then before they should come together into the counsell chamber, he caused by some of his faithful ministers, a number of armed men to be hid close in a secret place, with commandement giuen to them, that in no wise they should stirre till the next day, that at the day he should

sembled together, and then without delaie to execute that which should be giuen him in commandement. On the morrow after the nobles coming together into the counsell chamber, they had no sooner taken their places, euerie one according to his degree about the king, but that the armed men before mentioned, came rushing into the house, placing themselves round about them that were set, according to the order prescribed by former appointment. The lords with this present sight being much amazed, beheld one another, but durst not speake a word. When the king perceiuing their feare, began to declare vnto them the whole cause of his calling them to counsell at that time, and why he had appointed those armed men to be there attendant. The effect of his oration there made vnto them was, that he had not caused those armed men to come into the chamber for anie harme ment towards anie of their persons, but onelie for the publike preservation of the realme. For so much as they knew, there was one kind of people much noisome to the common-wealth, being confederate as it were together by one consent to exercise all sorts of mischief and oppression against the poore people, as to rob, spoile, and take from them all that they had, to rauish their wiues, maids, & daughters, and some times to burne their houses: the which licentious libertie in such wicked persons, through want of due punishment in the daies of king Culene, what danger it had brought vnto the whole state of the Scottish common-wealth, there was none but might well vnderstand.

For sith it was so, that the lords and other high estates liued by the trauell of the commons, then if the same commons should in anie wise decaye, the lords and such other high estates could in no wise prosper: for if the labourer through iniurie of the robber were forced to giue ouer his labour, where should the lord or gentleman haue thereupon to liue? So that those which robbed the husbandman, robbed also the lord and gentleman; and they that sought to mainteine such loitering persons as used to rob the poore man, went about the destruction both of king, lord, and gentleman; yea and finallye of the vniuersall state of the whole common-wealth. Therefore he that loued the common-wealth, would not seeke snelle to defend the commons from such iniuries as theues and robbers daile offered them; but also would helpe to see iust execution done vpon the same theues and robbers, according to the laudable lawes and customes of the land. The last yeare (said he) you your selues remember (I thinke) how I proposed by your helpe and counsell to haue proceeded by order of the lawes against all enimies and perturbours of the peace. At Lanerke was the day appointed for them to haue appeared, but there was no one of them that would come in, but contemptuously disobeying our commandement kept them awaie, by whose counsell I know not. But I haue bene informed by some how diuers of you fauouring those rebels, by reason they were of your linage, were of counsell with them, in withstanding themselves to from iudgement.

The often sending of messengers betwixt them and you, hath made persuaded us to thinke that this report was true. But yet not withstanding, I haue put away all such sinister suspicion out of my head, trusting you (as I trust you be) both of all such distimulation. And now I require you, not as santon of the rebels, but as defenders of the common-wealth, though I knowe somewhat slacke heretofore in discharge of your duties, to shew your selues ready in helping to apprehend the offenders, as that I should thinke you to haue made full satisfaction for your fault and error, if before in your there were

The king and lords sitting, the armed men stood forth.

The king put forth the lords out of doubt.

An oration made by the king.

A rehearsal of all enormities

Lanerke, or Lanerke.

those rebels,

as that

as that

as that

were ante. In the end he was plaine with them, and told them flatlie that they should assure themselves to haue those armed men which they saw there present, to be continuallie attendant about them, till he might haue all the rebelles at commandement.

The lords gentle submission, with a large promise.

The lords hauing heard the kings speech, and perceiuing what his meaning was, first partlie excused themselves so well as they might of their cloyed dissimulation, and then falling downe vpon their knees afoze him, besought him to put away all displeasure out of his mind, and clearelie to pardon them, if in anie wise they had offended his maiestie, promising that they would with all diligence and faithfulness accomplish his desire, in causing the offenders to be brought in vnto iudgement: and till the time that this were brought to passe, they were well contented to remaine in such place where he should appoint them to abide. The counsell then being broken vp, the king with those lords passing ouer the river of Tyle, went vnto Bertha, which towne during the kings abode in the same, was streialie kept with watch and ward, that no creature might enter or go forth without knowledge of the officers appointed by the king to take heed thereunto. If anie idle person were espied abroad in the streets, streightwaies the sergeants would haue him to ward.

The king went to Bertha.

Rogers punished.

Intarous men brought vnto Bertha.

A great number of bagabonds were iudged to die.

The lords haue licence to depart.

The Danes take for reuenge old losses.

The Danes take the sea to go into Albion.

The Danes arrive at the red head, or red Whales in Angus.

The nobles remained in the kings house, or in other lodgings to them assigned, procuring by their friends and ministers to haue such offenders as used to rob and spoile the husbandmen, apprehended and brought to the king to Bertha, there to receiue iudgement & punishment according to their merits: for so they perceiued they must needs worke, if they minded the safeguard of their owne liues. Hereof it folowed also, that within short space after, there were brought vnto Bertha to the number nere hand of five hundred such idle loiterers as used to liue by spoile and pillage, manie of them being defended of famous houses: all which companie being condemned for their offenses to die, were hanged vp on gibbets about the towne, and commandement giuen by the king, that their bodies should not be taken downe, but there to hang still to giue example to other, what the end was of all such as by wrongfull means sought to liue idelie by other mens labours.

The rebelles being thus executed, king Kenneth licenced the lords to depart to their owne houses, exhorting them to remember their duties towards the common-wealth, and to studie for preservation of peace and quietnesse according to their vocation. After this, the realme continued in quietnesse without anie foraine or inward troubles for the space of certeine yeares following, and had remained in the same state still, if the Danes had not made a new inuasion, who being soze grained in their hearts for such displeasures as they had sustained in Albion, determined now with great assurance to reuenge the same. Wherevpon gathering an huge multitude of men together, they were imbarked in vessels provided for them; and sailing forth, they purposed to take land vpon the next coast of Albion where they should chance to arrive: & being once on land, to destroye all before them, except where the people should submit & yield themselves vnto them. This purpose being once got abroad, within short time arrived at that point of land in Angus, which is called the red Whales, or red head, not far from the place where the abbey of Abirchoch, or Abirchochke was afterwards founded.

Here the Danish fleet first casting anchor, their capitaines fell in consultation what they were best to doe. Some of them were of this opinion, that it was

not most expedient for them to land in that place, but rather to passe from thence into England; for at the Scottishmens hands being poze, and yet a fierce and hardie nation, there was small good to be got, being thereto accustomed to giue more overthrowes than they commonlie receiued. Again, the soile of that countrie was but barren, and in manner overgrown with woods (as it was in deed in those daies) with few townes & small habitations, and those so poze, that no man knowing the same, would vouchsafe to fight for anie possession of them: wherein contrariwise England (that part namelie which lieth towards the south) was so fruitfull of cozne and cattell, so rich of mines, and replenished with so manie notable cities and townes inhabited with men of great wealth and substance, that few were to be found comparable thereto. So that the matter being well considered, they could not doe better, than to saile into Kent, where they might be sure of rich spoile, without anie great resistance. Other there were that held how that this iourne was attempted by the counsell of their superiors, onelie to reuenge such iniuries as the Danish nation had receiued at the hands of the Scottishmen, and not to attaine riches or anie dominion.

The Scots also being a cruell people, & ready to fight in defense of other mens possessions (as in the warres of Northumberland it well appeared) would suerlie be ready to come to the aid of the Englishmen into Kent, euen so sone as it was knowen that the Danes were on land in those parts: so that by this means they should be constrained to haue to doe both with the Scottishmen and Englishmen, if they first went into Kent: where if they set on land here in Scotland, they should encounter but onelie with the Scots. Therefore, the best were according to their first determination, to land amongst the Scots, if chance had brought them into those coasts; adding that when they had somewhat abated the arrogant presumption of their enemies there, then might they passe more safelie into England, after a luckie beginning of fier and sword, to proceed against their aduersaries in those parties as fortune should lead them. This deuise was allowed of the greatest number, being glad to get beside the water. Wherevpon the mariners (vpon commandement giuen) drew with their ships into the mouth of the river called Esk, the which in those daies washed on the walles of a towne in Angus called then Celurke, but now Spountros. Here the Danes taking land, put the inhabitants of the countrie thereabouts in great feare, so that with all speed for their safeguard they got them into Spountros; but the towne being quickelie assailed of the Danes, was taken, put to the sacke, and after rased, castell and all to the bare ground, not one liuing creature being left aliue of all such as were found within the same.

From thence the armie of the Danes passed through Angus vnto the river of Tyle, all the people of the countries by which they marched fleeing afoze them. King Kenneth at the same time laie at Sterling, where hearing of these greuous newes, he determined forthwith to raise his people, & to go against his enemies. The assemble of the Scottish armie was appointed to be at the place where the river of Tyne falleth into the river of Tyle. Here when they were come together in great numbers at the day appointed, the day next following word was brought to the king, that the Danes hauing passed ouer Tyle, were come before the towne of Bertha, and had laye siege to the same. When without further delaye, he rallied with the whole armie, and marched straight towards his enemies, comming that night

The Danes consue to go into England

King Kenneth set his men in ara

The king hoped the Scots in ballant

They consue for to saile into Kent.

They onelie sought reuenge.

The order the Scots battell are

The Dan had the advantage a little more time.

The Scots began the till.

Some thought best to land in Scotland.

The Danes do land at Spountros.

Spountros taken, and all within was slain.

The Danes come to the river of Tyle.

King Kenneth gathered a great armie.

They late fought with Bertha.

The two wings of Scots lie

Wale Scott two founte

unto Longcarr village not far distant from the river of Eide, famous ever after, by reason of the battell fought there betwixt the Danes and the Scots hearing that the Scots were come, detracted no time, but forthwith prepared to give battell.

Kenneth as soon as the sunne was up, beholding the Danes at hand, quicklie brought his armie into order. When requiring them earnestlie to shew their manhood, he promised to release them of all tributs and payments due to the kings coffers for the space of five yeares next ensuing: and besides that he offered the summe of ten poundes, or else lands so much worth in value to everie one of his armie, that should bring him the head of a Dane. He willed them therefore to fight manfullie, and to remember there was no place to attaine mercede; for either must they trie it out by dint of sword, or else if they fled, in the end to looke for present death at the enemies hands, who would not cease till time they had found them forth, into that place so ever they resorted for refuge, if they chanced to be vanquished. The Scots being not a little encouraged by the kings words, kept their order of battell according as they were appointed, still looking when the onset should be given. Malcolm Duffe prince of Cumberland led the right wing of the Scots; and Duncane lieutenant of Atholl the left: King Kenneth himselfe governed the battell. The enemies on the other part had taken their ground at the foot of a little mountaine right afore against the Scottish campe. Thus both the armies stood readie ranged in the field, beholding either other a good space, till at length the Scots desirous of battell, and doubting least the Danes would not come forth to anie even ground, advanced forward with somewhat more hast than the case required, beginning the battell with shot, and throwing of darts right freshlie.

The Danes being backed with the mountaine, were constrained to leave the same, and with all speed to come forward upon their enemies, that by joining they might avoid the danger of the Scottish mens arrowes and darts: by this meanes therefore they came to hand-strokes, in manner before the signe was given on either part to the battell. The fight was cruell on both sides: and nothing hindered the Scots so much, as going about to cut off the heads of the Danes, ever as they might overcome them: which manner being noted of the Danes, and perceiving that there was no hope of life but in viciozie, they rushed forth with such violence upon their adversaries, that first the right, and then after the left wing of the Scots, was constrained to retire and flee backe, the middle ward stoutly yet keeping their ground, but the same stood in such danger, being now left naked on the sides: that the victorie must needs have remained with the Danes, had not a renewer of the battell come in time, by the appointment (as is to be thought) of almightie God.

For as it chanced, there was in the next field at the same time an husbandman, with two of his sons busie about his worke, named Haie, a man strong and swift in making and shap of boote, but indued with a valiant courage. This Haie beholding the king with the most part of the nobles, fighting with great ballancie in the middle ward, not destitute of the spings, and in great danger to be oppressed by the great violence of the enemies, caught a plow-beame in his hand, and with the same exhorting his sonnes to do the like, hastied towards the battell, there to die rather amongst other in defense of his countrie, than to remaine alive after the discomfiture in miserable shalldome and bondage of the cruell and most unmercifull enemies. There was more to the place of the battell, a long lane fenced on the sides with

ches and walles made of farse, through the which the Scots which fled were braten downe by the enemies on benches.

Here Haie with his sonnes supposing they might best staie the flight, placed themselves everlastingly the lane, beat them backe whome they met fleeing, and spared neither friend nor foe but downe they went all such as came within their reach, therewith divers hardie personages cried unto their fellowes to returne backe unto the battell, for there was a new power of Scottishmen come to their succours, by whose aid the victorie might be easilie obtained of their most cruell adversaries the Danes: therefore might they chose whether they would be slaine of their owne fellows comming to their aid, or to returne againe to fight with the enemies. The Danes being here staied in the lane by the great ballancie of the father and the sonnes, thought verely there had bene some great succours of Scots come to the aid of their king, and thereupon ceassing from further pursute, fled backe in great disorder unto the other of their fellowes fighting with the middle ward of the Scots.

The Scots also that before was chased, being encouraged herewith, pursued the Danes unto the place of the battell right fiercelie. Whereupon Kenneth perceiving his people to be thus recomforted, and his enemies partlie abashed, called upon his men to remember their duties, and now with their adversaries hearts began (as they might perceive) to faint, he willed them to follow upon them manfully, which if they did, he assured them that the victorie undoubtedly should be theirs. The Scots encouraged with the kings words, laid about them to earthe the, that in the end the Danes were constrained to forsake the field, and the Scots egerlie pursuing in the chase, made great slaughter of them as they fled. This victorie turned highlie to the praise of the Scottish nobilitie, the which fighting in the middle ward, bare still the brunt of the battell, continuing manfullie therein even to the end. But Haie, who in such wise (as is before mentioned) staied them that fled, causing them to returne againe to the field, deserved immortall fame and commendation: for by his meanes chiefe was the victorie atchieved. And therefore on the morrow after, when the spoile of the field and of the enemies campe (which they had left void) should be divided, the chiefe part was bestowed on him and his two sonnes, by consent of all the multitude; the residue being divided amongst the soldiers and men of warre, according to the ancient custome used amongst this nation.

The king having thus vanquished his enemies, as he should enter into Bertha, caused coslie robes to be offered unto Haie and his sonnes; that being richlie clad, they might be the more honoured of the people: but Haie refusing to change his apparel, was contented to go with the king in his old garments whither it pleased him to appoint. So entering with the king into Bertha, he was received with little lesse honor than the king himselfe, all the people running forth to behold him, whome they heard to have so ballantlie restored the battell, when the field was in manner lost without hope of all recouerie. At his entering into the towne he bare on his shoulder the plow-beame, more honourable to him than anie sword or battell-are might have bene to anie the most ballant warriour. Thus Haie being honored of all estates, within certeine daies after, at a countell holden at Scoone, it was ordeined, that both he and his posteritie should be accepted amongst the number of the chiefe nobles and peers of the realme, being rewarded (besides monie and other great gifts) with lands and revenues, such as he should choose sufficient

Haie staied the Scots from running away

The Scots were driven to their battell againe.

The Danes fled towards their fellows in great disorder.

As Kenneth called upon his men to remember their duties.

The Danes fled towards the fields.

The spoile was divided.

Haie refused coslie garments.

The king came to Bertha.

Haie was made one of the nobilitie.

He had revenues assigned to him.

the Danes
slew to go
to England

King Kenneth
with his
men in array

The king
showed the
Scots unto
ballantlie.

the confusio
of the Scots

the order
of the Scots
battell array

The Danes
had the ad-
vantage of a
little mount-
aine.

The Scots
began the bat-
tall.

the
great battell
in the field

Danes
and the
armies

armies
and the
armies

Danes
to the
battell

King
Kenneth
with his
armie

the
battell
in the field

the
battell
in the field

sufficient for the maintenance of their estates.

It is said, that by the counsell of his sonnes, who knew the fruitfulness of the soile, he did aske so much ground in those parts where the river of Tair runs by the towne of Arrol ouer against Jfife, as a falcon would flie ouer at one flight. Which request being freely granted of the king, the place was appointed at Inchfirie for the falcon to be cast off: the which taking hir flight from thence, neuer lighted till she came to a great stone nere a village called Kofle, not passing foure miles from Dundee. By which meanes all that countrie which lieth betwixt Inchfirie aforesaid, and the said stone (being almost six miles in length, and foure in breadth) fell vnto Hare and his sons. The name of the stone also being called the falcons stone to this daie, both cause the thing better to be beleued, and well nere all the foresaid ground still continueth in the possession of the Hares euen vnto this day. Besides this, to the further honoring of his name, the king gaue him armes thre scutcheons gules in a field of silver, a plowcrame added therevnto, which he vsed in stead of a battell are, when he fought so valiantlie in defense of his owne countrie. Thus had the Hares their beginning of nobilitie, whose house hath attained vnto great estimation of honor, and hath bene decorated with the office of the constableness of Scotland, by the bounteous beneuolence of kings that succeeded. These things happened in the first yere of king Kenneth.

In the residue of the time that he reigned, though there chanced no great businesse by forren enemies, yet by ciuill sedition the state of the realme was wonderfullie disquieted. First a companie of Berns of the westerne Isles invading Kofle, to the intent to haue fetched a bottie, were met withall by the waite and ouerthrowne by the inhabitants of that countrie. After this sturre, another followed, farre more dangerous to the whole state of the common-wealth, raised by one Cruthlint, one of the chiefeest lords of the Spernes, who was sonne vnto a certaine ladie named Fenella, the daughter of one Cruthneth, that was gouernour of that part of Angus which lieth betwixt the two riuers, the one called Southesk, and the other Northesk. So it chanced, that on a time Cruthlint came vnto the castell of Delbogin to see his grandfather, the said Cruthneth as then lieng in the same: where vpon light occasion a fraie was begun amongst the seruicemen, in the which two of Cruthlints seruants foruned to be slaine. Which iniurie when Cruthlint declared by waie of complaint vnto his grandfather, he was so slenderlie heard, and answered in such reprochfull wise, as though he himselfe had bin the authoꝝ of the business, so that Cruthneths seruants perceiuing how little he was regarded of their maister, fell vpon him and beat him, that not without danger of life he brake forth of their hands, and hardlie escaped away.

In his returne homewards, he came to his mother Fenella, where she lay within the castell of Fethricarne, the chiefeest fortreffe of all the Spernes. Where being incensed through his mothers indignation, being a woman of a furious nature, he attempted forthwith to be reuenged of the iniurie received: so that assembling a number of his friends and kind-folks so secretlie as he might together, with a band of the inhabitants of the Spernes, he entereth into Angus, and comming vnto the castell of Delbogin in the night season, was suffered to enter by the keepers of the gate, nothing suspecting ante treason in the towne, by reason wherof was Cruthneth suddenly oppressed, the house sacked and rased, not one that was found within the same being left aliue. The spoile also was diuided by Cruthlint amongst them: which came with him. The next day likewise he for-

raied the countrie all thereabouts, returning home with a great bottie.

They of Angus prouoked herewith, rested not long; but assembling themselves together invaded the countrie of Spernes, where making great slaughter on each side, they left the countrie void almost both of men and cattell. Thus did the people of those two countries pursue the warre one against another a certaine time, with daillie incursions and wastringes of either others countries, in such cruell wise, that it was thought the one of them must needs shortly come to utter destruction, if speedie remedie were not the sooner prouided. The king being informed of this mischief and great trouble, which was fallen out through sedition amongst those his subiects, he made proclamation by an herald, that those of Angus and Spernes, whom he understood to be culpable, should appeare within sixtene daies after at Scone, there to make answer afoꝝe appointed iudges, to such things as might be laid to their charge, vpon paine of death to euerie one that made default. When the day of appearance came, there were but few that did appeare.

The most part of them doubting to be punished for their offenses with Cruthlint their capteine, fled out of Spernes, taking with them their wiues, and their children, and all their goods. The king being soe moued herewith, perceiued how readie the Scottish people were by nature vnto rebellion, when they were gentle vsed: and againe how they obeyed the magistrates best when they were restrained from their wild outragious doings by due punishment and execution of iustice. He considered therefore that if he did not cause those seditious rebels which had thus disobeyed his commandements to be punished according to the order of the lawes, he should haue the whole realme shortly disquieted with ciuill warre and open rebellion. Wherevpon with all speed he caused earnest pursuit to be made after Cruthlint, and the residue of the offenders, the which at length being taken in Lochquahar, were brought vnto a castell in Colvrie called Dounnam, where after iudgement pronounced against them, Cruthlint first, and then other the chiefeest stirrers on either side were put to execution. The commons, for that it was thought they followed their superiours against their willes, were pardoned and licenced to depart to their houses.

For this equitie shewed in ministering iustice by the king, he was greatly praised, loued, and dread of all his subiects; so that great quietnesse followed in the state of the common-wealth, greatlie to the advancement thereof; and so continued till the 22 yere of this Kenneths reigne. At what time the blind loue he bare to his owne issue, caused him to procure a detestable fact, in making away one of his neereest kinsmen. This was Malcolme the sonne of king Duffe, created in the beginning of Kenneths reigne prince of Cumberland, by reason wherof he ought to haue succeeded in rule of the kingdom after Kenneths death. Whereat the same Kenneth greiued not a little, for that thereby his sonnes should be kept from inheriting the crowne: found meanes to poison him. But though the physicians vnderstanding by such euident signes as appeared in his bodie, that he was poisoned indeed, yet such was the opinion which men had of the kings honor and integrity, that no suspicion at all was conceiued that it should be his deed.

The clocke toun also which he had shewed toward him at all times, and so sudden commandement giuen by him vpon the first newes of his death, that his funerals should be celebrated in euerie church and chappell for his soule; and againe, the teares which he shed

The countie is forraied.

They of Spernes requite their iniuries.

The king made a proclamation by an herald.

The culpable should appeare at Scone.

The familie men ran away.

The k. was soe offended therewith.

The k. intended to punish the disobedient rebels. Cruthlint taken with many more.

He is executed with certain others.

The k. was soothly commended for his iustice.

K. Kenneth poisoned his cousin Malcolme.

The k. was not suspected of this fact.

The poisoning of Malcolme is brought into suspicion.

Heate his request.

The falcon measured Hare his lands out.

Hare had armes giuen him.

Ciuill wars in Scotland.

In other commotion in Spernes by Cruthlint.

Cruthlint went to see his grandfather.

Two of his seruants were slaine.

They set upon Cruthlint also.

Cruthlint was incited to reuenge.

He killed all them that were in the castell.

Malcolme came to Scone.

He required to be executed.

The k. was a great man for his policy.

The quell the c might indy.

It is by the k.

He is mon soothly re per mat ting to be.

the countie
of Orkney.

the king
of Orkney
re-
te their
vires.

the king
of a procla-
mation by an
ald.

the culpable
ald appears
before.

the faultie
is an awy.

the king
was
offended
with.

the king
was
to punish
disobedi-
ent rebels.
with the
sword.

the king
was
certified
by
certaine
vires.

the king
was
thay com-
piled for
allise.

the king
was
in his
pal-
ace.

the king
was
aspected
in fact.

the king
was
in his
pal-
ace.

And for him, in all places where artie mention chan-
ced to be made of the loss which the realme had suf-
fered by the death of so worthy a prince, made men
nothing mistrustful of the matter, till at length some
of the nobles perceiving the outward sorrow (which he
made) to passe the true griefe of the heart, began to
gather some suspicion, that all was not well: but yet
because no certaintie appeared, they kept their
thoughts to themselves. About the same time came
ambassadors forth of England from king Edward
the sonne of Edgar (which after through treason of
his stepmother Esculda, was made a martyr) requir-
ing that sith Malcolme the prince of Cumberland
was deceased, it might please the king with the
states of the realme to chuse some other in his place,
who doing his homage unto the king of England,
according as it was covenanted by the league,
might be a meane to confirme the same league be-
twixt the two nations for the avoiding of all occasi-
ons of breach thereof that otherwise haplie might
inlue.

ambassadors
came from
king Edward.

he required a
new prince to
be chosen.

the king heard
the message
by his par-
ty.

Kenneth at the same time held a counsell at
Seane, where having heard the request of these am-
bassadors, in presence of all his nobles, he answered
that he was glad to understand that king Edward
was so carefull for maintenance of loue and amitie
betwixt his subjects and the Scottishmen, according
to the articles of the ancient league in times past
concluded betwixt them, the ratification whereof for
his part he likewise most earnestlie desired, and
therefore in rendering most heartie thanks unto
him for his gentle advertisement, he purposed by the
advise of his nobles, and the other estates of his
realme as then there assembled, to elect a new prince
of Cumberland, without anie further delaie: and
thereupon required the ambassadors to be present on
the morrow, to heare what he was whom the nobles
should name to be preferred unto that dignitie. The
ambassadors hereupon departing forth of the coun-
sell chamber, were conveyed to their lodging by di-
verse of the nobilitie that were appointed to keepe
their companye.

the king re-
quired that
the crowne
might come by
inheritance.

the king
was
in his par-
ty.

he had come
enough to
waile in, to
gather pities
& reasons to
persuade this
matter, it be-
ing good of
it selfe.

Then Kenneth with a long oration went about
to persuade the peeres, and other the estates of the
realme there (as I said) assembled, to alter the cus-
tome and ancient order used by their elders in cho-
sing of him that should succede in the gouernance of
the realme, after the deceasse of him that was in
possession. He used so manie reasons as was pos-
sible for him to deuise in that behalfe, thereby to in-
duce them to his purpose, which was to haue an act
established for the crowne to go by succession, onelie
to this end, that one of his sonnes might inioy the
same immediatlie after his deceasse. He declared
also what disconmodities, contentions, and great incon-
ueniences had growne, in that the crowne had gone
in times past by election: for though it was ordeined
at the first that it should so do, upon a good intent
and great consideration, yet in procelle of time profe
and experience had shewed, that more hinderance
happened unto the common-wealth thereby (beside
the danger ever insuing incidentlie unto such issue
as the king left behind him) than profit, if the sundrie
murthers, occasions of ciuill discord, and other wic-
ked practises were thoroughlie breied and considered,
the summe whereof he recited from point to point,
and so in the end with great instance besought them,
that so pernicious a custome might be abolished and
taken away, to the great benefit of the whole state
of the realme, speciallie sith in all realmes common-
lie the order was, that the sonne should without anie
contradiction succede the father in the heritage of the
crowne and kinglie estate.

The king had no sooner made an end of his long

oration, which he handled after the perfectest sort he
could, but that diuerse of the noble men which were
there amongst other, being made pricke to the mat-
ter aforehand, motioned meanes to haue Malcolme
the son of Kenneth created prince of Cumberland,
that he might so haue an entrance to the crowne af-
ter the deceasse of his father. This motion by and
by was in manie of their mouthes, which Kenneth
perceiving, he required of the most ancient peeres
whome they would name to be prince of Cumber-
land, that there might be a meane to ratifie and con-
firme the league betwixt the Scots and English-
men, Constantine the sonne of king Collin, and
Grime the nephew of king Duffe by his brother Ho-
gall: whome by the force of the former law they
might by god reason haue looked to haue had the pre-
ferment themselves.

But yet perceiving it was in vaine to denie
that which would be had by violence (although they
should neuer so much stand against it) being first de-
manded of the herald what they thought, they an-
swered (notwithstanding against their minds indeed)
that the king might order all things as should
stand with his pleasure, appointing whom he thought
most meet to be prince of Cumberland, and to ab-
rogate the ancient law of creating the kings, in
deuising new ordinances for the same, as should
seeme vnto him and those of his counsell most requi-
site and necessarie. The multitude then following
their sentence, cried with loud & vniuersall voices,
to haue Malcolme the sonne of king Kenneth cre-
ated prince of Cumberland. And thus the same Mal-
colme (though as yet vnder age) was by the voices
of the people ordeined prince of Cumberland, in
place of the other Malcolme sonne to king Duffe.
The daie next following, the ambassadors comming
into the counsell chamber, heard what was decreed
touching their request, and then being highly re-
warded of the kings bounteous liberalitie, they re-
turned into England, and Malcolme with them, to
be acquainted with king Edward, and to do his ho-
mage for the principalltie of Cumberland, as the cus-
tome was.

At the same time also there was a new act deuised
and made, the old being abrogated (by the appoint-
ment of the king) for the creation of the Scottish
kings in time to come, manie of the nobles rather
consenting with silence, than greatlie allowing it ei-
ther in harts or voices, though some currisaours a-
mong them set forward the matter to the best of
their powers. The articles of this ordinance were
these. The eldest heire male of the deceased king,
whether the same were sonne or nephew, of what age
soeuer he should be, yea though he should be in the
mothers wombe at the time of the fathers deceasse,
should from thence forth succede in the kingdome of
Scotland. The nephew by the sonne should be prefer-
red before the nephew by the daughter, in attaining
to the heritage of the crowne. And likewise the bro-
thers sonne should be admitted before the sisters son.
The same law should be obserued of all such of the
Scottish nation, as had ante lands or inheritance
comming to them by descent. Where the king by this
meanes chanced to be vnder age, & not able to rule,
there should be one of the chiefest peeres of the realme
chosen and elected to haue the gouernance of his per-
son and realme, till he came to 14 yeres of age. The
which foureteenth yere of his age being accom-
plished, he should haue the administration committed
to his owne hands. The heires of all other persons
of ech estate and degree should remaine vnder the
wardship of their appointed gouernours, till they came
to the age of 21 yeres, and not till then to meddle
with anie part of their lands and liuings.

the peeres of
the realme did
instillingly
grant to his
request.

the herald
required & de-
manded his
voice first.

Constantine
his saying.

the multi-
tude wel pleas-
ed, cryed Mal-
colme.

a new act for
the succession
of the crowne.

Articles con-
clained in that
parliament.

D. J. These

These lawes and ordinances being once published and confirmed, king Kenneth supposed the kingdome to be fullie assured vnto him and his posteritie, and therevpon indurged himselfe to win the harts of the people with bright administration of iustice, and the fauour of the nobles he sought to purchase with great gifts which he bestowed amongst them, as well in lands belonging to the crowne, as in other things greatlie to their contentation. Thus might he seme happie to all men, hauing the loue both of his lordes and commons: but yet to himselfe he seemed most vnhappie, as he that could not but still liue in continuall feare, least his wicked practise concerning the death of Malcolme Duffe should come to light and knowledge of the world. For so commeth it to passe, that such as are pricked in conscience for anie secret offense committed, haue euer an vquiet mind. And (as the same goeth) it chanced that a voice was heard as he was in bed in the night time to take his rest, uttering vnto him these or the like words in effect: 20
 "Thinke not Kenneth that the wicked slaughter of Malcolme Duffe by thee contriued, is kept secret from the knowledge of the eternall God: thou art he that didst conspire the innocents death, enterprising by traitorous meanes to doe that to thy neighbour, which thou wouldest haue reuenged by cruell punishment in anie of thy subiects, if it had bene offered to thy selfe. It shall therefore come to passe, that both thou thy selfe, and thy issue, through the iust vengeance of almightie God, shall suffer woorthie punishment, to the infamie of thy house and familie for euermore. For euen at this present are there in hand secret practises to dispatch both thee and thy issue out of the waie, that other maie inioy this kingdome which thou dost indurour to assure vnto thine issue.

The king with this voice being stricken into great dread and terror, passed that night without anie sleepe comming in his eyes. Wherefore in the morning he got him vnto bishop Houean, a man of great holinesse of life, vnto whome he confessed his heinous and most wicked offense, beseeching him of counsell, which waie he might obtaine pardon and forgiveness at Gods hands by woorthie penance. Houean hearing how the king demoned his offense committed, he willed him to be of god comfort. For as the wrath of almightie God was prouoked by sinne and wicked offenses, so was the same pacified againe by repentance, if so be we continue penitent and willing to amend. King Kenneth being confirmed in hope of forgiveness by these and sundrie other the like comfortable words of the bishop, studied vnfeinedlie to doe woorthie penance, leauing nothing vndone which he thought might serue for a witness of his penitent hart, thereby to auoid the vengeance which he stood in feare of to be prepared for him, by reason of his heinous and wicked crime.

It chanced herevpon, that within a short time after he had bene at Ffordune, a towne in Bernes, to visit the reliks of Maladus which remaine there, he turned a little out of the waie to lodge at the castell of Fethircarne, where as then there was a forrest full of all manner of wild beastes that were to be had in anie part of Albion. Here was he receiued by Fenella ladie of the house, whose son (as ye haue heard) he caused to be put to death, for the commotion made betwixt them of Bernes and Angus. She was also of kin vnto Malcolme Duffe, whome the king had made awaie, and in like manner vnto Constantine and Grime, defrauded of their right to the crowne, by the craftie deuise of the king (as before is partly mentioned.) This woman therefore being of a stout stomach, long time before hauing conceived an inuicible grudge towards the king, vpon the occasions before rehearsed (namelie as well for the death of

his sonne Cruthlint, as hauing some inkling also of the impossibility of Malcolme Duffe, though no full certaintie therof was knowne) imagined night and day how to be reuenged.

She understood that the king delighted aboue measure in goodlie buildings, and therefore to the end to compass his malicious intent, she had caused a tower to be made, ioining vnto his owne lodging with, in the foresaid castell of Fethircarne. The which tower was couered ouer with copper finelle ingrauen with diuerse flowers and images. Here to was it hong within with rich cloths of arras wrought with gold and silke, verie faire and costlie. Behind the same were there crossebowes set readie bent with sharpe quarrels in them. In the midst of the house there was a goodlie basen image also, resembling the figure of king Kenneth, holding in the one hand a faire golden apple set full of pretious stones, decorated with such art and cunning, that so soone as anie man should draw the same vnto him, or remoue it neuer so little anie waie forth, the crossebowes would immediatlie discharge their quarrels vpon him with great force and violence.

Fenella therefore being thus provided aforehand, after meate desired the king to go with hir into that inner chamber, into the which being entered, he could not be satisfied of long with the beholding of the goodlie furniture, as well of the hangings as of diuerse other things. At the last hauing viewed the image which stood (as is said) in the midst of the chamber, he demanded what the same did signifie: Fenella answered, how that image did represent his person, and the golden apple set so richlie with smaragds, sapphires, topases, rubies, turkesses, and such like pretious stones, she had provided as a gift for him, and therefore required him to take the same, beseeching him to accept it in good part, though it were not in value woorthie to be offered vnto his princelie honor and high dignitie. And herevnto she hirselfe withdrew aside, as though she would haue taken some thing forth of a chest or coffer, thereby to auoid the danger.

But the king delighted in beholding the gems and orient stones, at length remouing the apple, the better to aduise it, incontinentlie the crossebowes discharged their quarrels so direatlie vpon him, that striking him thorough in sundrie places, he fell downe sturke dead, and lay flat on the ground. Fenella as soone as she beheld him fall to the ground readie to die, she got forth by a backe doore into the next woods, where she had appointed horses to tarie for hir, by meanes whereof she escaped out of all danger of them that pursued hir, per the death of the king were openlie knowne vnto them. His seruants still waiting for his comming forth in the vtter chamber, at length when they saw he came not at all, first they knocked at the doore stillie, then they rapped hard thereat: lastlie, doubting that which had happened, they brake open doore after doore, till at length they came into the chamber where the king lay cold dead vpon the floor.

The clamor and crie herevpon was raised by his seruants, and Fenella cursed and sought for in euerie place, that had committed so heinous and wicked a deed: but the vngacious woman was conuerted so secretlie out of the waie, that no where could she be heard of. Some supposed that she fled first vnto Constantine, by whose helpe she got ouer into Ireland. The ambitious desire which the same Constantine shewed he had to succeed in government of the kingdome after Kenneths deceasse, increased that suspicion greatlie. For immediatlie after it was known that Kenneth was dead, he got his friends together, and went vnto diuerse places requiring the lordes to

She was deuourous for reuenge.

Fenella her malicious intent.

Crossebowes readie bent, hidden.

Fenella had the king into the inner chamber.

The king was slaine with the crossebowes.

Fenella escaped from them all.

His seruants looked for their king.

The doores broken open, they found him dead.

Fenella could not be found.

Fenella got hirselfe into Ireland by the helpe of Constantine.

Constantine aspired vnto the crowne.

Constantine.

Constantine procured friends.

994. Jo. A. 1000. H.

Marcellus says chani.

The man appeared to be.

Scarcitie of wine and iell. It rained downe.

Preaching was desired.

Malcolme taken fre against Constantine.

God could not give him.

Yet other counsel was given him.

Malcolme with an arrowe to kill Constantine. Constantine the went into the castle.

after him in attaining to the crowne, which by the old ordinance and laws of the realme (instituted in the beginning, and observed till now of late, that Kenneth by his private authoritie had gone about to arrogate the same) ought to descend unto him, as all the world verie well understood.

Constantine

time.

Constantine procured friends.

994. 10. Ma. 1000. H. B.

Marvellous things happened.

The more appeared bloudie.

Scarcitie of corne and cattell.

Preaching was despised.

Preaching was despised.

Preaching was despised.

Preaching was despised.

Preaching was despised.

Preaching was despised.

Preaching was despised.

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Preaching was despised.

Preaching was despised.

Preaching was despised.

Preaching was despised.

By their meanes being of high authoritie in the realme, he was brought by them unto Scone, and there crowned king the 12 day after Kenneths decease, in the 25 yeere after that the same Kenneth had begun his reigne over the Scottishmen, and in the yeere of our saluation a thousand iust, in the which yeere (as is said) sundrie unkinde fights were seene as well in Albion, as in other places. The sea left upon the sands on the coasts of Buchuane, an infinite multitude of fishes, the which lieng there dead, caused such a stinkie savour, that the aire being therewith infected, great death of people ensued. The more appeared of a bloudie colour, to the great terror of them that beheld it. In the summer next following, corne failed, and cattell died so generallie, that if there had not bene more plentie of fish got than was accustomed to be, the people had bene famished in manie places. In Albion and also France it rained stones. But all these dreadfull wonders might not withdraw the Scottishmen from their wicked vices, whereunto in those daies they were wholie giuen, though there wanted not diuerse vertuous men, as well bishops as other, that in their sermons exhorted the people to repent and amend their naughty liuings: for otherwise vndoubtedlie such grislie fights and tokens as chanced in those daies, menaced some great mischief to fall vnto the whole nation. And sherdie their words proued true: for the Scots continuing in their wilfulnesse, being stubbornly harted one against another, brought their countrie into danger of utter destruction.

Malcolme

leaher friends against Constantine.

Malcolme

leaher friends against Constantine.

Malcolme

leaher friends against Constantine.

Malcolme

leaher friends against Constantine.

Malcolme

leaher friends against Constantine.

Malcolme

leaher friends against Constantine.

Malcolme

leaher friends against Constantine.

Malcolme the sonne of Kenneth, created (as ye haue heard in his fathers life time) prince of Cumberland, hearing that Constantine (against the ordinance lately made) had usurped the crowne, as sone as his fathers bodie was buried in Colmekill, with such funerall pompe as appertained, he desired his fathers friends to giue him such faithfull counsell as they thought most expedient, which way he were best to worke for the appeasing of the sedition now begun, by reason of Constantines presumptuous attempt. There were some amongst that companie that toke it to be best, first to vnderstand the minds of all the peeres and nobles of the realme, before they went about anie exploit against the tyrant; least whilste Malcolme should take to deliuer himselfe from danger, he might happilie wind himselfe further into trouble, than without extreame perill of the common-wealth he should be able to get forth thereof againe. Other there were that iudged it best suddenlie to go against Constantine before he made himselfe strong: for if they came vpon him per he were prouided for their coming, manie of them that feigned themselves to be his friends, would forsake him, so sone as they saw anie power of his enemies at hand. And then should he either fall into their hands, or be driven to flee the realme for safegard of his life.

Malcolme

leaher friends against Constantine.

Malcolme

leaher friends against Constantine.

The fierce yong man following this counsell as the best to his seeming, & trusting more to his owne wit than to the graue aduise of men of skill, assembled together in all hast possible about the number of ten thousand men, with whom making towards Constantine with speedie tomes, at length he came into Louthian. Constantine being informed of all his aduersaries doings, had gotten together also an huge power, so that passing forth with the same to

incounter them, the hate which ran of his great number and puissance, caused Malcolme for verie feare that he should not be able in anie part to match him, to breake vp his armie, and to flee backe into Cumberland: by reason whereof he had bene put to such hinderance and dishonour, as would not easilie haue bene reconered, had not Kenneth the bastard sonne of his father the aboue mentioned Kenneth incamped with a mightie power about Sterling, & defended the passages of the Forth, that Constantine with his armie could not come ouer. Then rose there great famine and penurie of vittells in both hostes, so that Constantine with great indignation was constrained to breake vp his campe, and so to leaue his enterprize for that season.

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Thus was the realme diuided into two sundrie factions, whereupon followed wastings and incursions made into each others possessions, with such crueltie, that the same might be a sufficient instruction what mischief happeneth through ciuill discord. The poore commons and husbandmen were brought to such miserie through the often spoilinges and robberies vied by the men of warre, that they were not able to till their grounds. Finally, there rose one mischief so fast in the necke of an other, that no kind of crueltie was spared, robbing, reauing, and forcible extortion was exercised on all sides without hope of anie redresse or amendment. Whilste the Scottishmen were thus at diuision amongst themselves, renting and pulling in peeces their owne miserable native countrie, Edward king of England being oppressed with inuasion of Danes, was glad to bide peace at their hands, for himselfe and his people, with right large summes of monie; but perceiving that his enemies ceased not daile to spoile and rob his subjects, he purposed to trie what he might doe by making them warre: and to make his part the stronger, he required Malcolme prince of Cumberland to aid him against the Danes, according to the covenant of the ancient league. Malcolme consenting to k. Edwards request, came with a mightie armie of Cumberland men to support him: by reason whereof the Danes doubting to be ouermatched, after certeine light skirmishes, without anie great bloodshed, condescended to haue peace, which was concluded with these conditions: that king Edward should paie vnto the Danes a thousand pounds of gold, for the which they should content themselves with those lands which they had alreadie in possession, and to inuade no further vpon the Englishmen; but contrariwise to be readie to fight in their defense, if anie forreine enemy sought to make anie warres vpon them. In the meane time, whilste Malcolme was thus in England occupied in aid of king Edward against the Danes, king Constantine thought the time to serue verie well for his purpose, to reduce all those regions of Scotland, which toke part with his aduersarie (the foresaid Malcolme) vnder his subjection.

Malcolme thought himselfe too weak

Lacke of vittells caused Constantine to breake vp his campe.

King Edward, or rather Ethelred, purchased peace of the Danes.

Malcolme is readie to helpe king Edward against the Danes.

King Edward made peace with the Danes.

King Constantine rent ed warre with Malcolme.

Constantine joined battell with Kenneth the bastard.

He assembled therefore twentie thousand men, and comming into Louthian, heard how Kenneth the bastard aforesaid (being left by his brother Malcolme to resist Constantines attempts) had got together an huge armie of his brothers friends, and was come vnto Cratmond, where the riuer falleth into the Forth, thre miles from Edenburgh, purposing there to abide his enemies, if they minded to assaile him. Constantine hereupon halted thither, wards, and comming within sight of his enemies, straightwaies ioined battell with them; immediatlie therewith there rose such an outrageous tempest of wind, comming out of the east, & dining the land in the faces of Constantines men, that they were not able to see about them to make anie defense against

A. ii.

gainst

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sebowes ie bent, en.

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King Con-
stantine is
slaine.

1002

Grime.

Grime used
liberalitie and
gentlenesse
towards Con-
stantines
friends.

Malcolme
prince of
Cumberland
is moued a-
gainst
Grime.
A good coun-
sell.

Malcolme
sendeth priu-
tie to the lords
of Scotland.

Malcolme
his promise
vnto the
Scots.

Malcolme his
messengers
are committed
to prison.

Malcolme be-
ing offended
therewith, ga-
thered an ar-
mie.

Grime is of
greater force
than Mal-
colme.

Malcolme
should not
haue his peo-
ple to under-
stand the
trueth thereof.

His aduise
is
nailed not.

gainst their enemies that then pressed vpon them right eagerlie. By means wherof the discomfort lighted vpon Constantines side, though neither part had ante great cause to reioise: for in the hottest of the fight, Constantine and Kenneth chanced to encounter together, and so fighting man to man, either slue other. Thus Constantine ended his life by dint of the enemies sword, in the third yeare of his reigne, & in the yeare after the incarnation 1002, & his bodie was buried in Colmekill amongst his predecessors.

Then Grime nephew to king Duffe, hearing of the slaughter made betwixt king Constantine and Kenneth, gathered together the residue of Constantines armie, being scattered abroad after the ouerthrow, supposing that by the death of Kenneth, the partie of his brother Malcolme was soe weakened, & therevpon he came vnto the abbey of Scone, and there caused himselfe to be crowned king, as lawfull successor vnto Constantine, by force of the old laws and ordinances of the realme. And to establish himselfe the more firmelie in the state, he shewed great gentlenesse towards all them that were friends vnto Constantine, and bestowed vpon them manie bountious gifts. Neither was his liberalitie shut vp from other that had fauored Malcolme, for to the end he might allure them to beare him good will, he rewarded them highlie both in lands and treasure: but other of the same faction, whome he saw by no means could be wonne, he caused them to be proclaimed traitors, and confiscated their goods as rebels to his person, and enemies to the crowne.

Malcolme prince of Cumberland soe moued in his mind that Grime had thus taken vpon him the crowne, called his friends together, requiring to haue their aduise, which way he were best to worke in this so great a matter. They counselled him in no wise he should despise the force of his enemies, but rather to assaie by all means to draw those nobles vnto his purpose, which were assidant vnto Grime. Wherevpon Malcolme following the counsell of his friends, sent forth secret messengers vnto those lords that took part with Grime, requiring them to remember their promised faith, giuen vnto his father king Kenneth, concerning the obseruance of the law established by their consent for the succession of their kings: which if they would do in renouncing their obissance vnto the usurper Grime, he promised to gouerne the realme with equall iustice, that no estate in reason should find cause to mislike with his doings. Manie of the nobles by means of this message revolted from the said Grime soliciting their friends by earnest trauell to do the like. But other & the greater number took those that brought the message, & sent them as prisoners vnto Grime, who presentlie committed them to prison.

Malcolme soe offended therewith, by counsell of his friends, assembled an armie to go against them, that (contrarie to the law of all nations, as he seemed to take the matter) had imprisoned his seruants and messengers: but as he was marching forward on his purposed iournie, he heard by the way, how his aduersarie king Grime had gathered a farre greater power than he had with him, not onlie of all such of the Scottish nation inhabiting beyond the riuers of Forth and Clide, but of them also of the wessterne Isles. Malcolme doubting least if the certaintie hereof were once broued amongst his people, the same would increase the terror more than needed; he gave commandement therfore that no maner of taight should be suffered to come into his armie, vntill he were first brought to his presence. But this deuise nothing auailed him: for thereby, that which he desired to be concealed and kept most secret, became the more manifest,

by reason that such as had some inkling of the matter, told it from one to another; making it much more than it was in deed. For there rose a murmuring amongst them, that there was such treason contriued, that if Malcolme with his armie went forward to ioine with his aduersaries, he should not be in danger onelie of them, which he knew to come against him in Grimes host; but also of no small number of them which were in his owne armie, who vpon the tothing had determined to turne their speare points against him in Grimes quarrell.

This rumor passing from one to another, put the whole number in great feare. It was first raised by certaine merchantmen, of whome there was a great number in Malcolms host, hauing more skill in buiseng and selling, than in anie warlike feats or enterprises. These at the first suing for licence to depart home, and could haue no grant, began to lament their miseries, in such dolefull wise, that all the campe was troubled with the noise; insomuch that euen the old men of warre, and diuerse of the capteins were not a little discomforted and amazed with such wailefull clamors. Malcolme being aduertised hereof, thought not good to match in battell against his fierce enemies with his people thus assorted through dread and terror, and therefore gaue licence to the most part of his host to depart for that time, and abroad onelie with certaine bands of his most faithfull friends nere to the water of Forth, to stop his enemies from passing ouer that riuier.

Whilist the realme of Scotland was thus disquieted and troubled with ciuill discord, Fothadus the great bishop of Scotland, a man of right approved vertue and clemencie, soe lamenting to see his countrie thus diuided and rent as it were in peces, got him into his pontificall bestures, with a multitude of other reuerend priests and ecclesiasticall ministers, in humble wise comming and presenting themselves before king Grime, who with great reuerence receiuing them, willed to vnderstand the cause of their comming. Then Fothadus answered, that he was come as the seruant of Christ, the author of all peace and concord, beseeching him by way of humble supplication to take ruth and pittie of the great trouble and miserie fallen to the realme, since the time he had taken the gouernance vpon him, the state of things being such, as if some redyelle were not found in all speedie wise, the vtter ruine of the common-wealth must needs insue, by reason of the sundrie debates and factions daile rising among the people of all sorts and degrees, so that murders, robberies, rapes, with all other kinds of iniuries & mischiefes were still put in practise without restraint or punishment, in such licentious sort that no man could assure himselfe of his owne: for whether it were within dores, or without, the robber was as redie to laie hands on it as the owner. Neither was there anie hope of reformation so long as the ciuill wars lasted. Therefore if it might stand with the pleasure of king Grime in reliefe of the poore commons of Scotland, to condescend vnto some necessarie agreement with Malcolme, Fothadus offered to undertake to conclude a peace betwixt them, in such wise as should in no maner of behalfe be preiudiciall to his honor and roiall maiestie.

Grime moued with the words of the bishop (who most instantlie besought him, although the calamitie and great affliction of his people did but little mollifie his heart; yet in respect of his owne suertie, which might not continue if his people were once destroyed, to remit part of his high displeasure) answered, that peace he could be contented to haue, so the same might be concluded with his honor saued: for suchlike wars he neuer desired but onelie in defense

A brute speeche
in Malcolmes
arme of trea-
son.

Merchant-
men authors
of the rumor.

Forth
goeth
Malcolme

Malcolme
leth.

Grime
anted
Malcolme
motio

Forthe
diligent
procure
partie
gram

The
things
peace
Grime
Malcolme

The fruits of
ciuill warre.

Fothadus
undertaketh
to conclude a
peace betwixt
the parties.

Grimes ar-
mies were to
be had.

of

of his god title and right, which he had to the crowne descended vnto him by the old lawes and ancient ordinances of the realme, and therefore he purposed not to leaue the same with life, but to fight for it against Malcolme, and all his partakers, euen vnto death. But if it were so, that Malcolme would content himselfe with the principalltie of Cumberland, and so thereupon breake vp his campe, and depart south of the lands pertaining vnto the crowne, he would gladlie come to a communication with him for peace; but if Malcolme refused thus to doe, he assured him that he would not leaue off to pursue him to the bittermost of his power, as his most cruell and fierce entinie.

Fothadus hearing Crimes words, he sought him to stae a tunc, till he might go vnto Malcolme, to vnderstand what his full mind was in this behalfe not doubting but to find him conformable vnto anie reasonable motion, for relieuing of the poore afflicted state of the land. Crime granting vnto this request, Fothadus in like sort and habit as he came vnto Crime, went vnto Malcolme, whome he found at Sterling; where comming before his presence with a long oration, he greatlie bewailed the dolorous calamities of the Scottish common-wealth, into the which it was fallen through ciuill sedition onlie, and herewith declared also by great likelihood of substantiall reasons, how infortunat and miserable the end should be of the warres, if the same were pursued to the bittermost. His tale being thoughtlie heard and well digested, wasought to with Malcolme, that he promised to withdraw into Cumberland without anie further attempt, if Crime would in like case breake vp his campe, and agree to haue a truce for three moneths space, in which meane time they might by certeine commissioners appointed and authorized thereto, talke and common for concluding of a small peace and concord betwixt them.

Crime refused not this offer, and so thereupon licenced his people to depart to their homes, repairing himselfe with certeine of his nobles into Angus vnto the castell of Forfar, there to take further aduise what was to be done touching the appointed communication of peace. But Fothadus would in no wise rest, till the commissioners were met and assembled together in communication at Scone, where within few daies after (chiefly through his earnest diligence) peace was concluded with these conditions. First, that Crime during his life time should inioy the crowne, and after his decesse the same to remaine to Malcolme & his heirs by lineall descent for euer, according to the ordinance & decree made & established by R. Kenneth. And whosoener should go about either by word or deed to impeach or hinder the said ordinance and decree, should be reputed for a traitor to the common-wealth & realme. Furthermoze all the lands lieng betwixt Southian & Northumberland, and betwixt Clide and Westmerland, euen from the Almaine seas to the Irish seas, should presentlie remaine & be transported vnto the dominion & gouernement of Malcolme, with the which contenting himselfe, during the naturall life of Crime, he should continue in friendship with the said Crime, & so in no wise stirre or moue anie warre or debate, either against him or anie of his friends: for if he did, and went about to breake anie of the articles of this peace, he should not onelie lose those lands which he now held, but also be deprived of all the right, title, claime, and interest which either he or his posteritie might make or pretend vnto the crowne at anie time hereafter.

When both the princes had bound themselves by solemn othes to performe euerie point and point in these articles comprised, they laid arms aside,

and began to take order for reforming of all misde-meanours, which had happened within the land, by reason of the ciuill contention moued betwixt them and their partakers. Howbeit, commandment was giuen by either of these princes, that their subiects should be still in a readinesse with armour and weapons (if need required) to defend themselves against all sudden inuasions of their neighbours, whereby it may be gathered, that the one had the other still in some mistrust, what countenance sooner they shewed outwardlie. Yet notwithstanding, for the space of 8 yeares together, the peace continued without breach, or any notable trouble betwixt them.

But Crime at length of a chaff & libellall prince, through long sloth and increase of riches, became a most conetous tyrant, and so corrupted in maners and conditions, that it passed the bounds of all reason and equitie: insomuch that when he had put vnto death diuerse of his nobles, to the end he might haue their lands and goods as forfeited by attainder, he oppressed the people by continuall exactions also each day moze than other. His subiects being thus brought into extreme miserie through his wicked and brutish gouernement, not knowing where to seke for redresse, saue onelie at the hands of almighty God, the punisher of all sinne, besought him to haue pitie of their afflictions and miseries, and to change the gouernment of the realme into some better state. The lords also hauing great indignation of the trouble fallen to the realme, by the kings misgouernance and auaricious crueltie, appointed a certeine number of gentlemen to go vnto him as ambassadozs from them, to require him to put alwaie from him such naughtie persons as by euill counsell had peruerterd his mind, & moued him to doe things contrarie to his honoz, and the wealth of his realme.

One of these ambassadozs (to whome the charge was giuen) had the words in name of them all, who comming before the kings presence, declared to him that they were sent from the residue of the nobles and pæres of his realme, to admonish him of things pertaining to the suertie of his estate, and common wealth of his dominions: which was, that whereas through persuation of euill counsellors he suffered manie enormities to be committed by his ministers and officers against his subiects, to their vtter impoverishment and bndoming, the rebuke whereof did rebound vnto his dishonour, if it would please him to remote out of his presence and seruiue all such disloiall persons as sought the hinderance of the common-wealth, he should win thereby the loue of all his liege subiects, which now could not but grudge and repine at this his gouernement, as men by the same brought into such calamitie, that better it were for them in their iudgements to be dead than alue, if reformation were not the sooner had against such enormities as his seruants and officers did daily practise, and for the which no doubt he must needs answer, with the sword was committed vnto him, not to such couetous persons; nor to oppress innocent and dealing people, but contrarie to punish and correct guiltie and vniuelt dealers.

When King Crime had heard what message these ambassadozs had brought, he answered to the same with fained words, and willed them under the pretext of countessie to a banquet, in purpose to haue put them all in prison: but they being aduertised thereof got them in all hast to their homes, and fled forthwith vnto Bertha, where the residue of the nobles at the sametime were assembled. Crime hauing thus no regard to the wholesome aduertisement of his nobles, thought that all things would come forthwith with his felicitie and hap as he wished, not ceasing from calling new painments and exactions still of

applied their studies to reforme misde-meanours.

King Crime his alteration from noble qualities vnto detestable vices.

The common peoples prayer

The lords require Crime to reforme the misde-meanours of his officers.

The office of the sword.

King Crime purposed to haue slain the messengers.

Fothadus goeth vnto Malcolme.

Malcolms offer.

Crime is contented with Malcolms motion.

Fothadus his diligence to procure the parties to agreement.

The conditions of the peace betwixt Crime and Malcolme.

The warres being ceased, the princes

The lords of Scotland are warre against Crime their king.

what mischief ensued.

Malcolme is required to relieve the Scottish estate.

Malcolme consenteth to make warres against Crime.

Crime assembleth an armie to encounter Malcolme. The camps were the one to the other. Crime's policie.

Malcolme request.

The battell betwixt Crime and Malcolme. Crimes part discomfited.

The end of king Crime.

his subjects, till at length he was advertised how his nobles had raised open warre against him, at which newes being sore kindled with displeasure, he got together a great number of men, and marched forth towards them that had so rebelled against him. Then followed more mischief and trouble than ever had bene sene afore that time in Scotland: for by reason of this civil dissention, castles were rased and overthrowne, townes burned up, corne destroyed, fields wasted, and the people staine in all places, yea as well in churches as elsewhere.

Malcolme prince of Cumberland hearing of such cruell wars as were thus raised in Scotland betwixt the king and the nobles of the realme, to the danger of the utter everision of the whole common-wealth, returned with all speed forth of England (where he was with an armie as then in aid of king Egeldred against the Danes) into his owne countrie for defense of his subjects, if anie attempt should happilie be made against them in that troublesome season. Howbeit, he was no sooner returned home, but the nobles of Northian came unto him, beseeching him to take pittie upon his miserable and forlorn countrie, & to imploie his whole force to remove away from the people such imminent destruction as daily hastened towards them, which to doo they thought it was partlie even his dutie, sith God had bestowed upon him such gifts, both of bodie, mind, and fortune, as most plentifullie appeared in him, not onelie for the weale of himselfe, but also of his friends & countrie, & therefore his part was to shew his earnest diligence to deliever the common-wealth of such tyrannie as was practised by the misgouvernement of Crime and his unhappie counsellors. Which being done, he might order all things as should like him best.

Malcolme moved with these and the like persuasions of the Scottish lords, which daily resorted unto him, resolved with promise of their support to leue warre against Crime in this so necessarie a quarrell, and so assembling a great puissance together, he did set forth towards his adversarie. By the way also there came still unto him great numbers of men from each side to aid him in this enterprisse, offering by solemn othes to become his liegemen and subjects. Crime likewise being advertised of those newes, with all speed got together such people as he might assemble for the time, and comming forthward with the same at the towne of Auchnabart, both the armies pitched downe their tents, the one fast by the other, on the Ascension daie. Here Crime supposing that he might take his enemies at some advantage, if he came upon them on the sudden, for that being given to deuotion, they would looke for nothing lesse than for battell on that daie, he got forth of his campe in the dawning of that morning, in purpose forthwith to assaile them.

Notwithstanding, Malcolme being advertised thereof, sent unto Crime, requesting him to desist from battell for reverence of that blessed feast, but Crime would in no wise assent thereto, but needes would come on without stop or staie; whereupon both the armies rushing together met right fiercelie, so that in the beginning there was great slaughter made on both sides, but within a while king Crimes side was put to the worse, and in the end cleerlie discomfited. In the chase were manie slaine, but yet no such number as so notable a victorie required. It is said that Crime was taken alive standing at defense, & most fiercelie fighting, who being sore wounded in the head, had both his eyes put out, and afterwards continuing so in great miserie and languor certaine daies, at length departed out of this life, in the 9 yere of his reigne, and was buried in Colme.

kill, after the incarnation 1010 yeres.

After this victorie thus obtained by Malcolme, he called such noble men as were taken prisoners in this battell before him, using manie gentle wordes toward them, declaring that the right of the crowne appertained unto him, and that the warres which he had made, were not attempted against the common wealth of the Scottish estate, but rather in reliefe thereof, to the end the people might be deliuered of the tyrannie exercised by Crime and his counsellors. When he had thus uttered his mind unto them, he appointed a publicke assembly to be kept at Scone (for the election of a new king) there to be holden within 15 daies after. Whither the Scottish nobilitie comming together at the time & place appointed, and consenting to crowne Malcolme king, he utterly refused to receive the crowne, except the law established by his father Kenneth for the succession thereof were first confirmed and approved, whereupon the lords bound themselves by solemn othes to performe the same, and neuer to breake and violate it in anie condition. His request herein being granted with generall consent both of the nobles and commons, the crowne was set upon his head, he being placed in the chaire of marble, to the great reioicing of all the people present.

When the solemnitie of this coronation was ended, he called before him againe all the lords and peres of his realme; of the which, part had aided him in the last warres, and part had bene assistant unto his adversarie Crime: and there used the matter in such wise amongst them, that he made them all friends, each one promising to other to forget all former offenses, displeasures, and controuersies past, which he did to auoid all intestine trouble that might grow out of the rotes of such rancor and malice, as in time of the civil discorde had sprung up among them. Further, for the better administration of iustice in due forme and maner, he bestowed publicke offices upon discret persons, skilfull in the lawes and ordinances of the realme. Other offices pertaining to the warres & defense of the realme, he committed to such as were practised & trained in such exercises, so that iustice was ministered on all sides throughout the kingdome, with such equitie and by rightnesse, as had not bene heard of in anie age before him. Whilste the Scottish estate was gouerned in such happy wise, by the prudent policie of king Malcolme; it chanced that Sueno king of Danes landed in England with a mightie nauie, in purpose to reuenge the injuries done before unto his people by the Englishmen.

This Sueno (as appeareth more at large in the historie of Denmarke) first being an earnest persecutor of christian men, and punished by the diuine prouidence for his crueltie in that behalfe, shewed by sundrie overthrowes receiued at the enemies hands, as in being thasse taken prisoner, and in the end driven and expelled out of his kingdome, he came into Scotland for reliefe and succour, where through the wholesome instruction of goodlie and vertuous men, he renounced his heathenish beleafe, and receiued the christian faith, and being baptised, at length was restored home to his kingdome. Shortly after with a mightie armie of Danes, Gothes, Norwegians, and Swedeners, with other northerne people, he arrived (as is said) in England, and chased king Egeldred into Northumberland, who there receiuing aid from the Scots, according to the league which lately before he had contracted with them, he determined to trie the chance of battell with his enemies. Marching forwards therefore towards them, he came to the riuer of Wuse, nere to the banks whereof, not farre from Forke, he pitched downe

1004. 10. M.
1010. H. B.
Malcolme's words to the that were taken prisoners.

A parliament at Scone.

Malcolme refuseth the crowne but upon condition.

The ordinance of king Kenneth for the succession of the crowne is confirmed.

Malcolme

Malcolme agreeth the nobles of his realme.

Malcolme's wisdom in appointing officers.

Sueno king of Denmark landed in England.

Sueno converted to the christian faith in Scotland.

Egeldred (as the Scots write Egred) chased into Northumberland, getteth aid from the Scots.

Sueno's rage to the Scots.

The battell betwixt Crime & Malcolme.

The Crimen put to flight by Danes.

Egeldred capeth by night.

Sueno's all imagination.

The nobles of England their petition to Sueno.

Under the conversion Sueno liued the Englishmen in their own countrie.

do to his tents.

Suenos made
large to the
Scots.

Then Sueno not forgetfull of the benefits and pleasures received but latelie at the Scottishmens hands, sent an herald at armes unto them, commanding them to depart their waies home, and to refuse Egeldredes companie; either else to looke for most cruell battell at the hands of the Danes, the Norwegians, and others the people of Germanie, there ready bent to their destruction. Egeldred being aduertised that his aduersaries messenger was thus come into his campe, caused him to be staied and arrested for a spie. And the same day he brought forth his battels ready ranged into the fields, to trie the matter by dint of sword, if Sueno were so minded; who being desirous to accept the offer, brought forth also his people in perfect order and well arraigned to fight, so that there was no staie on either part, but that together they shue most fiercelie, & in such eger wise, that neither side had leasure to bestow their shot, but euen at the first they buckled together at handblowes, continuing certeine houres with great & cruell slaughter, till at length the Englishmen were put to flight, leauing the Danes a verie deere and bloodie victorie. The murder also that day of the Scots was great, but yet nothing to the number of the Englishmen. Egeldred himselfe with a few other, got a hote and passed ouer Duse, so escaping out of the enemies hands, but the rest were for the most part either taken or slaine.

The battell
between Egeldred & Sueno

The Englishmen put to flight by the Danes.

Egeldred escaped by flight.

Thus Egeldred being utterly vanquished and despairing of all recouerie, fled out of England ouer into Normandie, where he was verie friendlie received of Richard as then duke of Normandie, and afterwards purchased such fauour there amongst the Normans, that he married the ladie Emmie, daughter unto the said duke, and begot of hir two sonnes, Alured and Edward, as in the English chronicles more at large it doth appere. Sueno hauing thus ouercome his enemies, and now put in possession of the whole realme of England, was in mind to haue destroyed all the English generation, so to establish the kingdome to him and his posteritie for euer, without anie impeachment afterwards to be made by such as should succed of them that were then alieue. But the nobles of England aduertised of Suenos determination, came humble before his presence, & falling downe on their knees at his feet, besought him in most pittifull wise to haue compassion on their miserable estate, who in times past being a most puissant nation, both by sea and land, were now satisfied (if he would grant them life) to continue vnder what bondage and seruitude it should stand with his pleasure to persecute, for they desired neither possession of castles, townes, or other sovereignties, but onelie to liue with their wives and children vnder subiection within their owne native countrie, at the victors will and appointment.

Suenos cruel
imagination.

The nobles of
England their humble
petition unto
Sueno.

Under such
conditions
Sueno licensed
the Englishmen to liue
in their owne
countrie.

Sueno, albeit he was of nature verie cruell, yet he qualified his displeasure by this humble submission of the English nobilitie; in such sort, that he bled the victorie farre more gentle, than at the first he had purposed, commanding that the whole English nation should remaine in the countrie, but in such wise, as by no meanes they should presume to beare anie armes or weapon, but to applie themselves vnto husbandrie, and other seruile occupations vnder the gouernement of the Danes, vnto whom they should resigne and deliuer all their castles, forts, and strong holds: and taking an oth to be true liege men vnto Sueno, as their soueraigne lord and king; they should being in (to be deliuered vnto his use) all their weapons and armes, with other munition for the warres, also all their gold and silver, as well in plate as coine. If anie of the Englishmen refused this

proclamation was made that he should immediatly lose his life as a rebell and a disobedient person. These conditions were hard, and hardlie tryed. The Englishmen were brought vnto such an extremitie, that they were faine to accept these conditions of peace, for other meane to avoid present death they knew none. And thus was the dominion of England conquered by the Danes, after the Saxons had reigned in the same 564 yeeres.

Such tyrannie also after this was bled by the Danes, that none of the English nation was admitted to anie office or rule within the realme, either spirituall or temporall, but were utterly remoued from the same, and some of them cast in prison and daile put in hazard of their liues. Finaltie, the Englishmen were brought into such miserable thraldome, that euery household within the realme was constrained to receiue and find at his owne proper costs and charges, one Dane, who should continually giue good watch what was said or done in the house, and to aduertise the king thereof, for doubt of conspiracies or treasons to be contriued and practised against his person and roiall estate. This Dane by the godman of the house and his familie, for hono? sake, was called lord Dane, which word was afterwards turned to a name of reproch, as where anie idle person liued loitering, without the use of some honest exercise to get his lining withall, the people were and yet are accustomed to call him a lordaine.

Thus farre out of Hector Boetius we haue shewed of Suenos doings in England, the which although it agree not in all points with our English histories, yet with the historie of Scotland in this place seemeth partlie to hang thereon, we haue thought good to set it downe as we find it in the same Boetius: but aduertising the reader withall, that if our histories be true, this which followeth touching Suenos invading of Scotland, chanced before that Egeldred, whome the Scottish writers name Eldred, was duen to flee into Normandie. For when that Sueno lastlie returned into England, and constrained Egeldred so to forsake the land, he liued not long after but departed this life about Candelmas, in the yeere 1014 (as in the English histories ye may read more at large) not hauing time to make anie such iourne into Scotland: so that it may be thought, if he did enterpise anie such exploit there, it was before this his last arrivall in England.

But now to proceed according to that which we find in the foresaid Boetius. Sueno hauing spoiled the Englishmen of their liberties (in manner before remembred, or rather brought them to become tributaries vnto him, as at the first time of his arrivall here he did in ded, he thought it necessarie, for the more security of his estate in England, to conclude some peace or league with his neighbours the Normans, Britains, & Scots, vnder condition that they should not support anie Englishman against him. But forsomuch as he could not compasse his intention herein, he furnished all the castles and fortresses on the sea-coasts, ouer against Normandie, with men, munition, and vittels, to resist all sudden inuasions that might be attempted on that side. And on the other part towards the north, he made all the prouision he could devise to make mostall waies vpon the Scots: and the more to annoie his enemies, he sent commandement vnto Olanus his lieutenant in Normandie, and to Onetus his deputie in Denmarke, to come with all the power they might leaue into Scotland, to make warres on his enemies there.

Whereupon shortly after those foresaid capitaines arrived with a huge armie in the mouth of Speite, and landed in such puissant order, that the tributaries of Spaine fled out of their houses, with their

529. H.B.

The miserie of the Englishmen vnder the bondage of the Danes.

The name of lordaine how it came by.

Sueno landed here this last time of his coming forth of Denmark into England in the yeere 1013, & departed this life in the beginning of February, in the yeere 1014

Sueno prepared to invade the Scots.

Olanus, and Onetus.

The Danes land in Scotland.

The crueltie
of the Danes.

their wiues, children, and goods (such as they could conueie auaile with them) into places where they thought to remaine most out of danger. But the Danes, after their manner, burne and spoile all before them, as well churches and chapels, as other buildings and edifices. Such of the people as could not flee in time, but by chance fell into their hands, were slaine without all mercie. Also all the strengths and holds in the countrie were taken by the Danes, these castles onelie excepted: that is to say, Elgin, Forres, and Barne, which the Danes named afterwards Burg, and for that they trusted (when the same was toone) the other two would yield without anie further defense, they first laid siege vnto this castell of Barne, inforcing themselves with all their power to win it: but in the meane time, they were informed how Malcolme the Scottish king was come within fife miles of them with all the forces of his realme to giue them battell.

The castell of
Barne belie-
ged.

Malcolme
tendeth am-
bassadors to
the Danes.

The Danes
slee the am-
bassadors.

The Scots
through feare
are assumed.

Malcolms
words to his
nobles.

Loncart.

Albion the se-
pulture of
Danes.

Incontinentlie hereupon they raised their siege, and hasted forth to meet him, with no lesse courage than if victorie were already present in their hands. Shortly after, there came vnto them heralds also from Malcolme, to understand what they had thus inuaded his realme with open and most cruell warre, hauing no occasion giuen by him or his subjects so to do: who scarcely had done their message, but that they were slaine forthwith by cruell outrage of the Danes. Malcolme being sore moued to understand the law obserued by all nations for the safetie of messengers to be thus violated by the enemies, kept on his iourne with the more fierce courage, till he came to a meadow a little beside Killos, where he encamped for that night. Great noise and clamour was heard throughout the armie, euery man being desirous of battell, to reuenge the injuries done by the Danes against their friends and countrymen: notwithstanding on the morrow, when they saw their enemies in farre greater number, and in better order than ever had bene sene by anie of them before that time, their hart began to war faint, hauing greater care which waie to saue their owne liues, than to giue the onset vpon their enemies.

Malcolme perceiuing such dread to be entred into the hearts of his people, that they were now more like to run auaile than to fight, if he should bring them forth to battell, got him to a little hill, and calling his nobles about him, he declared vnto them how he could not but detest their great cowardise, that were thus assailed at the first sight of their enemies, without further trial of their forces. ¶ At home (said he) ye are most hardie and valiant, where no danger appereth. What rebuke then is it vnto you, to be thus faint hearted (now that ye are come where valiance should be shewed) in degenerating so far from your worthie fathers and noble progenitors, the which at Loncart vnder the conduct of my father Kenneth, obtained so famous a victorie of the selfe same nation, whose furious puillance ye sene now so much to feare: There hath bene triall made in battell with this enemy in our time, both within the bounds of Scotland, and also of England, to the great honor and renowne of our elders. What discomfitures the Danes haue receiued are yet fresh in memorie, so manie of them losing their liues amongst vs, that Albion may well be reckoned the sepulture of Danes; as some of you can well record by your owne remembrance, and other haue heard by report of their forefathers and ancestors. Ye ought then (said he) to be of good courage, rather than to faint now at need, considering ye haue to doe with those enemies, who are but the remnant of the other, which before haue bene vanquished and ouerthrowne by Scottishmen, both at Loncart, and in diuerse other

places; yea and besides that, such as mounting warres now at this present without iust occasion, haue violated the lawes both of God and man, deseruing thereby iust vengeance at Gods hands, the punisher of all such vniust offenders. There is great hope therefore of victorie (said he) left vnto all such as fight against these enemies, if we take manlie parts vnto vs, and shew our selues in valiant constancie like to our elders, whereby it shall then appere what outrageous follie remained in the Danes, to inuade vs without occasion of injuries preceding. Therefore if ye haue not more regard to the safetie of your fraile bodies, which must needs at length perish, than to the defense and preservation of your common countrie; why passe ye not forward, sith there is now no place nor time to take longer aduise in the matter, as ye may well vnderstand by the presence of the enemy ready to iointe?

The nobles moued with these words of their prince, began boldlie to exhort their people to battell. Incontinentlie therupon rose such noise and raging furie through the armie, that without measuring either their owne forces or their enemies, they rush forth vpon them without anie order or good arate. Malcolme & Onetus beholding the Scots to come thus furiously against them, boldlie incourted them with arrayed battels. Whereupon ensued a verie terrible fight, with great manhood shewed on both sides, nothing being let passe that might appertene to worthie captiues: the Scots inforcing themselves to defend their countrie and ancient liberties on the one side, and the Danes doing their best endeavour by valiant hardinesse to saue their liues and honors on the other. At length, after huge murder & slaughter made on both parts, the Scots were put to flight, Malcolme was sore wounded, & had his helmet so fast beaten to his head, that it might not well be got off, yet was he conueied out of the field in manner for dead, and kept secret in a wood, till he was somewhat amended, and then got him into places out of danger. The Danes hauing got this victorie, and gathered the spoile of the field, returned to besiege againe the castell of Barne, with more force and violence than before.

This castell in those daies was inclosed on each side with the sea, hauing one narrow passage as an entrie vnto it, made by craft of man in manner of a bridge. Those that were within it, hauing knowledge of the querthow and losse of the field, rendered the fortrese, on condition, that leauing all their armor, weapon, and other munitions behind them, they might depart with their liues and other goods saued. Fewer thelesse the Danes, contrarie to their faith giuen, being once entred the castell, hanged all those which they found within it ouer the wals, in most despightfull manner. Thus was Barne toone by the Danes, the strongest hold within Murray land, and so garnished with men, munition, and vittels, that it was thought impregnable. When those soldiers which kept Elgin and Forres, hearing what crueltie the Danes had thus used, fled out of those castles, and left them void without anie person to defend them. The Danes reioicing at this good fortune, trusted to establish themselves sure seates in Murray land, and thereupon sent backe their ships into Norway and Denmark, to fetch from thence their wiues and children. In the meane time they constrained such Scots as they had laid hands on, to reape and inne the corne growing abroad in the fields, vnto their use and commodity.

Malcolme being aduertised of all these things, doubting least by the arrivall of new aid his enemies might grow more puissant, in the beginning of the next summer he assembled a great multitude of war-
riors,

partly

The S
and Da
one afe
another.

The S
forced to
flee.

The Scots
without order
rush forth to
battell.

The Scots
put to flight.
Malcolme is
wounded.

Malcolme
prayer.

Topos
is to God
our ladie,
saint Ag
for to be i
them tog
according
the man
that time.

The castell of
Barne ren-
dered by com-
position.

The Danes
breakers of
faith and pro-
mise.

The S
often times
new batt

Elgin and
Forres left
void.

Onetus is
slaine.

Spurthlake.

The Scots
and Danes
are afraid of
another.

The Scots
were to re-
fuge.

Scots
out order
loath to
it.

Scots
flight
colme
idol.

Malcolme
prayer.

Upon that
is to God, and
our labie, and
saint Holoke,
for to be com-
mend them together
according to
the manner of
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y com-
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Danes
ers of
ind pro

The Scots
sometimes re-
new battell.

Dnetus is
sane.

ers and came in good order and most warlike arraie unto Spurthlake, a towne of Spar, where the first erection of the bishops see of Abirden was founded. Here the one armie comming in sight of the other, they were suddenlie both amazed. For the Scots having had too much experience of the crueltie shewed afore time by the Danes, were put in no small feare now at the plaine & open sight of them. The Danes being farre off from the sea side, and upon an unknowne ground, were more afraid of some guilefull practise, than of the open violence and force of their enemies. Yet neuertheless in the end, by the encouragement of the captains on both sides, they buckled together with great fiercenesse and most cruell malicious hatred on eche hand.

In the first brunt three valiant captaine, that is to say, Kenneth of Gla, Crime of Stratherne, and Patrike of Dunbar, rushing ouer fiercelie on their enemies, were slaine, and gaue occasion to manie of the Scottishmen to flie, but the place was such, that they could not well make their course anie waie forth, by reason of the narrownesse thereof, fenced on either side with deepe trenches full of water and mud: also in trauerses were laid sundrie trees, as it had bene of purpose to impeach the passage, deuised in that sort (as was thought) in time of some ciuill warres. Here though Malcolme like a valiant champion, did his best to staie them that fled, yet was he borne backe with the presse, till he came to the middelt of this place, where stood a chappell dedicated in the honor of saint Holoke, the which Malcolme beholding, cast vp his hands towards heauen, making his prayer on this wise. ¶ Great God of vertue, rewarder of pietie, and punisher of sinne, we thy people seeking to defend our native countrie granted to vs of thy beneuolence, as now destitute of all mortall helpe, and thus oppressed with the inturious inuasion of Danes, doe flee unto thee in this our extreme necessitie, beseeching thee to haue compassion vpon our miserable estate: remoue (oh mercifull lord) this dreadfull terror from thy people. And oh thou mother of God, the sweet refuge of mortall people in their distresse and miseries: and thou saint Holoke to whom this chappell was dedicate, helpe vs at this present, and in the honor of you I here make a vow to build a cathedral church for a bishops see, to remaine as a monument, to testifie vnto our posteritie, that by your support our realme hath bene defended.

Scarcelie had Malcolme made an end of this prayer, when diners of the noble with a loud voice, as though they had bene assured that his prayer was heard, cried to their companies; Stand god fellows, for fuerlie it is the pleasure of almightie God, that we returne and renew the battell against our enemies. Here vpon rose a wonderfull noise amongst the souldiers, eche one encouraging other to withstand the enemies, and to fight in most manfull wise in defence of their countrie and ancient liberties, & forthwith as it had bene by miracle they returned vpon their enemies, making great slaughter on eche side, without regard to their lines or bloodie wounds, which they boldlie and without feare receited. Here with Malcolme with an ambushment of stout warriors came vpon Dnetus, who was prancing vp and dooene the field without anie helmet on his head, as though the Scots had bene already without reconer clearlie discomfited, and so there was he beaten downe before his horse, and amongst the footmen slaine out of hand. The residue of the Danes beholding the slaughter of their captaine, staied from further pursue on the Scots. Hereof insued great boldnesse to the Scots, and discouragement to the Danes: albeit the battell continued still a long space, the souldiers doing their best on either side, till

at length the Danes were put to flight, manie of them being slaine, and but few taken. Dnetus beholding the discomfiture of his people, & how his companion in authoritie was slaine, fled into Spurthlake with a small companie about him.

The next day, Malcolme considering what a number of his most valiant captaine he had lost in this battell, diuided the spoile of the field amongst his men, and ceassing from further pursue of the Danes at that time went into Angus, where he remained the residue of the yere within the castell of Forfar, taking counsell with his nobles touching the publicke affaires of the realme, and how to reconer his countrie of Spurthlake out of the enemies hands. King Dnetus hearing in the meane time how infortunatly his people had sped thus in Scotland and at the battell of Spurthlake, in reuenge thereof determined to inuade the Scots with two mightie nations, the one to be rigged in England, and to come forth of the river of Thames: and the other to be sent from Denmarke, one Camus a Dane, verie expert in warlike knowledge, being appointed to be gouernor of all the men of warre that should come from both those parties.

The yere next insuing, both these fleets according to commandement and order giuen, arrived and met together within the mouth of the Forth, nere to saint Ebbes head. Here Camus going about to land his men, was kept off by the stout resistance of the Scots, there assembled for the same intent. Camus then plucking vp the sailes, directed his course vnto the Ile of Sketh, where riding at anchor for the space of one moneth, and abiding for some prosperous wind, at length when the same came once about, he passed from thence vnto the Redbrazes, called in Latine *subram promontorium*, & there landed his whole armie, before the countrie could be gathered to resist him. Camus being once landed, got him to the next hill, and beholding the ruine of the towne of Montros, which a few yeres before had bene destroyed by the Danes, he reioiced not a little, for that his chance was to come on land in the selfe same place where the Danes had earli vanquished their enemies, hoping of like lucke in this his enterpryse and present expedition.

After this, he toke his iourne through Angus, sparing no manner of crueltie that might be deuised: cities, townes, villages, and churches, with all manner of other buildings publicke and priuate were consumed with fire. At his comming to Brechin, for that the castell there in those daies was of such strength, that it might not be easilie wonne, he caused the towne and church being right faire and sumptuouslie built in honor of the Trinitie (to whom it was dedicated) to be spoiled, & so rased to the earth, that one stone was not left standing vpon an other. With these and the semblable cruelties, Camus raging both against God and man, was finally abuertised that king Malcolme was come to Dundee with all the power of Scotland. Then suddenly he toke the next way towards the sea side, comming the next day following vnto a village called Balbrid, where he pitched downe his tents. The same day, king Malcolme making all hast possible to succour his subiects, and preserue the countrie from the cruell outrage of the Danes, came to the towne of Barre two little miles from the place, where his enemies were incamped. In the morning he drew into the field, in purpose to giue them open battell.

But before he arraied his battels, he called his nobles and captaine together, desiring them to consider how they should match in fight against people blinded with vile auarice, lining on the spoile and pilage

The Danes
put to flight.

Dnetus hath
into Spurth-
lake.

Scots prepa-
red a new ar-
my to inuade
Scotland.

Camus ap-
pointed cap-
taine generall
of the Danes.

Saint Ebbes
head.
The Scots
have off the
Danes from
landing.

Camus with
his armie lan-
ded at the
Redbrazes.

Camus mar-
sheth through
Angus.
The crueltie
of the Danes.

The towne
and church of
Brechin des-
troyed.

King Mal-
colme hastily
forward to
fight with the
Danes.

Malcolme
operation.

lage got by theuerie, and not by ante fast warres: enemies not onelie to the christian faith, but also to all innocent people, whome they sought vniuſſie to inuade, without hauing occasion so to do, saue onelie vpon an inſatious meaning to liue by spoile of other mens goods, wherein they haue no maner of proprietie. He willed them therfore to remember how they were come thus against those enemies in defense of their native countrie, appointed vndoubtedlie by God to reuenge the cruell iniuries done by the Danes against his name, and people that professed the same. They ought not then to measure force in number of souldiers, but rather in manhood and valiance of heart. Camus likewise exhorted his people, not vsing manie words, but yet pithie, desiring them to remember how it behoued them either to win immortall fame by victorie, either else to die with miserie in an vnconouth land, by the hand of their most fierce and cruell enemies.

Camus exhorted his Danes.

The nature of valiant hearts and noble stomachs.

A bloudie battell.

Malcolme swineth the field. Camus is slaine.

An obeliske.

The house of Beithes advanced to honoz.

Danes slaine at Abirleimon.

Herewith Malcolme imbattelling his people, brought them forth stronglie ranged in god order to incounter the Danes, which likewise approached towards him in god arrate of battell. His heart was filled the more with hope of victorie, for that he had tried sundrie times before the force of the enemies in diuers conflicts and encounters. For such is the nature of noble and valiant stomachs, the more experience they haue in honorable enterprises, the more are they kindled in desire to shew their powers in famous acts and worthie attempts. The armies here vpon on both sides, fiercelie rushing together, began a battell right cruell & terrible, continuing certaine houres with such bloudshed, that the riuer of Lochtee ran with a purple hue downe into the Almaine seas. The fields also where they fought, though they were full of sand (as the nature of the soile giueth) yet were they made moist by the abundance of blood spilled in the same. Manie there were so earnestlie bent to be reuenged on the enemy, that after they had their deaths wound, they would run themselves forward vpon their aduersaries weapon, till they might close with him, inforcing their uttermost powers to dispatch him also; so that diuers were seene to fall to the ground together fast grasping one another, and so immediatlie both of them to die withall: such burning hatred kindled their hearts, that thus were they wholie set on reuenge. At length yet the honoz of the field remained with Malcolme.

Camus perceiving the discomfort to light on his side, with a small companie about him thought to haue escaped by flight vnto the next mounteins, but being pursued of his enemies, he was slaine by them per he was got two miles from the place of the battell. The place where he was slaine, is named after him vnto this day, and called Camestone, where is an obeliske set vp in memorie of the thing, with his picture grauen therein, and likewise of those that slue him. The principall fear of Camus was one Beith, a young gentleman of right hardie courage, whose seruice in the battell was verie notable, in recompense whereof he was rewarded by king Malcolme, with sundrie lands and faire possessions in Louthian. His familie (saith Hector Boetius) hath and doth continue in great honoz amongst Scottishmen euen vnto this day, and is decorated with the office of the marshallship of Scotland, to the high renowne and fame thereof, amongst the chieffest peers of the realme.

An other companie of the Danes fleeing from this ouerthrow were slaine at Abirleimon, not past foure miles from Bechin, where is set vp a great stone or obeliske, grauen with certaine characters or letters, to aduertise them that passe that waies

forth, of this slaughter of Danes there made by our worthie elders. The residue of the Danes that escaped with life from the field, hauing certeine Scottishmen to their guides corrupted with monie fled to their ships, declaring to their fellows that mishap had fortuned. King Malcolme after he obtained this famous victorie (as before is said) at Barre, he caused the spoile of the field to be diuided amongst his souldiers, according to the lawes of armes; and then caused the dead bodie of the Danes to be buried in the place where the field had bene fought, and the bodies of the Scottishmen which were found dead were conueied vnto the places of christian burfall, and there buried with funerall obsequies in sundrie churches and churchyards. There are seene manie bones of the Danes in those places where they were buried, there lieng bare aboue ground euen vnto this day, the sands (as it often chanceth) being blown from them. The other Danes, which escaped to their ships, pulled vp sailes to haue passed into Murray land vnto Danus, but remaining on the seas the space of foure daies together, tossed to and fro by contrarie winds, at length by a streinable east wind they were driuen vpon the coast of Buchquhane, and through want of conuenable harbrough were in present danger to haue bene cast away. At length, after they had ridden at anchor in the Firth there, to their great displeasure a long space, and finding no prosperous winds to depart from the shore, for that their vittels began to faile them, they set fue hundred of their best and lustiest souldiers on land, to fetch in some bottie or pzele of cattell, therewith to relieue their hunger and famine. They that were thus sent forth, being perfectlie appointed with armour and weapon, ranged abroad till they had got together a great number of beasts, with the which drawing towards their ships, they were incourbed by the way by Sparnachus the thane of Buchquhane accompanied with the power of that countrie, whose force when they saw how they were not well able to resist without some aduantage of place, they got them by into an high crag, where, with tumbling downe stones vpon the Scottishmen as they mounted by towards them, they caused them somewhat to staie; but at length through the earnest exhortation of Sparnachus, the Scots (as people inflamed with wood desire to be reuenged) mounted the hill in despight of their enemies, though diuers of them were slaine in that assault. Those which won the height of the crag vpon the Danes, made such a cruell battell with them, that there was not one Dane that escaped their hands.

This conflict was fought nere vnto Gemmer a village or towne in Buchquhane, where, in memorie thereof, lie manie great bones of the Danes to be seene yet euen vnto these daies. It should appeare by the same bones, that men in former time were of more huge growth and stature, than they be at this present. The other Danes which were on ship board, vnderstanding what had happened to their fellows (because they returned not againe to the ships) so some as the wind came about for their purpose, hoisted up sailes, and toke their course forthright towards Murray land. In the meane time king Sueno hearing of these ouerthrowes, which his people had in such sort receiued at the Scottishmens hands, as a prince of a right haughtie courage, not lightlie overcome with anie aduerser fortune, made preparation in all speedie wise to be reuenged, appointing his brother Canute, as then hauing the administration of Denmarke; to come from thence with a new flée and armie against the Scots. It is said, that this Canute, according to order prescribed him by his brother Sueno, landed first in Buchquhane, and destroyed

The binding of the spoile.

Bones of Danes.

Sparnachus thane of Buchquhane.

Danes slaine nere vnto Gemmer.

Sueno prepareth the third time to invade Scotland. Canute brother vnto Sueno, ap-

points fall to ground Scot.

king come mount

The men vnto king Iance

The giuen.

The Swan II of victorie it

Peace ded for of pore mainte battell The a of the p betwix Dane, Scoti

The by Scotland liued the Da to the S mens h Canute neth the Denma

printed gene-
rall to come
against the
Scots.

destroyed a great part of that countrie by fire and sword, in reuenge of the slaughter of his countrymen the Danes, which had bene there made lately before.

King Mal-
colme deter-
mination.

Malcolme soe kindled in wrath by these injuries, though through continuance of the wars his power was greatly decayed, yet did he assemble an armie with all speed he could deuise, and marched with the same towards the Danes, in purpose to slay them with often skirmishes and light encounters, but in no wise to leaopard with them in anie pitch field or generall battell, for feare least if he had the opportunity, he should not be able to furnish a new power for defense of his countrie, against the rage of the enemies. For the space therefore of sixtene daies together, there was often skirmishing betwixt the parties. The which terme being expired, the Scots beholding so huge murder of their countrymen and friends, with the spoile of the fields, and destruction of the townes and villages, burning and blasfing on each side before their faces, they came to king Malcolme, and desired him that he would grant them licence to fight with their enemies, protesting plainely, that if he would not consent thereto, they would giue battell at their owne choise.

The Scottish-
mens request
into their
king for li-
cence to fight.

Malcolme perceiving the earnest minds of his people to encounter their enemies in plaine field, and that he might no longer protract the time, he granted their petition, and therewith beseeching them to remember their honors and duties: incontinentlie the onset was giuen with great hatred and malice on either part, so that most egerlie continuing in fight a long time, they enforced themselves to rid each other out of life: so that all the nobles well nere on both sides were slaine, the name of victorie rather than the victorie it selfe remaining with the Scots, who were so fable and saint with long fight & slaughter, that in the end of the battell they were not able to pursue those few of the Danes, which escaping with life fled faintlie out of the field. And so for that night, which followed the day of this bloudie battell, they lodged here and there in severall places, at aduenture as well as they might.

The onset is
giuen.

The Scots
wan the name
of victorie, ra-
ther than vic-
torie it selfe.

Peace conclu-
ded for want
of power to
mainteine
battell.
The articles
of the peace
betwixt the
Danes and
Scottishmen.

On the morrow after, when it was understood on both parties, what losse they had sustained, their minds were conuerted rather to peace than to renew battell, because they were not of power longer to mainteine it. Whereupon by mediation of such as toke vpon them to treat a peace, the same was concluded with these articles. First, that the Danes should depart out of Spurrey land, Buchquhan, and all other the bounds of Scotland. That the warres should clearelie cease betwixt the Danes and Scottishmen, during the naturall liues of Sueno and Malcolme, or either of them. That neither of those two nations should aid or in anie wise support the others enemies. That the field where the last battell was fought, should be hallowed for christian buriall, within the which the Danes that were slaine in the same battell should be buried, and a church to be built there, and lands appointed forth for the maintenance of priests, to celebrate there according to the order of the christian religion, then vsed by both the people: for the Danes lately before that season had also receiued the faith. This peace being ratified by the solemne othes of both the kings, Sueno and Malcolme, Canute with his Danes resigning vp the possession of such holds and places as they held in Spurrey land, Buchquhan, or else where within anie part of the Scottish dominions, got him to his fleet, and departed with the same home into Denmarke.

The holds in
Scotland de-
liuered up by
the Danes in-
to the Scottish
mens hands.
Canute retur-
neth into
Denmarke.

King Malcolme hauing thus restored his countrie unto full peace, thought nothing so good as to perforce the articles of the agreement accorded be-

twixt him and the Danes, and therefore caused a church to be builded in the place appointed, dedicating the same in honor of saint Olafus patron of Denmarke and Norwaie, to signifie vnto such as came after, that sundrie nobles of the Danes laie buried in that church. In memorie hereof, the lands that were giuen to the same church, are called euen yet vnto these daies Crowdan, which signifieth as much as if ye should say, The slaughter of Danes. The church which was first builded there, chancing as often happeneth in those parties, to be overcast with sands, an other was created in place not farre off, hauing a more commodious site. Sundrie of the bones of them that were buried in this place, being left bare by reason that the sands were blowne away besides them, Hector Boetius (the writer of the Scottish chronicle) beheld in the yere 1521, which seemed more like vnto giants bones, than to men of common stature (as he auoucheth) whereby it should appeare, that men in old time were of much greater stature and quantitie of bodie, than anie that are to be found in these our daies.

A church
builded.

Crowdan,
what it sig-
nifieth.

Bones of
Danes.

Malcolme being thus deliuered of his enemies the Danes, caused publike praiers generally to be made throughout the realme, in rendering thanks to almighty God, that it had pleased him to deliuer his people from the troubles of warre. He toke order also, that churches should be repaired, which by the enemies in time of the warres had bene destroyed. And further, he caused the administration of the lawes and wholesome ordinances of the realme to be vsed and put in practise, according to the due forme of the same, which manie yeres before could haue no place, by reason of the warres. He caused an assembly of all the estates of his realme to be called at Bertha castell, in those daies standing not farre from the place where the towne of Bertha now standeth. In which conuention were manie things enacted, both for the setting forth of Gods honor, and the weale of the realme, whereby Malcolme wan much praise amongst his subjects, to the eternall memorie of his name.

Publike
praiers.

The repa-
ring of chur-
ches.
The restoring
of lawes and
iustice.

A parliament
at Bertha.

After this, supposing it most honorable to aduance the blood of such as had serued well in the last warres, or had their fathers or other friends slaine in the same, he called a parlement at Scone, in the which, causing partition to be made of the realme, by diuiding it into baronies, he bestowed it amongst the nobles, according to the qualitie of euerie one his merits, reseruing in maner nothing to the maintenance of the crowne, common entries onelie excepted, with the mountaine wherin the marble chaire stood, and a few other possessions which he purposed to giue vnto churches and chapells. The nobles on the other part, to the end the king might haue sufficient wherewith to mainteine his roiall estate, granted vnto him and his successors for euer the custodie and wardship of their heires, if they chanced to die leauing them vnder the age of 21 yeres: and in the meane time till the same heires came to the said age, they agreed that the king and his successors should inioy the vse and profits of their lands, whether they were men or women, and when they came to the age of 21 yeres, that then they should enter into the possession of their lands, yeilding vnto him or his successors one yeres rent in name of a reliefe; and if they chanced not to be married before their fathers deceasse, then also should they marrie at the kings appointment, or else compound with him for the same.

A parliament
at Scone.

Diuidion of
the realme in-
to baronies.

The ward-
ship of heires
granted to
the king.

Marriage of
wards.

Thus ended the parlement for that season, with great joy and comfort on each hand, for that the king had shewed such liberall bountifullness towards his barons, and they no lesse mindfull of their duties had declared

The see of
Durthlake,
otherwise A=
herden.

The booke
called Regia
maiestas.

Malcolme
swareth aus-
ritious.
Couetousnes
and age arri-
uing together

Malcolmes
crucitie to pur
chase riches.

The conspi-
racie of the
Scottish nobi-
lie against
Malcolme.

Malcolm
Dune at
Glennig.

The murderers drowned.

21. H.B.
1040. H.B.

Strange lights.

declared such beneuolent hearts, as appeared in that their free and large gift granted in forme and maner as befoze is expressed. Neither did Malcolme forge the bove which he made at Spurthlake, when he was in danger to haue receiued the ouerthrow at the hand of the Danes. For according to the same bove, he caused a church to be built in the same place, erecting a bishops see there, and indowd it with the lands & possessions of these three places, Spurthlake, Cleometh, and Dunmeth, with all ecclesiasticall inuifoditions and tithes appertaining thereto. The bishops that sat in this see were called the bishops of Spurthlake, till the daies of king Dauid the first, who changing the name, caused them to be called the bishops of Abirden, augmenting the see with sundrie faire reuenues to the better maintenance thereof.

Malcolme thus having purchas'd rest from further troubles of warre, governed the realme a certaine time after in good order of iustice, and caused a booke to be set forth, called *Regia maiestas*, containing the lawes and ordinances wherby the realme should be governed: and assigning forth in the same what fees also should be given vnto the chancelloz, secreta- rie, constable, marshall, chamberleine, iustice, trea- surer, register, comptroller, and other the officers of his house. Such princelie doings and noble ver- tues were found in this Malcolme for a season, that if the same had continued with him in his latter age, there had neuer reigned anie king in Scotland, that might haue bene thought to haue passed him in too- thy fame: neuertheless his excellent qualities were stained at length by that reprochfull vice of vile auar- rice. For as it oftentimes happeneth, couetousnesse and age laid hold on him both at once. He then began to repent in that he had bene so liberall in giuing a- way his lands to his barons; & to recouer the same againe, he furnished feigned matter by vnttrue sug- gestions against diuerse of the chiefe nobles, put- ting some to death, & banishing other, that he might by this meanes intoy their lands and goods as con- fiscate to the crowne for their suppos'd offenses.

The nobles hauing great indignation at such crueltye bled by the king against them and their linage, and that vpon no iust causes, but enelie vpon forged deuises, they conspired in lundrie meétings secretlie appointed amongst them, to find some meanes to dispatch him out of life. At length he chanced to haue some inking thereabout they went, & doubting to fall into their hands, fled for safegard of his life vnto Glamis, where diuerse of the conspirators were brought into his lodging, by some of his owne household seruants, and there slue him in reuenge of their friends, whome he before had wrongfullie put to death. These murderers with their complices incontinentlie fled with all speed possible to auoid further danger for this their act: but missing their way (for the ground was quite couered as then with snow) they finallie came to the loch of Ffosfair, which was the same time frozen ouer. They therefore thinking to passe ouer it, when they came into the midst, the ice brake vnder them, so that sinking in, they were finallie drowned. Howbeit their bodies were afterwards drawne forth of the loch with drazs, and dismembred, and their heads and quarters were sent to diuerse towneres of the realme, and there hong vp for a signification of their wicked treason. This was the end of king Malcolme in the 32 yere of his reigne, if ye reckon from the death of Constantine, or 25 after the death of Grime, and after the incarnation of our Sauour 1034 yeres. He was buried in Colmekill with his ancestors.

In this season was scene manie wonders and strange sights in Albion. On Christmas daie there was an earthquake, and a great rift of the earth

made therewith in the midst of Striueling towne,
out of the which issued such an abundant streame
of water, that it bare away the next wood that was ad-
joining to the river of Forth. In the summer the sea
rose higher, & flowed further into the land, than ever
it had bene seene at anie other tunc. On Midsum-
mer daie, which is the feast of saint John Baptist,
there was such a vehement frost, that the corne and
other fruits of the earth were blasted and killed, so
that thereupon followed a great dearth in all the
countrie.

After Malcolm succeeded his nephew Duncane the sonne of his daughter Beatrice: for Malcolm had two daughters, the one which was this Beatrice, being given in marriage vnto one Abbanath Crinen, a man of great nobilitie, and thane of the Isles and west parts of Scotland, bare of that marriage the foresaid Duncane; the other called Doda, was married vnto Sinell the thane of Glamis, by whom he had issue one Spakbeth a valiant gentleman, and one that if he had not bene somewhat cruell of nature, might haue bene thought most worthy the gouernement of a realme. On the other part, Duncane was so soft and gentle of nature, that the people withied the inclinations and manners of these two cousins to haue bene so tempered and interchangeable bestowed betwixt them, that where the one had too much of clemencie, and the other of crueltie, the meane vertue betwixt these two extremities might haue reigned by indifferent partition in them both, so should Duncane haue poyoned a worthy king, and Spakbeth an excellent capteine. The beginning of Duncans reigne was verie quiet and peaceable, without anye notable trouble; but after it was perceiued how negligent he was in punishing offenders, manie misruled persons toke occasion thereof to trouble the peace and quiet state of the common-wealth, by seditious commotions which first had their beginnings in this wise.

Banquo the thane of Lochquhaber, of whom the house of the Stewards is descended, the which by order of lineage hath now for a long time enjoyed the crowne of Scotland, even till these our dates, as he gathered the finances due to the king, and further punished somewhat sharpelie such as were notorious offenders, being assailed by a number of rebels inhabiting in that countrie, and spoiled of the monie and all other things, had much a doe to get awaile with life, after he had received sundrie grievous wounds amongst them. Yet escaping their hands, after he was somewhat recovered of his hurts, and was able to ride, he repaired to the court, there making his complaint to the king in most earnest wise, he purchased at length that the offenders were sent for by a sergeant at armes, to appeare to make answer unto such matters as should be laid to their charge: but they augmenting their mischievous act with a more wicked deed, after they had misused the messenger with sundrie kinds of reproches, they finallye slew him also.

Then doubting not but for such contemptuous
demencour against the kings regall authoritie, they
should be invaded with all the power the king could
make, Haddockwald one of great estimation among
them, making first a confederacie with his nextest
friends and kinsmen, toke upon him to be chiefe cap-
taine of all such rebels as would stand against the
king, in maintenance of their grieuous offenses
leselie committed against him. Whan slanderous
words also, and railing taunts this Haddockwald utter-
ed against his prince, calling him a saint-hearted
milkesop, moze meet to governe a sort of idle monks
in some cloister, than to haue the rule of such valiant
and hardie men of warre as the Scots were. He
hied

used also such subtil persuasions and forged allurements, that in a small time he had gotten together a mightie power of men: for out of the westerne Isles there came vnto him a great multitude of people, offering themselves to assist him in that rebellious quarell, and out of Ireland in hope of the spoile came no small number of Bernes and Galloglasses, offering gladlie to serue vnder him, whither it should please him to lead them.

Malcolme thus hauing a mightie puissance about him, encountered with such of the kings people as were sent against him into Lochquhaber, and discomfiting them, by mere force took their capitaine Malcolme, and after the end of the battell smote off his head. This overthrow being notified to the king, did put him in wonderfull feare, by reason of his small skill in warlike affaires. Calling therefore his nobles to a counsell, he asked of them their best aduise for the subduing of Malcolme & other the rebels. Here, in sundrie heads (as euer it happeneth) were sundrie opinions, which they vttered according to euerie mans skill. At length Malbeth speaking much against the kings softnes, and ouermuch slacknesse in punishing offenders, whereby they had such time to assemble together, he promised notwithstanding, if the charge were committed vnto him and vnto Banquo, so to order the matter, that the rebels should be shortly vanquished & quite put to done, and that not so much as one of them should be found to make resistance within the countrie.

And euen so it came to passe: for being sent forth with a new power, at his entring into Lochquhaber, the same of his comming put the enemies in such feare, that a great number of them stole secretly awaie from their capitaine Malcolme, who neuertheless enforced thereto, gaue battell vnto Malbeth, with the residue which remained with him: but being overcome, and fleeing for refuge into a castell (within the which his wife & children were inclosed) at length when he saw how he could neither defend the hold any longer against his enemies, nor yet vpon surrender be suffered to depart with life saued, he first slew his wife and children, and lastlie himselfe, least if he had yielded simple, he should haue bene executed in most cruell wise for an example to other. Malbeth entring into the castell by the gates, as then set open, found the carcase of Malcolme lying dead there amongst the residue of the slaine bodies, which when he beheld, remitting no pece of his cruell nature with that pitifull sight, he caused the head to be cut off, and set vpon a poles end, and so sent it as a present to the king, who as then late at Bertha. The headlesse trunk he commanded to be hong vp vpon an high paire of gallowses.

Them of the westerne Isles suing for pardon, in that they had aided Malcolme in his traitorous enterprise, he fined at great sums of monie: and those whome he took in Lochquhaber, being come thither to beate armor against the king, he put to execution. Her vpon the Islandmen conceiued a deable grudge towards him, calling him a couenant-breaker, a bloudie tyrant, & a cruel murderer of them whome the kings merie had pardoned. With which reprochfull words Malbeth being kindled in wrathfull ire against them, had passed over with an armie into the Isles, to haue taken vengeance vpon them for their libelous talke, had he not bene otherwise persuaded by some of his friends, and partlie pacified by gifts presented vnto him on the behalfe of the Islandmen, seeking to appease his displeasure. This was iustice and law redressed againe to the old accustomed course, by the diligent means of Malbeth. I mmedialtie there vpon would haue that Sueno king of Norway was arrived in Fife with a puissant armie, to subdue the

whole realme of Scotland.

But here to the intent it maie be the better perceived, what this Sueno was, I will somewhat touch from whence he descended. That Sueno, who (as ye haue heard) conquered the realme of England, being also king of Denmarke and Norway, had thre sonnes, Harold, Sueno, and Canute; the first he made king of England, the second king of Norway, and the third king of Denmarke. Harold inioined not the same dominion of England past thre yeeres after his fathers decesse, but was slaine by Ethelred of Egeldred, whom his father Sueno had chased into Norway. But the same Ethelred kept not long the kingdome in peace, for Canute king of Denmarke, to reuenge his brothers death, landed in England with a mightie host, and sleaing Ethelred, recovered the kingdome to the vse of the Danes: but yet one Edmund sonne to the foresaid Ethelred, surnamed Ironside, maintained the warre against Canute for a season, till at length by both their consents they agreed to fight a combat singularie man to man, so to trie the matter betwixt them, who should reigne as king ouer the Englishmen.

In this fight when they had continued a long space, and shewed right notable proofes of their manhood: Edmund (saith Canute) sith it hath pleased almightie God, that thou shouldest thus trie the force of my hand without hurt or wound, I thinke it be likewise his pleasure, that thou shouldest inioy part of the realme: go to therefore, I receiue thee as partner with me in the kingdome, so that (if thou be contented let vs diuide the kingdome betwixt vs with out any more contention. Edmund gladlie accepted this condition of agreement, supposing it better to haue halfe the kingdome, than to stand to the doubtful trial of losing the whole: for he had receiued a wound at Canutes hands, though Canute understood not so much: againe, he foresaw that occasion hereafter might be offered, whereby he might with out all trouble come to inioy the whole. Wherevpon either of them leapt beside their worried horses in that fierce & earnest fight, & embracing each other became good friends, in diuiding the realme according to the aboue mentioned motion of Canute. That part of England that lieth ouer against France was assigned vnto Canute; and the other, that is, the north parts vnto Edmund. In the meane time Emma the wife of Ethelred, with hir two sonnes (which he had by the same Ethelred) Alured and Edward, fled ouer into Norway, doubting least this concord betwixt Canute and Edmund should turne smallie to hir aduancement.

But now touching the arrivall of Sueno the Norwegian king in Fife (as before is expessed) ye shall vnderstand, that the pretence of his comming was to reuenge the slaughter of his vncle Canus, and other of the Danish nation slaine at Warre, Croisdane, and Gemmer. The crueltie of this Sueno was such, that he neither spared man, woman, nor child, of what age, condition or degree sooner they were. Whereof when A. Duncane was certified, he set all thoughtfull and lingering delays apart, and began to assemble an armie in most speedie wise, like a vertie valiant capitaine: for oftentimes it happeneth, that a dull coward and thoughtfull person, constrained by necessity, becometh vertie hardie and active. Therefore when his whole power was come together, he diuided the same into thre battels. The first was led by Malbeth, the second by Banquo, & the king himselfe gouerned in the maine battell or middle ward, wherein were appointed to attend and wait vpon his person the most part of all the residue of the Scottish nobilitie.

The armie of Scottishmen being thus ordered,

This agreeth not with our English writers.

Harold that reigned king of England, was not the son of Sueno but of Canute and was not slaine, but died of naturall disease. Soe more hereof in England. Canute king of Denmarke; Edmund Ironside.

Canutes sonnes to Edmund Ironside.

The diuision of the realme of England betwixt Canute and Edmund Ironside.

Alured & Edward the sons of king Ethelred.

The crueltie of Sueno king of Norway.

Duncane bestirred himselfe in assembling an armie.

The Scottish armie diuided into thre battels.

Malcolme discomfited the kings power.

in king island,

The small skill of the king in warlike affaires.

with,

in of two nature,

Malbeths offer,

Malbeth and Banquo are sent against the rebels.

The rebels forsake their capitaine,

the of Loch r. rule of warres;

Malcolme slayeth his wife and children, & lastlie himselfe.

into the of Malbeth

Malcolme had sent to the king. Malbeths crucitie,

arm as laue bels.

Malbeth de- lamed by the Islandmen.

would him- se cap- the

Iustice & law redressed, Sueno king of Norway was landed in Fife

Sueno ban-
quisheth the
Scots.

Suenos com-
mandement
to spare fire
and sword.

Duncane fled
to the castell of
Bertha.

Sueno belie-
geth king
Malcolme.

Fained trea-
tie.

Spiced cups
prepared for
the Danes.

The Danes
ouercome
with drinke,
fall asleepe.

Malcolme al-
saileth the
campe of the
Danes, being
ouercome
with drinke
and sleepe.

The stan-
darter of Danes.
Sueno with
ten other esca-
peth.

came vnto Culros, where incountering with the en-
mies, after a foye and cruell foughten battell, Sueno
remained victorious, and Malcolme with his Scots
discorned. Yotubett the Danes were so broken by
this battell, that they were not able to make long
chafe on their enemies, but kept themselves all night
in order of battell, for doubt least the Scots assem-
bling together againe, might haue set vpon them at
some advantage. On the morrow, when the fields
were discouered, and that it was perceiued how no
enimies were to be found abroad, they gathered the
spoile, which they diuided amongst them, according
to the law of armes. Then was it ordeined by com-
mandement of Sueno, that no souldier should hurt
either man, woman, or child, except such as were
found with weapon in hand ready to make resi-
stance, for he hoped now to conquer the realme with-
out further bloodshed.

But when knowledge was giuen how Duncane
was fled to the castell of Bertha, and that Malcolme
was gathering a new power to withstand the incur-
sions of the Danes, Sueno raised his tents, & com-
ming to the said castell, laid a strong siegeround a-
bout it. Duncane seeing himselfe thus enuironed by
his enemies, sent a secret message by counsell of
Wanguho to Malcolme, commanding him to abide
at Inchcuthill, till he heard from him some other
newes. In the meane time Duncane fell in fained
communication with Sueno, as though he would
haue yielded by the castell into his hands, vnder cer-
teyne conditions, and this did he to driue time, and to
put his enemies out of all suspicion of anie enterprise
meant against them, till all things were brought to
passe that might serue for the purpose. At length,
when they were fallen at a point for rendring vp the
hold, Duncane offered to send forth of the castell in-
to the campe great provision of vittels to refresh the
armie, which offer was gladlie accepted of the
Danes, for that they had bene in great penurie of
sustenance manie daies before.

The Scots herevpon toke the iuice of mekil-
wort berries, and mixed the same in their ale and
bread, sending it thus spiced & confectioned, in great
abundance vnto their enemies. They reioicing that
they had got meate and drinke sufficient to satisfy
their bellies, fell to eating and drinking after such
greedie wise, that it seemed they stroue who might be-
uour and swallow vp most, till the operation of the
berries spread in such sort through all the parts of
their bodies, that they were in the end brought into
a fast dead sleepe, that in manner it was impossible
to awake them. When forthwith Duncane sent vnto
Malcolme, commanding him with all diligence to
come and set vpon the enemies, being in easie point
to be ouercome. Malcolme making no delate, came
with his people to the place, where his enemies were
lodged, and first killing the watch, afterwards enter-
red the campe, and made such slaughter on all sides
without anie resistance, that it was a wonderfull
matter to behold, for the Danes were so heauie of
sleepe, that the most part of them were slaine and
neuer stirred: other that were awakened either by the
noise of other waies forth, were so amazed and dizzy
headed vpon their wakening, that they were not a-
ble to make anie defense: so that of the whole num-
ber there escaped, no more but onelie Sueno him-
selfe and ten other persons, by whose helpe he got to
his ships lieng at ride in the mouth of Tyle.

The most part of the mariners, when they heard
that plenty of meate and drinke the Scots had sent
vnto the campe, came from the sea thither to be par-
takers thereof, and so were slaine amongst their fel-
lowes: by means whereof when Sueno perceiued
how through lacke of mariners he should not be a-

ble to conuie away his nanie, he furnished one ship
throughly with such as were left, and in the same
sailed backe into Forwaie, cursing the time that he
set forward on this infortunate iourne. The other
ships which he left behind him, within thre daies af-
ter his departure from thence, were tossed so toge-
ther by violence of an east wind, that beating and
rushing one against another, they sunke there, and
lie in the same place euen vnto these daies, to the
great danger of other such ships as come on that
coast: for being covered with the cloud when the tide
commeth, at the ebbing againe of the same, some
part of them appeere aboue water.

The place where the Danish vessels were thus lost,
is yet called Dronelowlow lands. This overthrow re-
ceiued in manner afoze said by Sueno, was verie
displeasing to him and his people, as should appeere,
in that it was a custome manie yeeres after, that no
knights were made in Forwaie, except they were
first swoyne to reuenge the slaughter of their coun-
triemen and friends thus slaine in Scotland. The
Scots hauing wone so notable a victorie, after they
had gathered & diuided the spoile of the field, caused
solemne processions to be made in all places of the
realme, and thanks to be giuen to almightie God,
that had sent them so faire a day ouer their enemies.
But whilest the people were thus at their process-
ions, word was brought that a new fleet of Danes
was arrived at Kingcorme, sent thither by Canute
king of England, in reuenge of his brother Sueno
nos overthrow. To resist these enemies, which were
alreadie landed, and busie in spoiling the countrie;
Malcolme and Wanguho were sent with the kings au-
thoritie, who hauing with them a convenient power,
incountred the enemies, slue part of them, and chased
the other to their ships. They that escaped and got
once to their ships, obtained of Malcolme for a great
summe of gold, that such of their friends as were
slaine at this last bickering, might be buried in saint
Colmes Inch. In memorie whereof, manie obse-
pultures are yet in the said Inch, there to be seene
grauen with the armes of the Danes, as the maner
of burying noble men still is, and heretofore hath
bene vsed.

A peace was also concluded at the same time be-
twixt the Danes and Scottishmen, ratified (as some
haue written) in this wise: That from thenceforth
the Danes should neuer come into Scotland to
make anie waies against the Scots by anie maner
of meanes. And these were the waies that Dun-
cane had with forren enemies, in the seuenthy yeere
of his reigne. Shortly after happened a strange and
wondrous wonder, which afterward was the cause of
much trouble in the realme of Scotland, as ye shall
after heare. It fortuned as Malcolme and Wanguho
iournied towards Foros, where the king then laie,
they went sporting by the waie together without o-
ther companie, saue onelie themselves, passing thro-
ugh the woods and fields, when suddenly in the
middest of a laund, there met them thre women in
strange and wild apparell, resembling creatures of
elder world, whom when they attentuelie beheld,
wondering much at the sight, the first of them spake
and said, All hail Malcolme, thane of Glammis (for
he had lately entered into that dignitie and office by
the death of his father, Sinell.) The second of them
said, Hail Malcolme thane of Cather. But the third
said, All hail Malcolme that hereafter shall be king
of Scotland.

Then Wanguho, What manner of women (saith
he) are you, that seme so little fauourable vnto me,
whereas to my fellow here, besides high offices, ye
assigne also the kingdom, appointing forth nothing
for me at all. They (saith the first of them) we pro-
mice

Sueno fleth
with one ship,
leaving the re-
sidue of his
nanie behind
him.
The fleet of
the Forwaie-
ans sunke by
vehement rage
of windes.

Dronelowlow
lands.

The oth that
knights toke
in Forwaie,
to reuenge the
death of their
friends.
Solemne pro-
cessions for
victorie got-
ten.

A power of
Danes arrive
at Kingcorme
out of Eng-
land.
The Danes
banquished by
Malcolme and
Wanguho.

Danes buried
in S. Colmes
Inch.

A peace con-
cluded be-
twixt Scots
and Danes.

Prophecies
made then to
wonderfull at-
tempt.

women deli-
uous of high
estate.

Malcolme
death king
Duncane.

Malcolme to
surpass the
crown.

Duncane
initial.
1046. H. B.

giving to
wonder at.

Wanguho th
father of ma-
nie kings.

The thane o
Cawder con-
uincid of
treason.
Malcolme
made thane o
Cawder.

Malcolme
banquished
by the
king's
power.

The daugh-
ter of Shwan-
carie of For-
wardland
saile to king
Duncane.

Malcolme
which way I
may take the
kingdome by
force.

Prophecies
made then to
wonderfull at-
tempt.

women deli-
uous of high
estate.

Malcolme
death king
Duncane.

Malcolme to
surpass the
crown.

Duncane
initial.
1046. H. B.

Quero fleth
with one ship,
leaving the re-
st of his
name behind
him.
The state of
the fozfor-
gans linke by
behemt rage
of winds.

Drowneles
lands.

The oth that
mightis take
a fozwaie,
o reuenge the
death of their
friends.

Solenne pro-
cessions for
notorie got-
ten.

A power of
Danes arrive
it kingcome
out of Eng-
land.

The Danes
vanquished by
Macbeth and
Banquo.

Danes buried
in S. Colmes
kirk.

A peace com-
mended be-
twixt Scots
and Danes.

Macbeth
and Banquo
the prophete
saw suppo-
ning to be the
seid sisters
& feeries.

The prophete
saw suppo-
ning to be the
seid sisters
& feeries.

The prophete
saw suppo-
ning to be the
seid sisters
& feeries.

3 thing to
bunder at.

Banquo the
father of ma-
nie kings.

The thane of
Cawder con-
demned of
treason.
Macbeth
made thane of
Cawder.

Macbeth
demonst how
he might at-
tune the king-
dome.

The daugh-
ter of Shuar-
dane of foz-
thumberland,
writ to king
Duncane.

Macbeth
demonst
which way he
may take the
kingdome by
force.

Macbethes
monie then to
bunder full at-
tempts.

women deli-
uous of high
estate.

Macbeth
demonst king
Duncane.

Macbeth b-
demonst the
crown.

Duncanes
barrail.
1046. H. B.

“ mife greater benefits vnto the, than vnto him, for he
“ shall reigne in dead, but with an vnluckie end: nei-
“ ther shall he leaue anie issue behind him to succeed in
“ his place, where contrarilie thou in dead shalt not
“ reigne at all, but of the those shall be borne which
“ shall gouerne the Scottis kingdome by long order
“ of continuall descent. Herewith the foresaid women
banished immediatlie out of their sight. This was
reputed at the first but some vaine fantastical illu-
sion by Macbeth and Banquo, insomuch that Ban-
quo would call Macbeth in iest, king of Scotland,
and Macbeth againe would call him in sport like-
wise, the father of manie kings. But afterwards the
common opinion was, that these women were ei-
ther the threid sisters, that is (as ye would say) the
goddesses of destiny, or else some nymphs or feeries,
indued with knowledge of prophesie by their necro-
manticall science, because euerie thing came to passe
as they had spoken. For shortly after, the thane of
Cawder being condemned at fozes of treason a-
gainst the king committed; his lands, linings, and
offices were giuen of the kings liberalitie to Mac-
beth.

The same night after, at supper, Banquo iested
with him and said; How Macbeth thou hast obtai-
ned those things which the two former sisters prophes-
ied, there remaineth onelie for thee to purchase that
which the thirde said should come to passe. Whereupon
Macbeth resoluing the thing in his mind, began
enen then to deuise how he might attaine to the
kingdome: but yet he thought with himselfe that he
must tarie a time, which should aduance him there-
to (by the diuine prouidence) as it had come to passe
in his former preferment. But shortly after it chanc-
ed that king Duncane, hauing two sonnes by his
wife which was the daughter of Siward earle of
fouthumberland, he made the elder of them called
Malcolme prince of Cumberland, as it were there-
by to appoint him his successor in the kingdome, im-
mediatlie after his decesse. Macbeth soze trou-
bled herewith, for that he saw by this means his
hope soze hindered (where, by the old lawes of the
realme, the ordinance was, that if he that should
succeed were not of able age to take the charge vpon
himselfe, he that was next of blood vnto him should
be admitted) he began to take counsell how he might
vsurpe the kingdome by force, hauing a lost quarell
so to doe (as he took the matter) for that Duncane
did what in him lay to defraud him of all manner of
title and claime, which he might in time to come,
pretend vnto the crowne.

The wordes of the threid sisters also (of whom
before ye haue heard) greatlie encouraged him here-
vnto, but speciallie his wife lay soze vpon him to at-
tempt the thing, as she that was verie ambitious,
burning in vnquenchable desire to beare the name
of a queene. At length therefore, communicating
his purposed intent with his trustie friends, amongst
whome Banquo was the chiefest, vpon confidence
of their promised aid, he sue the king at Enuerns,
or (as some say) at Botgoshuane, in the first yeare of
his reigne. Then hauing a companie about him of
such as he had made priuie to his enterprise, he cat-
ted himselfe to be proclaimed king, and forthwith
went vnto Scone, where (by common consent) he
received the inuestiture of the kingdome according to
the accustomed maner. The bodie of Duncane was
first conueied vnto Elgine, & there buried in king-
lie wise; but afterwards it was remoued and con-
ueied vnto Colmekill, and there laid in a sepulchre
amongst his predecessors, in the yeare after the birth
of our Saviour, 1046.

Malcolme Cammoze and Donald Bane the sons
of king Duncane, for feare of their kins (which they

might well know that Macbeth would seeke to
bring to end for his more sure confirmation in the
estate) fled into Cumberland, where Malcolme re-
mained, till time that saint Edward the sonne of
Ethelred recovered the dominion of England from
the Danish power, the which Edward received Mal-
colme by way of most friendlie entertainment: but
Donald passed ouer into Ireland, where he was ten-
derlie cherished by the king of that land. Macbeth,
after the departure thus of Duncanes sonnes, vfed
great liberalitie towards the nobles of the realme,
thereby to win their fauour, and when he saw that
no man went about to trouble him, he set his whole
intention to mainteine iustice, and to punish all en-
ormities and abuses, which had chanced through the
feble and slothfull administration of Duncane.
And to bring his purpose the better to passe without
anie trouble or great businesse, he deuised a subtil
waie to bring all offenders and misdoers vnto ius-
tice, solliciting sundrie of his liege people with high
rewards, to challenge and appeale such as most op-
pressed the commons, to come at a day and place ap-
pointed, to fight singular combats within barriers,
in triall of their accusations. When these thanes,
barrettois, and other oppressors of the innocent peo-
ple were come to darren battell in this wise (as
is said) they were freight waies apprehended by
armed men, and trusted vp in halsters on gibbets,
according as they had iustlie deserued. The residue
of misdoers that were left, were punished and fa-
med in such sort, that manie yeares after all these
and reifings were little heard of, the people inioi-
ning the blissfull benefit of good peace and tranquillite.
Macbeth shewing himselfe thus a most diligent
punisher of all iniuries and wrongs attempted by a-
nie disorderd persons within his realme, was ac-
counted the sure defense and buckler of innocent
people; and hereto he also applied his whole indeuor,
to cause young men to exercise themselves in vertu-
ous maners, and men of the church to attend their
diuine seruice according to their vocations.

He caused to be slaine sundrie thanes, as of Cath-
nes, Sutherland, Stranauerne, and Ros, because
through them and their seditious attempts, much
trouble daillie rose in the realme. He appealed the
troublesome state of Galloway, and slue one Mak-
gill a tyrant, who had manie yeares before passed no-
thing of the regall authoritie or power. To be brie-
fe, such were the worthie doings and princelie acts of
this Macbeth in the administration of the realme,
that if he had attained therevnto by rightfull means,
and continued in vprightnesse of iustice as he began,
till the end of his reigne, he might well haue bene
numbered amongst the most noble princes that anie
there had reigned. He made manie hollesome lawes
and statutes for the publike weale of his subiects.

Lawes made by king Makbeth set
foorth according to Hector
Boetius.



That is within orders of the
church, shall not be compelled
to answere before a temporall
iudge, but be remitted to his or-
dinarie.

The tenth part of all fruits that in-
crease on the ground, shall be giuen to the
church, that God may be worshipped with
oblations and prayers.

He that continueth obstinatlie in the
curse of the church by the space of one
whole

Malcolme
Cammoe and
Donald Bane
flee into Cum-
berland.
Malcolme
Cammoe re-
scued by Ed-
ward king of
England.
Macbeths
liberalitie.

Macbeth
studiously ad-
uance iustice.

Macbeths
politic.

Strict li-
tice.

A kinglie en-
deuour.

Iustice mini-
stred without
respect of per-
sons.

Liberties of
them that
haue taken or-
ders.

Either to be
paid to the
church.

Perfons ac-
cursed.

whole yeare, contemning to be reconciled, shall be reputed enemie to the commonwealth: and if he perseuere with indurated mind the space of two yeares, all his goods shall be forfeited.

The order of
knightthod.

He that taketh the order of knightthod, shall take an oth to defend ladies, birgins, widows, orphans, and the communalitie. And he that is made king, shall be swozne in semblable maner.

Eldest daugh-
ters.

The eldest daughter shall inherit hir fathers lands, as well as the eldest sonne should, if the father leaue no sonne behind him. And if anie woman marie with the lord of the soile, she shall lose hir heritage.

The kings
gift.

No man shall inioy anie lands, rents, offices, or other possessions, but onelie by gift and grant of the king.

No offices to
go by inheri-
tance.

No office shall go by inheritance, but shall still remaine at the kings free disposition, as shall stand with his pleasure to assigne it.

Judges.

No man shall sit as iudge in anie temporal court without the kings commission authorizing him thereto.

All conuentions, offices, and acts of iustice, shall passe in the kings name.

Retainers.

He that is retained or becometh a swozne man to anie other person saue onelie to the king, shall lose his life for it: and euerie man shall be bound to defend the king against all other creatures.

Raisers of the
kings people,
or unlawfull
assemblies.

He that raiseth the kings liege people, shall lose life, goods, and lands, and so shall they do that assemble together by his procurement.

Waiters vpon
other men.

He that attendeth anie man to the church, market, or to anie other publicke assemble, as a retainer, shall suffer death, except he haue living at his hands, on whome he so attendeth.

Keeping of
horses.

A horse kept by anie of the commons or husbandmen to anie other vse than for tillage and laboring of the earth, shall be forfeited to the king by escheat.

Counterfet
foles, with
minstrels and
such like.

Counterfet foles, minstrels, iesters, and these kind of iuglers, with such like idle persons, that range abroad in the countrie, hauing no speciall licence of the king, shall be compelled to learne some science or craft to get their liuing; if they refuse so to do, they shall be drawn like horses in the plough and harrows.

Possession of
lands.

Though the sonne chance to be put in possession of his fathers lands by the kings licence, during the life of his father, yet shall the same lands be forfeited to the king if his father be afterwards conuicted of treason committed against the kings person.

Dowrie of
wiues.

All such women, that are married to anie lord or baron (though he haue no issue by him) shall yet haue the third part of his lands after his deceasse, and the remanent shall go to his heires.

Marriage of
lords and
barons.

All maner of lords and great barons, shall not contract matrimonie with other, vnder paine of death, speciallie if their lands and homes lie nere together.

All armour and weapon hozne to other effect than in defense of the king & realme in time of wars, shall be confiscated to the kings vse, with all other moueable goods of the partie that herein offendeth.

Wearing of
armour.

Such as be appointed gouernors, or (as I may call them) capteins, that buy within those limits, where their charges lie, anie lands or possessions, shall lose both lands, & possessions, and the monie which they haue paid for the same.

Capteins.

Buying of
lands.

And if anie of the said capteins or gouernors marie their sonnes or daughters vnto anie maner of person that dwelleth within the bounds of their homes, they shall lose their office: neither shall it be lawfull for anie of their sonnes or coperteners to occupie the same office.

20

These and the like commendable lawes which beth caused to be put as then in vse, gouerning the realme for the space of ten yeares in equall iustice. But this was but a counterfet zeale of equitie shewed by him, partlie against his naturall inclination to purchase thereby the fauour of the people. Shortly after, he began to shew what he was, in stead of equitie practising crueltie. For the prycke of conscience (as it chanceth euer in tyrants, and such as attaine to anie estate by vnrightheous means) caused him euer to feare, least he should be serued of the same cup, as he had ministered to his predecessor. The words also of the three weird sisters, would not out of his mind, which as they promised him the kingdome, so likewise did they promise it at the same time vnto the posteritie of Banquo. He willed therefore the same Banquo with his sonne named Fleance, to come to a supper that he had prepared for them, which was in deed, as he had deuised, spent death at the hands of certeine murderers, whom he hired to execute that deed, appointing them to mete with the same Banquo and his sonne without the palace, as they returned to their lodgings, and there to slea them, so that he would not haue his house slandered, but that in time to come he might cleare himselfe, if anie thing were laid to his charge vpon anie suspicion that might arise.

Macbeths
counterfet
zeale and
equitie.

Macbeths
guiltie con-
science.

Macbeths
deuise to slea
Banquo and
his sonne.

Banquo is
slaine, but his
sonne esca-
peth.

Fleance
Banquos
sonne fleeth
into wales.

The line of
the Scottis
kings.

It chanced yet by the benefit of the darke night, that though the father were slaine, the sonne yet by the helpe of almightie God reseruing him to better fortune, escaped that danger: and afterwards hauing some inkling (by the admonition of some friends which he had in the court) how his life was sought no lesse than his fathers, who was slaine not by chancemedie (as by the handling of the matter Macbeth would haue had it to appeare) but euen vpon a preperfed deuise: wherevpon to auoid further perill he fled into Wales. ¶ But here I thinke it shall not much make against my purpose, if (according to the order which I find obserued in the Scottis historie) I shall in few words rehearse the originall line of those kings, which haue descended from the foresaid Banquo, that they which haue inioied the kingdome by so long continuance of descent, from one to another, and that euen vnto these our daies, may be knownen from whence they had their first beginning.

Fleance therefore (as before is said) fled into Wales, where shortly after by his courteous and amiable behauiour, he grew into such fauor and estimation with the prince of that countrie, that he might vnderneath haue wished anie greater; at length also he came into such familiar acquaintance with the said princes daughter, that she of courtisie in the

end

Fleance
daughters
prince of
wales his
daughter.
Fleance
slaine.
waler the
sonne of
fance.

Waler
bying
up.

The stout
much appe-
ring in we-
ter from his
childhood.

walter fle-
into Scot-
land.

Shant
gait.

walter son
with an ar-
to daunt
his.

walter ma-
lud newa
of Scotlan

Flane
St
ward.

The iourn
into the hol-
land.
Alexander
Sheward.
Walter
ward.

Alexander
Sheward
some of
ter.
Robert
ward.

John Ste-
ward and
James
ward.

walter in the
rit of
hill, &c.

King Robert
the Second.

John Ste-
ward
Robert.

dearing of
mour.

septing.

nteng of
105.

akethis
interfere
le and
tie.

akethis
lie confli
e.

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ile to sea
mquho and
sonne.

nquho is
ne, but his
re elca
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ance
nquhos
ie death
wales.

e line of
Scottis
ja.

France de-
saure the
prince of
wales his
daughter.
France is
dane.
waler the
sonne of Flo-
ance.

his bringing
up.

The stout sto-
mich appa-
ring in waler
from his
childhood.

walter fleeth
into Scot-
land.

shunt Mar-
garet.

walter sent
with a armit
to deunt re-
bis.

walter made
lord steward
of Scotland.

Alane Ste-
ward.

The tourme
into the holie
land.
Alexander
Steward.
Walter Ste-
ward.

Alexander
Steward the
sonne of Wal-
ter.
Robert Ste-
ward.

John Ste-
ward and
James Ste-
ward.

walter inhe-
ritor of Son-
hill, &c.

King Robert
the second.

John Ste-
ward and
James Ste-
ward named
Robert.

and suffered him to get his with child; which being once understood, his father the prince conceived such hateful displeasure towards Fleance, that he finally slew him, & held his daughter in most vile estate of servitude, for that she had consented to be on his wife deflowered by a stranger. At the last yet, she was delivered of a sonne named Walter, who within few yeares proved a man of greater courage and balliance, than any other had commonlie bene found, although he had no better bringing up than (by his grandfathers appointment) among the baser sort of people. Whobest he shewed ever euen from his infancy, that there rigned in him a certaine stoutnesse of stomack, readye to attempt high enterpises.

It chanced that falling out with one of his companions, after manie taunting words which passed betwixt them, the other to his reproch obiected that he was a bastard, and begotten in unlawfull bed; wherewith being sore kindled, in his raging furie he ran upon him and slew him out of hand. Then was he glad to flee out of Wales, and coming into Scotland to seeke some friendship there, he happened into the companie of such Englishmen, as were come thither with queene Margaret, and behaued himselfe so soberlie in all his demeanours, that within a while he was highly esteemed amongst them. Not long after by such means attaining to the degree of high reputation, he was sent with a great power of men into the westerne Isles, into Galloway, & other parts of the realme, to deliuer the same from the tyrannie and iniurious oppression there exercised by diuers misgouerned persons; which enterpise according to his commission he achieved, with such prudent policie and manhood, that immediatlie upon his returne to the court, he was made lord steward of Scotland, with assignement to receive the kings rents and duties out of the parts of the realme.

This Walter Steward had a sonne named Alane Steward, who went after with Godfreie of Bullogne duke of Lozaine, & Robert duke of Normandie sonne to king William the bastard that conquered England, into the holie land, at what time they with other westerne princes made the great tourne thither, in the yeare 1099. Alane had issue Alexander Steward, that founded the abbey of Pasleie of saint Benedicts order. Walter Steward, whose balliance was well notified at the battell of Largs, as hereafter shall be shewed, was the sonne of the said Alexander. The same Walter had issue two sons, the one named Alexander, fought right valiantlie in defense of his father at the foresaid battell; and the other named Robert Steward got the lands of Terbolwounne, and married the heire of Crukeistotine, from whom descended the earles of Leuncor and Dornlie. Moreover, the aboue mentioned Alexander Steward that founded Pasleie, had diuerse mo sonnes, as John and James, with sundrie other. Whobest they took new surnames by the name of those lands, unto the which they succeeded. The foresaid John Steward, after the death of his brother James, married the heire of Bonhill a virgine of great beautie, and had by him Walter Steward that inherited the lands of Bonhill, Kanfrew, Kothelsaie, Wute, and Stewatsone, after that his father the fornamed John was slaine at Falkirke.

He married Margerie Bruce daughter to king Robert Bruce, by whome he had issue king Robert the second of that name. This Robert the second took to wife one Isabell Pure, a damsell of right excellent beautie, she was daughter to sir Adam Pure knight, and brought forth issue, three sonnes and three daughters. The eldest sonne right John Steward otherwile named Robert, who succeeded im-

mediatlie after his fathers deceasse in gouernance of the crowne. The second called Robert was made earle of Fife and Menteith, also he was created duke of Albanie, and ruled the realme of Scotland under the name of gouernour, for the space of fiftene yeares. The third sonne named Alexander was earle of Buchquhane and lord of Baudenot. The eldest daughter was married to James that was the sonne and heire of William earle of Douglas. The second daughter was married to John Dunbar, brother to George of Dunbar earle of March, and was made to the aduancement of his further fame earle of Murray. He begot on him one daughter, that was married to the Douglas, and so Douglas came to the earle dome of Murray. The third daughter was married unto John Lion, that was after made lord of Clammis.

Moreover, the foresaid Robert that was the first of the Stewards which ware the crowne in Scotland, married Eufame daughter to the earle of Ross, and got on him two sonnes, Walter earle of Atholl, and David earle of Strathern. This Walter solicited Robert duke of Albanie, to sea David Steward duke of Rothsaie. And after that James the first was returned home south of England, he did what he could to moue him to sea all the liuage of the said duke still being in hope after the dispatch of his kinsmen to come to the crowne himselfe, which hope moued him to procure his nephue Robert Steward, and Robert Graham his daughters son, to sea king James the first also, for the which crinie the same Walter was after conuicted and destroyed with all his sonnes. His brother David earle of Buchquhane died without issue, and so the lands of both these brethren returned againe to the crowne, without any memorie of their blood. Of Robert Steward duke of Albanie, came duke Murdoch, who married the earle of Lennox daughter, and got on him three sonnes, Walter, Alexander, and James.

Duke Murdoch himselfe with his two first sonnes were slaine at Striueling by king James the first, & the third brother James in reuenge thereof burnt Dunbertane, and was after chased into Ireland, where he deceased without issue. Robert the third of that name married Annabill Drommond, daughter to sir John Drommond of Stroubhall knight, and got on him David and James. The first died in Falkland, and the other attained the crowne, and was called James the first, and married the ladie Jane daughter to John Beauford erle of Summerfet in England. He had by him two sonnes boine at one birth, Alexander and James. The first died young, the second attained the crowne, named James the second. James the first had also six daughters, of the which the eldest was given in marriage to the Dolphin of France, the second to the duke of Britaine, the third to the lord of Feir, the fourth to the lord of Dalkeith, the fift to the earle of Huntley, and the sixt had no succession. James the second married Margaret daughter to the duke of Gelderland, and begot on him three sonnes, and two daughters.

The first succeeded him in the kingdome, and was called James the third: the second named Alexander was duke of Albanie, and married first the earle of Dykerries daughter, and got on him Alexander, that was afterward bishop of Murray, and then parting with him went into France, where he married the countesse of Bullogne, and begot on him John Steward duke of Albanie, that was gouernour of Scotland manie yeares in the minority of James the fift. The third sonne, John Steward was earle of Mar, whose chance was to be slaine in the Cannogat in a bathat. The first daughter of James the second, was married to the lord Woid, who begot on

Duke of Albanie.
Alexander Steward,
sonne to king Robert the second.

John Dunbar.

Eufame.

walter and David sonnes
to king Robert.
Robert duke
of Albanie.
James the first.

Graham.

Duke Murdoch.

King Robert the third.

David and James, sons
to king Robert the third.

John Beauford earle
of Summerfet.

James the first and his
issue.

The duke of Gelders
daughter.

James and Alexander.

Duke of Albanie the gou-
ernour of Scotland.
The lord Woid.

The lord
Hamilton.

Lord Creich-
ton.
James the
third and
his issue.

James the
fourth.

Macbeths
death.

His crueltie
caused throzgh
fear.

The castell of
Dunlunane
builded.

Macduff
thane of Fife.

hir a sonne that was slaine by the lord Forcumrie,
and a daughter that was married to the earle of Cal-
fells. After the death of the lord Boid, the husband
of this first daughter of James the second, she was
estones married to the lord Hamilton, and by that
means was the house of the Hamiltons honored
with the kings blood. The other sister was married
to the lord Creich-ton, of whom came small succession
worthy to be mentioned. James the third married
Margaret daughter to the king of Denmarke. Of
the which marriage was borne James the fourth, A-
lexander that was bishop of saint Andrews & duke
of Albanie, and John Stewart earle of Mar, but
these two died without issue.

James the fourth married Margaret daughter to
king Henrie the seventh of England, and begot on
hir James the fifth, who marrying first the lady Ma-
gallen daughter to Francis the French king, had no
issue by hir, for that she died in the yere next after
hir comming into Scotland, and then shortly after
the said James the fifth married the lady Marie de
Lorraine, duchesse of Lorraine, a widow, and by hir
had he issue Marie quene of Scotland, that toke to
husband Henrie Stewart lord Dornlie, by whome
she had issue Charles James, now king of Scotland.
But to returne vnto Macbeth, in continuing the hi-
storie, and to begin where I left, ye shall vnderstand
that after the continued slaughter of Banquo, no-
thing prospered with the foresaid Macbeth: for in
maner euerie man began to doubt his owne life, and
durst vnneth appeare in the kings presence; and euen
as there were manie that stood in feare of him, so
likewise stood he in feare of manie, in such sort that he
began to make those atwaie by one surmized cauilla-
tion or other, whome he thought most able to worke
him anie displeasure.

At length he found such sweetnesse by putting his
nobles thus to death, that his earnest thirst after
blood in this behalfe might in no wise be satisfied:
for ye must consider he was double profit (as he
thought) hereby: for first they were rid out of the
way whome he feared, and then againe his coffers
were enriched by their goods which were forfeited to
his use, whereby he might better mainteine a garr-
d of armed men about him to defend his person from
inurie of them whom he had in anie suspicion. Fur-
ther, to the end he might the more cruellie oppresse
his subiects with all tyrantlike wrongs, he builded
a strong castell on the top of an hie hill called Dun-
lunane, situate in Colouzie, ten miles from Perth,
on such a proud height, that standing there aloft, a
man might behold well nere all the countries of
Angus, Fife, Strermond, and Crinedale, as it were
heng vnderneath him. This castell then being found-
ed on the top of that high hill, put the realme to
great charges before it was finished, for all the stuf-
fe necessarie to the building, could not be brought vp
without much toyle and businesse. But Macbeth be-
ing once determined to haue the worke go forward,
caused the thanes of each shire within the realme, to
come and helpe towards that building, each man his
course about.

At the last, when the turne fell vnto Macduff
thane of Fife to build his part, he sent workemen
with all needfull prouision, and commanded them to
shew such diligence in euerie behalfe, that no occasi-
on might bee giuen for the king to find fault with
him, in that he came not himselfe as other had done,
which he refused to do, for doubt least the king bea-
ring him (as he partly vnderstood) no great good
will, would laie violent hands vpon him, as he had
done vpon diuerse other. Shortly after, Macbeth
comming to behold how the worke went forward,
and because he found not Macduff there, he was

so offended, and said; I perceiue this man will ne-
uer obeie my commandements, till he be ridden
with a snaffle: but I shall prouide well inough for
him. Neither could he afterwards abide to loke vpon
the said Macduff, either for that he thought his
puissance ouer great, either else for that he had lear-
ned of certeine wizards, in whose words he put
great confidence (for that the prophesie had hap-
pened so right, which the three saries or weird sisters had
declared vnto him) how that he ought to take heed of
Macduff, who in time to come should seeke to de-
stroye him.

And suerlie hereby he had he put Macduff to
death, but that a certein witch, whome he had in
great trust, had told that he should neuer be slaine
with man borne of anie woman, nor banquished till
the wood of Bernane canie to the castell of Dunlunane.
By this prophesie Macbeth put all feare out
of his heart, supposing he might do what he would,
without anie feare to be punished for the same, for by
the one prophesie he beleued it was impossible for
anie man to vanquish him, and by the other impossi-
ble to slea him. This vaine hope caused him to do
manie outrageous things, to the greivous oppression
of his subiects. At length Macduff, to auoid perill of
life, purposed with himselfe to passe into England,
to procure Malcolme Cammore to claime the
crown of Scotland. But this was not so secretlie
devised by Macduff, but that Macbeth had know-
ledge giuen him thereof: for kings (as is said) haue
sharpe sight like vnto an eye, and long ears like vnto
an eie. For Macbeth had in euerie noble mans
house, one lie fellow or other in fee with him, to re-
ueale all that was said or done within the same, by
which sight he oppressed the most part of the nobles
of his realme.

Immediatlie then, being aduertised whereabout
Macduff went, he came hastily with a great power
into Fife, and forthwith besieged the castell where
Macduff dwelled, trusting to haue found him
therein. They that kept the house, without anie re-
sistance opened the gates, and suffered him to enter,
mistrusting none euill. But neuertheless Macbeth
most cruellie caused the wife and children of Ma-
duff, with all other whom he found in that castell, to
be slaine. Also he confiscated the goods of Macduff,
proclaimed him traitor, and confined him out of all
the parts of his realme; but Macduff was already
escaped out of danger, and gotten into England vnto
Malcolme Cammore, to trie what purchase he
might make by means of his support, to reuenge the
slaughter so cruellie executed on his wife, his chil-
dren, and other friends. At his comming vnto Ma-
lcolme, he declared into what great miserie the e-
state of Scotland was brought, by the detestable
cruelties exercised by the tyrant Macbeth, hauing
committed manie horrible slaughters and murders,
both as well of the nobles as commons, for the which
he was hated right mortallie of all his liege people,
desiring nothing more than to be deliuered of that
intollerable and most heauie yoke of tyraldome,
which they suffered at such a cattifes hands.

Malcolme hearing Macduffes words, which he
vnderstood in verie lamentable sort, for more compassi-
on and verie ruth that pearced his sorrowfull hart, be-
wailing the miserable state of his countrie, he fet-
tered a deepe sigh; which Macduff perceiving, began
to fall most earnestlie in hand with him, to enter-
prize the deliuering of the Scottish people out of the
hands of so cruell and bloudie a tyrant, as Macbeth
by too manie plaine experiments did shew himselfe
to be: which was an easie matter for him to bring to
passe, considering not onlie the god title he had, but
also the earnest desire of the people to haue some oc-
casion

Macbeth is
offended with
Macduff.

Macbeths
confidence in
wizards.

Malcolme
Cammore

Macbeth
entice

Malcolme
and Macduff
eyes.

Macbeth
for

Macbeths
crueltie
against
Macduffs
family.

Macduff
escaped
into
England
vnto
Malcolme
Cammore.

Macduff
was
vnto
Malcolme.

Macbeth
of
all

Macbeth
and
be
in
liege

caution ministered, whereby they might be reuenged of these notable iniuries, which they dailye sustained by the outrageous crueltie of Mabbeths misgouernance. Though Malcolme was verie sorrowfull for the oppression of his countreimen the Scots, in manner as Mabbeth had declared: yet doubting whether he were come as one that must busiedlie as he spake, or else as sent from Mabbeth to betraie him, he thought to haue some farther triall, and thereupon dissembling his mind at the first, he answered as followeth.

Malcolme
Commoner his
answer.

I am trulie verie sozie for the miserie chanced to my countrie of Scotland, but though I haue neuer so great affection to relieue the same, yet by reason of certeine incurable vices, which reigne in me, I am nothing meet thereto. First, such immoderate lust and voluptuous sensualitie (the abhominable founteine of all vices) followeth me, that if I were made king of Scots, I should seeke to despoile your maids and matrones, in such wise that mine intemperancie should be more importable vnto you, than the bloudie tyrannie of Mabbeth now is. Herevnto Mabbeth answered: This suerlie is a verie euill fault, for manie noble princes and kings haue lost both liues and kingdomes for the same; neuertheless there are women enow in Scotland, and therefore follow my counsell. Make thy selfe king, and I shall conueie the matter so wisely, that thou shalt be so satisfied at thy pleasure in such secret wise, that no man shall be aware thereof.

Mabbeths
answer.

Then said Malcolme, I am also the most auaritious creature on the earth, so that if I were king, I should seeke so manie waies to get lands and goods, that I would see the most part of all the nobles of Scotland by surmized accusations, to the end I might inioy their lands, goods, and possessions; and therefore to shew you what mischief may insue on you through mine insatiable couetousnes, I will rehearse vnto you a fable. There was a fox hauing a soze place on him ouerset with a swarme of flies, that continuallye sucked out his blood: and when one that came by and saw this manner, demanded whether she should haue the flies driuen beside him, he answered no: for if these flies that are already full, and by reason thereof sucke not verie egerlie, should be chased away, other that are emptie and sellie an hungered, should light in their places, and sucke out the residue of my blood farre more to my greouance than these, which now being satisfied doe not much annoy me. Wherefore saith Malcolme, suffer me to remaine where I am, least if I attaine to the regiment of your realme, mine unquenchable auarice may proue such; that ye would thinke the displeasures which now grieue you, should seeme easie in respect of the vnrmeasureable outrage, which might insue through my comming amongst you.

A fable of a
fox.

Couetous-
nesse the root
of all mischiefe

Mabbeth to this made answer, how it was a far worse fault than the other: for auarice is the root of all mischiefe, and for that crime the most part of our kings haue bene slaine and brought to their final end. Yet notwithstanding follow my counsell, and take vpon thee the crowne. There is gold and riches enow in Scotland to satiffie thy greedie desire. Then said Malcolme againe, I am furthermore inclined to dissimulation, telling of leasings, and all other kinds of deceit, so that I naturallie reioice in nothing so much, as to betraie & deceiue such as put anie trust or confidence in my words. Then sith there is nothing that more becommeth a prince than constancie, veritie, truth, and iustice, with the other laudable fellowship of those faire and noble vertues which are comprehended onlie in soothfastnesse, and that lieng vtterlie ouerthroweth the same; you see how unable I am to gouerne anie prouince or regi-

Dissimulation
and deitring
in lies.

on: and therefore sith you haue remedies to cloke and hide all the rest of my other vices, I praise you and shitt to cloke this vice amongst the residue.

Then said Mabbeth: This yet is the worst of all, and there I leaue thee, and therefore saie: Oh ye unhappie and miserable Scottishmen, which are thus scourged with so manie and sundrie calamities, ech one about other! Ye haue one cursed and wicked tyrant that now reigneth ouer you, without anie right or title, oppressing you with his most bloudie crueltie. This other that hath the right to the crowne, is so replet with the inconstant behauiour and manifest vices of Englishmen, that he is nothing tooke to inioy it: for by his owne confession he is not onelic auaritious, and giuen to insatiable lust, but so false a traitor withall, that no trust is to be had vnto anie word he speaketh. Adieu Scotland, for now I account my selfe a banished man for euer, without comfort or consolation: and with those words the blackish teares trickled downe his cheeks verie abundantlie.

Mabbeths
exclamation.

Mabbeth
weepeth.

At the last, when he was readie to depart, Malcolme took him by the sleeve, and said: Be of good comfort Mabbeth, for I haue none of these vices before remembred, but haue iested with thee in this manner, onlie to proue thy mind: for diuerse times heretofore hath Mabbeth sought by this manner of meanes to bring me into his hands, but the more now I haue shewed my selfe to condescend to thy motion and request, the more diligence shall I vse in accomplishing the same. Incontinentlie hereupon they embraced ech other, and promising to be faithful the one to the other, they fell in consultation how they might best provide for all their businessse, to bring the same to good effect. Some after, Mabbeth repairing to the borders of Scotland, addresed his letters with secret dispatch vnto the nobles of the realme, declaring how Malcolme was confederat with him, to come hastily into Scotland to claime the crowne, and therefore he required them, sith he was right inheritor thereto, to assist him with their powers to recouer the same out of the hands of the wrongfull usurper.

Malcolme
comforteth
Mabbeth.

Mabbeth &
Malcolme im-
brace ech o-
ther.

Mabbeth
writeth let-
ters to his
friends in
Scotland.

In the meane time, Malcolme purchased such favour at king Edwards hands, that old Siward earle of Northumberland was appointed with ten thousand men to go with him into Scotland, to support him in this enterprise, for recouerie of his right. After these newes were spread abroad in Scotland, the nobles drew into two severall factions, the one taking part with Mabbeth, and the other with Malcolme. Hereupon ensued oftentimes sundrie bickerings, & diuerse light skirmishes: for those that were of Malcolmes side, would not iopard to ioine with their enemies in a pight field, till his comming out of England to their support. But after that Mabbeth perceiued his enemies power to increase, by such aid as came to them forth of England with his aduersarie Malcolme, he recoiled backe into Fife, there proposing to abide in campe fortified, at the castell of Duninane, and to fight with his enemies, if they ment to pursue him; howbeit some of his friends aduised him, that it should be best for him, either to make some agreement with Malcolme, or else to flee with all speed into the Isles, and to take his treasure with him, to the end he might wage sundrie great princes of the realme to take his part, & retaine strangers, in whome he might better trust than in his owne subiects, which shall daile from him: but he had such confidence in his prophesies, that he belieued he should neuer be vanquished, till Birnane wood were brought to Duninane; nor yet to be slaine with anie man, that should be or was bozne of anie woman.

Siward earle
of North-
umberland.

The nobles of
Scotland di-
uides.

Mabbeth re-
coileth.

Mabbeth is
counselled to
flee into the
Isles.

Mabbeths
trust in pro-
phesies.

Malcolme

Branches of trees.

Malcolm seteth his men in order of battell. Malcolme fleeth, & is pursued of Malcolme.

Malcolme's name.

1057. Io. M.
1061. H. B.
8. H. B.

Malcolme

A parliament at Fozfair.

Chances changed into earles.

Surnames.

Malcolme following battell after Malcolme, came the night before the battell unto Birnane wood, and when his armie had rested a while there to refresh them, he commanded everie man to get a bough of some tree or other of that wood in his hand, as big as he might beare, and to march forth therewith in such wise, that on the next morrow they might come close, lie and without sight in this manner within view of his enemies. On the morrow when Malcolme beheld them comming in this sort, he first marvelled what the matter ment, but in the end remembred himselfe that the prophesie which he had heard long before that time, of the comming of Birnane wood to Dunstane castell, was likeli to be now fulfilled. Nevertheless, he brought his men in order of battell, and exhorted them to do valiantlie, howbeit his enemies had scarcelie cast from them their boughs, when Malcolme perceiuing their numbers, betooke him strenght to flight, whom Malcolme pursued with great hatred even till he came unto Lunfannaine, where Malcolme perceiuing that Malcolme was hard at his backe, leapt beside his horse, saying: Thou traitor, what meanest it that thou shouldst thus in vaine follow me that am not appointed to be slaine by anie creature that is borne of a woman, come on therefore, and receive thy reward which thou hast deserved for thy paines, and therewithall he lifted by his sword thinking to have slaine him.

But Malcolme quicklie avoiding from his horse, per he came at him, answered (with his naked sword in his hand) saying: It is true Malcolme, and now shall thine insatiable crueltie have an end, for I am even he that thy wizards have told thee of, who was neuer borne of my mother, but ripped out of her wombe: the rewithall he slept unto him, and slue him in the place. Then cutting his head from his shoulders, he set it upon a pole, and brought it unto Malcolme. This was the end of Malcolme, after he had reigned 17 yeres over the Scottishmen. In the beginning of his reigne he accomplished manie wondrous acts, verie profitable to the common-wealth (as ye have heard) but afterward by illusion of the diuell, he defamed the same with most terrible crueltie. He was slaine in the yere of the incarnation, 1057, and in the 16 yere of king Edwards reigne over the Englishmen.

Malcolme Canmore thus recovering the realme (as ye have heard) by support of king Edward, in the 16 yere of the same Edwards reigne, he was crowned at Scone the 25 day of Aprill, in the yere of our Lord 1057. Immediately after his coronation he called a parliament at Fozfair, in the which he rewarded them with lands and livings that had assisted him against Malcolme, advancing them to fees and offices as he saw cause, & commanded that specially those that bare the surname of anie offices or lands, should have and enjoy the same. He created manie earles, lords, barons, and knights. Manie of them that before were chances, were at this time made earles, as Fife, Penteth, Atholl, Leuenor, Murray, Cathnes, Ross, and Angus. These were the first earles that have bene heard of amongst the Scottishmen (as their histories do make mention.) Manie new surnames were taken by at this time amongst them, as Cauder, Lokart, Goudon, Selton, Lauder, Matwane, Meldrum, Schaw, Leirmouth, Libertoun, Strachughen, Cargill, Kattrey, Dundas, Cockbourne, Mirtoun, Menzeis, Abercrommie, Lillie, with manie other that had possessions given them, which gave names to the owners for the time. Others got their surnames by offices, as Steward, Durbard, and Banerman. Also the proper names of manie valiant capitains were turned into generall surnames, as Kennedie, Graham,

Hate, with diverse other so long here to rehearse. So that it came to passe then, as it hath done manie times since, that new surnames have become the old out of use.

In the foresaid parliament thus holden at Fozfair, in the beginning of his reigne, there were manie wholesome ordinances established, both appertaining to civill administration, and also to the ecclesiasticall jurisdiction. In reward also of Malcolmes service, who (as ye have heard) chiefly aided him to the attaining of the crowne, he honored him and his posteritie with three sorts of privileges. First, that the earle of Fife for the time being, at the coronation of a king, should by his office set the crowne on the kings head. The second was, that when the king should give battell to his enemies, the same earle should lead the vauntgard of his host. The third, that the lineage of Malcolme should enjoy regall authoritie and power within all their lands and comes, as to appoint officers and iudges for the hearing and determining of all matters and controuersies (treason onelie excepted) and that if anie of their men or tenants were called to answer in anie court out of their circuit, they might appeale to their owne iudges to be appointed, as before is expressed.

Iohannes Maior testified in his chronicles, that the third privilege, which Malcolme granted unto this Malcolme and his posteritie, was this, that for everie gentleman that anie of them should hap to kill by chancedeath, and not upon pretended malice, for the summe of 24 marks he should redeme his punishment due for the same: & for the casuall slaughter of a meaner person he should be fined at twelve marks. So that murderers were wont to say, that if they were able to paie that summe to the kinbor, they ought to be released of further punishment, by Malcolmes privilege. But this third privilege, together with the other two former grants, the said Maior soze reproueth, and not without cause, as may appere, considering the naturall inclination of that people unto murder, which by this meanes nourishing secret hatred and malice in their hearts, might under the cloke of casuall falling out, slay whom they listed.

It was ordeined also at this parliament, that barons which had liberties within themselves, should make gibbets, whereon men that deserved death should suffer execution: and also draw-wells, wherein women that were condemned should be drowned, according to the order of the civill lawes used in Scotland. Moreover, all the lawes that Malcolme had ordeined, were abrogated at this parliament. Thus thildest Malcolme was busied in setting orders amongst his subiects, tidings came that one Lugtake surnamed the sole, being either the sonne, or (as some write) the cosen of the late mentioned Malcolme, was conuicted with a great number of such as had taken part with the said Malcolme unto Scone, and there by their support received the crowne, as lawfull inheritor thereto. To appeale this businesse, was Malcolme earle of Fife sent with full commission in the kings name, who encountering with Lugtake at a village called Essen in Bogdale, slue him, and discomfited his whole power, ordering the matter with them in such wise, that afterwards there was no more trouble attempted in that behalfe.

After this, the realme continued in peace certaine yeres, till it chanced a great number of thieves and robbers assembling themselves together at Cocbourne pethes, did much hurt, by robbing and spoiling the people in the countries of Mers and Louthian: howbeit, at length one Patrike Dunbar of Dunbar, by commandment of the king, fought with them, slue their capitaine, with six hundred of his companie,

robbers of countries.

Patrike Dunbar, earle of March.

The head that is given in a conspire.

The man that is given in a conspire.

Shame of an Eng.

Gibbets and draw-wells.

Malcolme's lawes abrogated.

W. Malr.

Lugtake.

Lugtake crowned at Scone.

Lugtake is slaine.

Hector Bo.

Patrike Dunbar being quitted the thieves and

The queen's

robbers of the
countrie.

Districte
Dunbar earle
of March.

usse
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eges
d into
uften

The head of a
thefe of fellon
giuen in arms

A conspiracie.

es Ma.

The manlie
courage of H.
Malcolme.

He more here
at in England

and
cla.

his
1209

Wl. Malm.

as

Hector Boet.

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ben
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nd

The queenes
ferrie.

companie, and take fourescore prisoners, the which he caused to be hanged. And thus hauing deliuered the countrie of those perlers, with losse of fortie of his owne men, he returned to the king, with the head of the capteine of that rout: so that for his manhood herein shewed, he was made by the king earle of March, and for the maintenance of his estate, had the lands of Cockbourne. Wherbyes giuen to him and his heires for euer, vpon this condition, that in times comming, the earles of March should purge spers and Louthian of all theues and robbers. In memorie whereof, he was commaunded to beare in his armes a fellons head sprinkled with blood.

Shortlie after he got knowledge, how there were certeine gentlemen that had conspired to slea him, & therefore taking occasion to go on hunting, where this act should haue bene executed, he callith the chiefe author of the conspiracie apart into a certeine ballie, which was closed on euery side with thicke woods, and there brake the matter vnto him, in reposing him verie sharpelie, for that he had so traitorously conspired his death, whose preservation he ought chiefe to haue wished, considering the manifold benefites he had receiued at his hands. And herewith leaping from his horse, drew his sword, conuincing the other likewise to draw his, that now hauing conuenient time and place thereto, they might trie the matter betwixt them, who should be thought most worthy of life, by open force of knightlie prowesse. The conspirator hearing these words, as a man altogether astonished, fell doونه vpon his knees at the kings feet, beseeching his grace of mercie for his wicked purpose and heinous offense: who seeing him thus penitent, had him arise, and said; I am content heretupon to forgive thee, so that thou be not of counsell hereafter in anie such traitorous practise.

Whilist things passed thus in Scotland, great and marvellous chancas came to passe within the realme of England. For after the death of king Edward, furnished the Confessor, Harold the sonne of earle Godwine toke on him the kingdome. But William bassard duke of Normandie, pretending title to the crowne of England, at length inuaded the land, and sleaing Harold in field, made a full conquest of the realme, and was crowned king at London by Eldred archbishop of Yorke. Here ye haue to vnderstand, that king Edward in his life time had sent for his nephew Edward, the sonne of his brother Edmund Ironside, to come home forth of Hungarie, whither (after his fathers deceasse) he and his brother Godwine had bene sent awaie, as in the historie of England it appereth more at large. This Edward had married the daughter of the emperor Henrie, named Agatha, sister to the queene of Hungarie, and not the king of Hungaries daughter, although the Scottish writers doe so affirme. By hir he had issue a sonne named Edgar, and two daughters, the one named Margaret, and the other Christen.

King Edward ment that his nephew the said Edward should haue succeeded him, and (as some write) he would in his life time haue resigned the crowne vnto him. But he (a thing worthy of admiration) bitterlie refused it, and would not once meddle therewith during his uncles life time; & (as it chanced) he died, whilist his uncle king Edward was yet liuing. His sonne Edgar therefore, to whom it seemed that the crowne was due, when he saw the realme conquered by the Normans, despairing to recover it out of their hands, got a ship, and determined with his mother and sisters to passe ouer into Germanie to his friends and kinsfolke there: but by contrarie winds he was driven to those in the Forth, at a place called vnto this day the queenes ferrie. Malcolme being at the same time at Dunfermeling, when he

heard of the arrivall of this ship, and understood that they were that were aboyd in hir, he resorted thither with an honorable companie about him, to visit them for honors sake, vpon fauour he bare towards them, for that they were descended of that noble prince king Edward, in whome afore time he had found so much gentleness and friendship.

Finallie, when he understood their estate, he brought them home with him to his palace, shewing them all the lone and friendship he could deuise; and in the end considering the excellent beutie, wisdom, and noble qualities of the ladie Margaret, sister to the same Edgar, he required of Agatha hir mother to haue hir in mariage, wherunto Agatha gladiie condescended. Shortlie after, with an assemble of all the nobles of Scotland, this mariage was made and solemnized after the octaves of Easter, in the yeare 1067, with all the ioy & triumph that might be deuised. King William conqueror of England, being informed hereof, feared least this alliance betwixt Malcolme and Edgar might breed some trouble and disquietnesse to his estate, sith the same Edgar had manie friends through all the parties of England. To preuent therefore the occasions of intestine troubles, he confined all the lineage of the foresaid Edgar, by reason whereof, a great number of Englishmen came into Scotland vnto king Malcolme, and manie of them obtaining livings at his hands, remained there continually during their liues, leauing to their posteritie their names & possessions. Amongst whom were these, Lindseie, Mans, Ranseie, Lowell, Cotbais, Prestoune, Sandlands, Willart, Solwis, Wardlaw, Martwell, with diuerse other.

There came diuerse also out of Hungarie with queene Margaret, who likewise left their names to their families, which yet remaine euen vnto this day, as Creichtoune, Fotringham, Cissart, Melmill, Bothwike, and others. Also there haue come at sundrie seasons out of France diuers surnames into Scotland, as Fraiser, Sinclair, Boswell, Powtray, Mountgummerie, Campbell, Bois, Westoun, or Betoun, Laillefer, and Bothwell, besides sundrie other which were but superfluous to rehearse at this time. But to the order of the historie. It is recorded by writers, that these (which at this time came out of England vnto Edgar) brought great quantitie of gold and siluer with them; also manie reliques of saints, and (amongst other) that blacke crosse which king David gaue vnto the abbete of Holie rood house in Louthian, which he founded at his owne charges. Shortlie after the prescription of these Englishmen, William the conqueror sent an herald at armes vnto king Malcolme, demanding to haue Edgar deliuered into his hands, and threatening that if he refused to deliuer him, he would surely fetch him, and that smallie for Malcolms commodity.

But Malcolme, though he understood that he should be sure of wars at King Williams hands for his deniall; yet he declared plainelie to the herald, that his masters request was unreasonable, & therefore he minded not in anie wise to gratifie him therein. King William receiuing this answer from king Malcolme, proclaimed open warre against Scotland. In the meane time all Northumberland toke part with King Malcolme, for that he was their earles sisters sonne. Whereupon King William sent a valiant capteine, a Norman borne named Roger, to inuade Northumberland. Which Roger gathering a power of men, came bassilie into that countrie, howbeit he abode a short time there in honor, for by the Scots & Northumberland men his armie was discomfited, and he himselfe traitorously slaine by his owne souldiers.

But

Malcolme
Conquerors
nephew
sister to
Edgar
Christen.

1067. H.B.

Englishmen
fled into Scot
land.

Surnames of
Englishmen
in Scotland.

Surnames of
Hungarians.

Surnames of
Frenchmen.

The blacke
crosse.

William con-
queror threat-
ning king
Malcolme.

Malcolms
answer.

Open warre
proclaimed by
William con-
queror.
Northumber-
land toke
part with H.
Malcolme.
Roger a Nor-
man capteine
or rather earle
Roger (as I
take it.)
He in Eng-
land.

The earle of
Glocester.

**Gospatrikz
Saint Simon
Dunel.**

Odo bishop of
Baieux and
earle of Kent.

Malcolms
enterprise a-
gainst his eni-
mies.

Robert the
sonne of wil-
liam conque-
rour.
Newcastle
upon Tyne
fortified.

A peace con-
cluded be-
twixt William
Conquerour,
and Mal-
colme Cam-
more.

The reicrosse.
walthesof.

Steward earle
of Northum=
berland.

Rebellion in Galloway.

swalter the
tonne of Fle-
ance.

Makglau. 1

Walter created high steward of Scotland.

new rebel-
on in Mur-
p land.

But king William nothing discouraged with this overthrow: sent one Richard earle of Gloucester (whome amongst all the Englishmen he had most in trust) with a mightie armie into Cumberland; against whome were sent the earles of March and Penteith, who defended the countrie right manlie from the inuasion of the said earle, so that he was not able to take anye advantage of them. King William aduertised hereof, waxed wonderfull wroth, that no more good was done against his enemies, whereupon he sent a new power thither with all speed, vnder the leading of his brother Mdo, who was both bishop of Bataur, and earle of Kent. By this last armie, the countrie of Northumberland was soe spoiled, and a great number both of Scots and Northumberlandmen discomfited and slaine. But as Mdo was preparing to returne, there came Malcolme, with all the power he might make, and giuing an onset vpon his enemies, slue a great number of them, and recovered all the battie which Mdos men had got in the countrie, and so right tofull of that victorie, returned into Scotland. King William yet nothing abashed for these mishaps, sent his sonne called Robert, with a far greater power than at anye time he had sent before, into Northumberland, who remaining a long season in campe nere to the riuer of Tyne, attempted no notable enterpryse, sauing that he repaired and newlie fortified the towne of Beruicall, which standeth vpon the same riuer of Tyne; and then at length a peace was concluded betwixt the two kings vnder these conditions, that king Malcolme should inioy that part of Northumberland which lieth betwixt Ewed, Cumberland, and Stainmore, and to do homage to the k. of England for the same. In the midst of Stainmore there shall be a crosse set vp, with the king of Englands image on the one side, and the king of Scotlands on the other, to signifie that the one is march to England, and the other to Scotland. This crosse was called the roicrosse, that is, the crosse of the kings. Moreover, it was concluded that Maltheof or Woldosius (as the Scottish writers name him) the sonne of Edward earle of Northumberland should marie king Williams niece, borne of his daughter, and to be free from all payments and exactions due to the king by anye manner of prerogative or means, for the space of twentie yeares next ensuing.

In the necke of this peace thus concluded betwixt the kings, hapened new trouble in Scotland, by reason of intestine rebellion: for the people of Galloway, and the Island men, rose in great numbers, and spoiled the borders of their neighbors, not sparing from slaughter in all parts, where they were any thing resisted. Against these rebels was sent by king Malcolm, Walter the sonne of Fleance of whome there is mention made before with a convenient armie, who at his coming into Galloway, first gaue the people of that countrie an overthrow, and slue their chiefe capteine Hakglawe. Then afterwards fighting with them of the Isles, he subdued them in such wise, that all things were pacified euen at commandement. For which high prowes and diligence in this peece of seruice shewed, he was created by Malcolm high steward of the realme, so that afterwards both he and his posteritie euer since haue bozne that surname, euen vnto these our daies.

After the quieting of this businesse, there sprang a new tumult more dangerous than the former, for the Surreyland men, procuring them of Rolle and Caghnes, with divers other to joine with them in confederacie, did not onelie sea the kings seruants, and those that were appointed vnder him to see the

fice miniftered, but through fupply of one Spakun-
 canie, whome they chofe to be their captaine, they al-
 fo waifed and deftroied the kings poffeffions, with
 more crueltie than euer had bene heard of before.
 Wherefore to punifh thefe traitorouſe attempts,
 Spakouffe was ſent with an armie into Spar. But
 the traitors doubting leaſt they ſhould not be able to
 withſtand his puiffance, thought nothing more a-
 uailable than to ſtop him with monie: but in the
 meane time came the King himſelfe in good ſeaſon
 into Spominnaſke, where he was aduertifed, that in
 manner all the north parts of Scotland with the Fies,
 were confederat al with the Gutreyland men againſt
 him. The king aſtoniſhed ſomething at theſe newes,
 ſolued to giue the baronite of Spominnaſke (which
 he vnderſtood to be lands pertaining to the crowne)
 vnto the church of ſaint Andro in Fiſe, if it might
 pleaſe God to ſend him victorie over his enemies.

At length coming into the water of Speie, he beheld his enemies on the further side, in greater number, and in better furniture for armes than he thought had bene possible to haue found in all Scotland: he perceived also that his standard-bearer began to thinke, and not to shew the like mercifull countenance as he ought to haue done. Wherefore he pulled the banner from him, and gaue it to Sir Alexander Carron, who with this his new office obtained sundrie faire lands and possessions, to him and to his heires for ever: but his surname was afterwards changed, and called Skrimgeour; of the which is descended a noble house, continuing yet in great honor in the same surname and office. When the king was once passed the water, and the armies on both sides readie to haue ioined, through mediation of bishops and other vertuous men, the matter was taken vp, and peace made on these conditions; That the commons that tooke part with the rebels, should returne home out of hand, and the gentlemen to submit themselves to the kings pleasure, their liues and lands saued. Howbeit manie of them were kept in perpetuall prison during their liues, and all their goods confiscated to the kings use.

All ciuill trouble and commotion being thus quieted, king Apalcolme (speciallie by the good abominifment and exhortation of his wife quene Margaret, a woman of great zeale vnto the religion of that time) gaue himfelfe in maner altogether vnto much deuotion, and workes of mercie; as in doing of almes deeds, by prouiding for the poore, and fuch like goodlie exercises: fo that in true vertue he was thought to excell all other princes of his time. To be brieue, herein there ſeemed to be in maner a certaine ſtrife betwixt him, and that vertuous quene his wife, which of them ſhould be moſt ſeruent in the loue of God, fo that manie people by the imitation of them were brought vnto a better life. Agatha and her daughter Chiffine alſo, by the example of theſe two holie liners, renounced the pompe of the court, and got them to a priuat and ſolitarie life, wherein they gaue themſelues whollic to diuine contemplation. Furthermoze, Apalcolme by the ſetting on of the quene his wife, ceaſed not to let his indeuor wholie to the advancement of the chriſtian religion, and to reſtoze things that were decayed by the negligence of his predeceſſors. Therefore theſes before his time, there were but foure biſhops ſees in Scotland, as ſaint Andzeus, Glaſcow, Galloway, and Durrthlake, and two of them, that is to ſay, ſaint Andzeus and Durrthlake remaining onelſe in goddeſſe ſeparation (the other being decayed) he reſtozed the other two to their former beauties, and furthermoze created two other of new, as Durrey and Cathnes, placing men of ſingular vertue and pureneſſe of life in the ſame.

Shakuntla

The Kings
bow.

**Standard
bearer.**

Sir Alexan-
der Carron.

A peace con-
cluded.

The submission of gentlemen.

King Mah-
colmie through
exhortation of
his wife, gi-
ueth himselfe
to deuotion.

godlie strif

**Agatha and
Christine re-
nounce the
world.**

Bishops lead
restored and
revivified created
by king Mah
line

But

Blot and
perfidious
chere brou
into Scot-
land.

The lame-
tion of the
Scottish n-
trie for the
temperate
surfetting
gun to gro-
in use in the
countrie.

**The ancient
sparing diet among
the Scots**

Sober fan
cause of
strength a
hugeness
of bodie.

What's the
more to it

The great
taste of me
infatiable

Men com
ted to two
CO240281

1086. F
The church
Durham
by King
colm.
Targot.

Riot and sa-
perious
into Scot-
land.

The lamenta-
tion of the
Scottish nobi-
lity for the in-
temperate
surfeiting be-
gun to grow
in use in their
countrie.

The ancient
sparenesse of
diet amongst
the Scots.

Sober fare
caus'd
strength and
bugenesse
of bodie.

Mans nature
prone to vice.

The greedie
taste of mens
insatiable lust.

Men compar-
ed to wolves
& cognorants.

1086. H.B.

The church of
Durham built
by king Hal-
con.

But to proceed. It is said, that such outrageous ri-
ot entered at this time, and began to grow in use a-
mong the Scottishmen, together with the language
and manners of the English nation (by reason that
such a multitude of the same, fleeing out of their
countrie, were daile received as then into Scot-
land to inhabit there, as before is shewed) that di-
uerse of the nobles perceiving that discommoditie
and decate to the whole realme would insue of this
intemperance, came to the king, lamenting grie-
uoullie the case, for that this venomous infection
spread so fast ouer the whole realme, to the peruer-
ting and vtter removing of the ancient sobrietie of
diet vsed in the same. Wherefore they besought him
to prouide some remedie in time, before hope of re-
dresse were past, that the people might be againe re-
duced vnto their former frugalitie, who hitherto vsed
not to eat but once in the day, and then desiring no
superfluous meates and drinks to be sought by sea
and land, nor curiouse dyes or serued forth with
saucies, but onlie feeding to satisfie nature, and not
their greedie appetites.

Through this their sober fare, with the exercising
of their bodies herewith in continuall trauell, they
grew more strong and greater of bodie, than their
offspring are found to be in these daies: for they were
more in resemblance like vnto giants than vnto
men of our time, with great and huge bodies, migh-
tie armes and lims, pressing vpon their enemies like
vnto fiercelions, bearing downe all before them,
without dread of ante danger, for that they exceeded
all humane strength and power. Herevpon king
Malcolme toke great paines to haue redressed this
infectiue poison, and vtterlie to haue expelled it forth
of his realme. Whobest the nature of man is so
prone and readie to embrace all kinds of vice, that
where the Scottish people before had no knowledge
nor vnderstanding of fine fare or riotous surfet; yet
after they had once tasted the sweet poisoned bait
thereof, there was now no meane to be found to re-
streine their licentious desires. And yet those corrup-
ted abuses and riotous superfluities (which came in-
to the realme of Scotland with the Englishmen)
planted therein by the daies of king Malcolme, are
not to be compared in excesse with things vsed in
our time. For in those daies, as yet the nature of
man was not so overcome with the abuse of super-
fluities, as it is now adades; for then though they
were gone from the ancient sparenesse of diet, they
yet did not eat past twice a day, and had but two di-
shes at a meale: but now the greedie taste of mens
insatiable lust is such, that no kind of flesh, fish, fruit,
or whatsoeuer may be gotten, is vnneeth able to
quench their gluttonous appetit & rauenous gormand-
izing; so that neither land, sea, nor aire, is left vn-
sought to satisfie the same, as though they were too:
this of most high commendation that may deuour
most: wherein they may be iustlie compared to grea-
die wolves and cognorants. But to bewaile that in
wordes which cannot be amended in deeds, is but a
folly: for the infection is so entered into the inner
parts of the intrails, that neither with purging, cut-
ting, nor searing, it may be holpen. Sooner shall you
destroye the whole nation, than remove this vice.

In the meane time whylest things passed thus in
Scotland, king William the Conqueror died in the
21 yeere of his reigne, and after the incarnation
of the old church of Durham to be plucked downe and build-
ed up a new, beginning euen at the first floure. In
which season, one Egilwin or William (as the Sco-
tish writers say) was bishop of that see; and prior of
the abbey was one Turgot, who afterward was
made bishop of saint Andrews, and wrote the lues

of quene Margaret and Malcolme hir husband in
the Scottish tong. Afterward he deceased in saint
Andrews, but his bodie was brought vnto Dur-
ham, and there buried, because he was first prior there
of. King Malcolme by persuation of his Turgot,
builded also a church in Dunfermling, dedicated to
the Trinitie, ordeining from thenceforth that the
common sepulture of the kings should be there, in
like maner as it had bene afore time in the Ile of
Jona at the abbey of Colmekill.

Amongst other vertuous ordinances also, which
were deuised and made by king Malcolme (through
exhortation of his wife quene Margaret) mentio-
ned by Turgot in the booke which he wrote of their
lives, this is not to be forgotten, that he abrogated
that wicked law, established by king Edwin the
third, appointing halfe a marke of silver to be paid to
the lord of the soile, in redemption of the womans
chastitie, which is vsed to be paid yet vnto this day,
and is called the marchets of woman: where other-
wise by tenor of king Ewings law, the lord had the
use of their bodies all the first night after their ma-
riage. King William surnamed the Red, the second
sonne of king William the Conqueror, and succed-
ed to him in the kingdome of England, not well
contented nor pleased in his mind, that the Scots
should inioy a great portion of the north parts of
England, ancientlie belonging to his crowne as
parcell thereof, he raised a great armie, and before
anie denouncing of warre by him made, invaded
Northumberland, and toke the castell of Anwik, by
putting all such to the sword as were found in the
same.

King Malcolme, to withstand such exploits at-
tempted by his ennemy, leuied a great host of his sub-
iects, and comming with the same into Northum-
berland, besieged the said castell of Anwik. And
now when the keepers of the hold were at point to
haue made surrender, a certeine English knight
conceiuing in his mind an hardie and dangerous in-
terpasse, mounted on a swift horse without armor
or weapon, sauing a speare in his hand, vpon the
point whereof he bare the keies of the castell, and so
issued forth at the gates, riding directlie towards the
Scottish campe. They that warred, mistrusting no
harme, brought him with great noise and clamour
vnto the kings tent. Who hearing the noise, came
forth of his pavilion to vnderstand what the matter
ment. The Englishman herewith couched his staffe,
as though it had bene to the end that the king might
receiue the keies which he had brought. And whilest
all mens eyes were earnest in beholding the keies,
the Englishman ran the king through the left eye,
and suddenlie dashing his spurs to his horse, elca-
ped to the next wood out of all danger. The point of
the speare entered so farre into the kings head, that
immediatlie falling downe amongst his men, hee
peeled by the ghost. This was the end of king Mal-
colme in the midst of his armie.

It is said, that king William changed the name
of this aduenturous knight, & called him Perce eie,
for that he stroke king Malcolme so right in the
eye, and in recompense of his seruice gaue him cer-
teine lands in Northumberland: of whome those
Percees are descended, which in our daies haue in-
ioied the honorable title of earles of Northumber-
land. The Scots after the slaughter of their king,
broke by their campe, and buried his bodie within
the abbey of Tinnmouth in England. But his sonne
Alexander caused it afterwarde to be taken vp, and
buried in Dunfermling before the altar of the Tri-
nitie. At the same time was Scotland wounded
with another mishap. For Edward the prince of
Scotland, eldest sonne to king Malcolme, died of a
hurt

The church of
Dunfermling

The sepulture
of the Sco-
tish kings.

King Ewings
law abrogated
or rather al-
tered.

William Ru-
fus.

The castell of
Anwik wonn
by the Eng-
lishmen.

The castell of
Anwik belie-
ged by the
Scots.

An hardie
enterpise.

Malcolme
is slaine.

The name of
the Percees
had no such
beginning, for
they came
forth of Nor-
mandie at the
conquest.
Earles of Nor-
thumberland,
Malcolme
buried at
Tinnmouth,

Edward
prince of Scot-
land died.

hurt which he received in a skirmish not farre from
Anwike, and was buried in Dunfermling, the first
of the blood roiall that had his bones laid in that
place. Quene Margaret being advertised of the
death both of hir husband and sonne, as then lieng in
Edenburgh castell, hir discaie increased through
griefe therof so vehemently, that within thre daies
after she departed out of this life, unto an other more
sofull and blessed. King Malcolme was slaine in the
père of our redemption 1092, on the 13 day of No-
vember, and in the 36 père of his reigne.

In the same père, manie vncouth things came to
passe, and were seene in Albion. By the high spring-
tides which chanced in the Almaine seas, manie
townes, castles, and woods were drowned, as well in
Scotland as in England. After the ceasing of which
tempest, the lands that sometime were earle God-
wins (of whome ye haue heard before) lieng not farre
from the towne of Sandwich, by violent force and
dist of the sea, were made a sand-bed, and euer si-
thens haue bene called Godwins sands. The people
haue thought that this vengeance came to that
père of ground being possessed by his posteritie, for
the wicked slaughter of Alured, which he traitorously
contrived. Moreover sundrie castles and townes in
Murrepland, were overthrowne by the sea tides.
Such dreadfull thunder happened also at the same
time, that men and beasts were slaine in the fields,
and houses ouerturned euen from their foundations.
In Louthian, fife, and Angus, trees and coyne were
burned up by fire, kindled no man knew how, nor
from whence.

In the daies of this Malcolme Cammore, liued
that famous historiographer Marianus a Scottis-
man borne, but professed a monk in the monastrie
of Fulda in Germanie. Also Veremond a Spanish
priest, but dwelling in Scotland, storied about the
same time, and wrote the Scottis historie, whome
Hector Boetius so much followeth. Malcolme had by
his wife quene Margaret (otherwise called for hir
holinesse of life saint Margaret) six sonnes, Edward
(as is said) was slaine: Ethelred, which died in his
tender age, and was buried in Dunfermling: and
Edmund which renounced the world, and liued an
holie life in England: the other thre were named
Edgar, Alexander, and David. Here be that wrote
how Edmund was taken, and put to death by his
uncle Donald Bane, when he invaded the king-
dome, and usurped the crowne, after the decesse of
his brother king Malcolme, and so then was Edgar
next inheritor to the crowne.

This Donald Bane, who (as before is mentioned)
fled into the Isles to eschue the tyrannicall malice of
Makbeth, after he once heard that his brother king
Malcolme was dead, returned into Scotland by
support of the king of Norway, unto whom he coue-
nanted to giue the dominion of all the Isles, if by his
means & furtherance he might obtaine the crowne
of Scotland. Hereupon landing with an armie in
the realme, he found small resistance, and so with
little adoe received the crowne. For manie of the
people abhorring the riotous maners and superflu-
ous gormandizing brought in among them by the
Englishmen, were willing inough to receiue this
Donald for their king, trusting (because he had bene
brought up in the Isles with the old customes and
maners of their ancient nation, without tast of the
English likerous delicats) they should by his seuer-
e order in gouernement recouer againe the former
temperance of their old progenitors.

As sone as Edgar Etheling brother to Quene
Margaret was advertised that Donald Bane had
thus usurped the crowne of Scotland, he sent secre-
tly for his thre nephues, Edgar, Alexander, and Da-

uid, with two sisters which they had, to come vnto
him into England, where he had not kept them anie
long while, but that a knight whose name was Ma-
gan or Edgar, accused him of treason, alledging
how he nourished his sisters sonnes and daughters
within the realme, in hope to make them inheritors
to the crowne: but the malice of this false surmise
remained not unpunished, for one of Edgars
friends, taking in hand to darraigne battell with Ma-
gan, in defense of Edgars innocencie, slue him
within lists. After that Donald had received the
crowne at the abbey of Scone, he perceived that
some of the nobles grudged at his preferment, get-
ting by some tokens that they had more affection un-
to king Malcolmes children, than vnto him: and
therefore he cast out a word amongst his familiars,
that yet it were long the nobles should repent them
of their doing, if they applied not them selues the
more to his opinion.

Which words being marked, and deepe im-
printed in some of their hearts, turned afterwards to his
great displeasure. For shortly after came Duncane
the bastard sonne of king Malcolme out of England
into Scotland, supported with an armie of men ap-
pointed by king William the Red, to place him in
the kingdome, and to expell Donald out of the same
by force of armes, if he attempted anie resistance.
Now when Donald approached with his puissance,
in purpose to haue giuen battell, the most part of his
people did forsake him, and drew vnto Duncans
side, so that Donald thus abandoned of them that
should haue aided him, was constrained for his re-
fuge to flee againe into the westerne Isles: and so
Duncane then comming vnto Scone, received the
crowne of Scotland. But for that he had bene train-
ed the most part of his life in the warres both in
England and France, he had small skill in ciuill go-
uernement, iudging that thing onelie to stand with
iustice, which was decided with speare and shield. By
reason whereof Scotland was shortly filled with
new troubles and seditious diuisions.

Donald Bane being advertised of all those things,
that thereby happened in Scotland, solicited Mak-
pender erle of Arberne to take his part, and by some
meanes to slea R. Duncane, which enterprise Mak-
pender taking in hand, at length (in Lent) ac-
complished the same in the night season, when he had
elyfied such aduantage and opportunitie of time, that
not so much as one man was found to pursue him.
But to say the truth, Duncane was so farre out of
the peoples fauor, that more reioiced than were soie
for his death. After he was thus dispatched, his un-
cle Donald was restored againe to the kingdome,
chiefly by support of the forenamed Makpender,
after his nephew the foresaid Duncane had reigned
one père and an halfe, where Donald himselfe had
reigned (before he was expelled by his said nephew)
the space of six moneths, and now after he had reco-
uered the kingdome, he continued in the regiment
thereof thre pères, not without great trouble and
intestine commotions: for the most part of the lords
maligning his aduancement, sought occasions val-
lie to depose him.

In the meane time the Flandmen made some
stirre, neither did the warres with England cease,
(though without anie great exploit or enterprise
worthy of remembrance) sauing a few light skir-
mishes betwixt the parties, as occasion serued. At
length came Magnus king of Norway with a
great fleet, and sailing about the westerne Isles, gar-
nished all the strengths within them in most defen-
sible wise, with men, munition, and vittells, usurping
the dominion as soueraigne lord of the same Isles:
and at the same time ordained those lawes and con-
stitutions,

Quene Mar-
garet died.

1097. H. B.
The Ides of
October H. B.
Strange
wonders.
In huge tide.

Godwins
sands.

Thunder.

Trees and
coyne burnt.

Marianus.

Veremond.

The sons of
R. Malcolme
Cammore.

Donald Bane

Donald Bane
fled into the
Isles.
Donald Bane
returneth into
Scotland.
His couenant
for the gift of
the Isles to
the king of
Norwaie.

The respect
that the people
had to receiue
Donald Bane
for their king.

R. Malcolms
sons sent for
into England
by Edgar
their uncle.

Edgar or
one Edgar
accused Ma-
gar Etheling
of treason.

Edgar is
slaine within
lists.

Donald
thrusteth.

Duncane
Malcolms
bastard
sonne.

Duncane is
crowned king
of Scotland.

Duncane lac-
keth skill in
ciuill gouerne-
ment.

Makpender
erle of Arberne
sleith king
Duncane.

Donald Bane
is restored to
the crowne.

Magnus R.
king of Norway
cometh into the
westerne Isles

Edgar b
Malcolme
son is sen

Edgar se
beth med
gets to A
nullo.

Donald l
eth Edg
mellange

Edgar li
ued by R
liam Bu

Saint C
berts ba

R. Dunc
hicomf
and chal
to the R
R. Dunc
is taken

Edgar

Edgar
crowned
annoyd

I print
for the R
sh king
be annoy

Edgar
first ann
king of
land.
The pal
into the
land.

Robert
of Norway

Henric
dies in
England

situations which are bred there amongst the inhabitants even unto these daies. The Scottisshmen having great indignation, that the Isles being ancientlie parcell of the crowne, should be thus alienated from the same, sent orators unto Edgar (who was, as ye haue heard, the fourth sonne of king Malcolme) desiring him most instantlie to come into Scotland, to reconer his fathers heritage and crowne of Scotland out of the usurpers hands.

Edgar taking deliberate aduise touching this request, first sent ambassadours unto Donald, promising that if he would be contented to restore unto him the crowne, being due to him by lawfull succession, he would gladlie reward him with great lordships and reuenues in Louthian: but Donald was so farre from minding to do him reason in this behalfe, that causing them which brought this message to be put in prison, he finallye slew them. Then Edgar by counsell of his vnckle Edgar Etheling, purchasing an aid of men at the hands of king William Rufus, set forthwards toward Scotland. At his coming to Durham, he was admonished by a vision in his sleepe, that if he toke with him the banner of saint Cutbert, he should haue victorie. On the morrow after, he came into the abbete church, where first hearing diuine seruice, when the same was ended, he displayed the foresaid banner, and caused it to be borne before him in that iournie. Fewertheles king Donald met him with a mightie armie, and after long fight, was chased into the Isles; where he was taken and brought unto Edgar. ¶ Some say that when the battels were readie to haue ioined, his men beholding the banner of saint Cutbert sped against them, immediatlie forsooke him, so that he being destitute of succour, fled, in purpose to haue saued himselfe in some one of the westerne Isles: but being apprehended by the inhabitants, was brought (as is said) unto Edgar, by whome he was (howsoever the hap of his taking chanced) cast immediatlie into prison, wherein he shortly after died. The victorie thus achieved, Edgar went unto Edinburgh, and from thence unto Dunfermeling to visit the sepulchres of his mother and brethren.

Edgar. Afterwards comming to the abbete of Scone, and assembling the lords of the realme, he received the crowne, and shortly after was annointed by the archbishop of saint Andrew named Godyske, in the yere of our redemption 1101. For his mother queene Margaret purchased a little before his death of Urbane the pope, that from henceforth all the kings of Scotland should be annointed. This priuiledge was confirmed afterwards by pope John the second of that name. The first king that was annointed according to that grant, was this Edgar, in the yere aforesaid. About two yers before this, Edgar recovered the crowne of Scotland, was that generall passage made into the holie land vnder Godfrie of Bullongne, and other christi- an princes.

Amongst them, as one of the chiefe, Robert duke of Normandie went, and should haue bene created king of Ierusalem, had he not at the same time heard how his brother William Rufus the king of England was slaine by chance, through glancing of an arrow shot at a deere in the new forest; and then hoping to succed him in the kingdom of England, he preferred that honor to the other, wherein he saw to be more trauell than gaine. But at his coming home, he found that his youngest brother Henrie (surnamed Beaulerke, was placed in the kingdom of England, and so was duke Robert his hope frustrate of both the kingdoms, and that worthie (as most men thought) for that he refused to receive a dignitie, wherein he might haue serued the com-

mon cause of the christian common-wealth. Unto Henrie Beaulerke in the second yere of his reigne king Edgar married one of his sisters called Maude. The other named Marie he coupled with Eustace earle of Bullongne: in which marriage was borne a daughter that was the onlie heire of the same Eustace in the countie of Bullongne, the which when she came to womans state, was married unto Stephan earle of March in England, and of Poiteigne in France, nephew to Henrie Beaulerke by his sister. The king of England Henrie, had issue by queene Maude, two sonnes and two daughters, William and Richard, Eustace and Maude.

But now to returne to king Edgar, to the some token of thanks towards saint Cutbert for his aid shewed, as was thought, in the battell against his vnckle Donald, he gaue unto the monks of Durham the lands of Colbitham: and to the bishop of Durham called Canulph, he gaue the towne of Berwick. But for that the same bishop wrought afterwards treason against him, he lost that gift, and the king resumed that towne into his hands againe. ¶ I do not find that Edgar had anie warres anie waie forth during all the time of his reigne, a prince rather reuerenced than dread amongst his subjects for his singular equitie and upright dealing. He departed out of this life at Dundee, in the 9 yere of his reigne, and after the birth of our Saviour 1107.

After the deccasse of this Edgar, succeeded his brother Alexander the fierce, so called for his rigorous valiancie in pursuing of theues and robbers. In the beginning of his reigne, the inhabitants of Murray land and Ross, beholding him to be most an end in the church at his prayers, and diuine seruice, after the maner of his parents, supposed he would proue no great quickie sufficient in punishing offenders, and thereupon most presumptuously began to rob and reave on eche side, not sparing to kill and slea all such as came in their hands, without respect to age or sex, inasmuch that the young infants sinking vpon the murderers, being about to execute their detestable crueltie, passed by the sword as well as the resistors: such rooted malice remained in their brastlie harts, which vpon reheewing their old grudges they now accordingly shewed. King Alexander therefore aduertised hereof, came into those parts with a competent armie, and apprehending the chiefe authors and captiues, took off their heads. As he returned backe through the country, there came a woman vnto him weeping in most lamentable sort, who fell vpon his knees at his feet, beseeching him to pittie hir case, hauing lost both hir husband & sonne, by the tyrannous crueltie of the slayer of Wernes, who for that they had called him before a iudge in an action of debt, had slaine and murdered as well the one as the other. The king moued with this detestable kind of iniquitie, lighted from his horse, and would not mount vp againe, till he had seene the author of that heinous trespass hangd vpon a gibbet. After his comming into Galloway, he toke in hand to finish and make vp the castell of Bailegar, the foundation whereof his brother Edgar had begun, that it might be an aid to chastise a sort of theues and robbers which haunted the woods thereabout, to the great disquietnes of all the countie. He gaue also to the maintenance of that house certeine lands, which the earle of Galloway had giuen him at the font stone, when he became his godfather.

Whilste he was thus busie about the furtherance of that worke, vnto the of those theues that were accustomed to lue by robberies in those parts, perceiving that this castell, which the king was about to build, should turne vnto their destruction, they conspired his death, and winning by rewards and promises the king.

Maude kind
Edgars sister.

Eustace earle
of Bullongne.

The lands of
Colbitham.
Canulph bi-
shop of Dur-
ham.

Edgar rather
reuerenced
than dread.
1107. 10. Ma.
1109. H.B.

Alexan-
der.

Theues of
Murray land
and Ross.

The crueltie
of theues.

Execution.

The earle of
Wernes son.

A righteous
iudicier.

The castell of
Bailegar.

Treason of
conspirators
to haue slaine
the king.

Edgar king
Malcolme
his son.

Edgar king
Malcolme
his son.

Edgar sen-
tinel messen-
gers to Do-
nald.

Donald sla-
yng Edgars
messengers.

Edgar is al-
lured by W.
Rufus.

Saint Cut-
berts banner.

Donald discomfited
and chased in-
to the Isles.
Donald is taken.

King Do-
nald dieth in
prison.

Edgar.

Edgar is
crowned and
annointed.

Priviledge
for the Sco-
tish kings to
be annointed.

Edgar the
first annointed
king of Scot-
land.

The passage
into the holie
land.

Robert duke
of Normandie.

Henrie Beau-
lerke king of
England.

Edgar king
Malcolme
his son.

Edgar king
Malcolme
his son.

Edgar king
Malcolme
his son.

Edgar king
Malcolme
his son.

Edgar king
Malcolme
his son.

Edgar king
Malcolme
his son.

Edgar king
Malcolme
his son.

Edgar king
Malcolme
his son.

The kings
manhood.

The water of
Spaie.

Sir Alexander
Carron.
The rebels
are vanquish-
ed.

Skringecour.

The abbete of
Scone.

Saint Col-
mes Inch.

The abbete of
saint Colmes
Inch builded.

Lands na-
med the Bo-
arrinck.
Boortulke.

mises the helpe of the kings chamberlaine to the accomplishing of their traitorous and most diuclish practises, they entered one night through a puiue into his lodging, in purpose to haue slaine him as he slept in his bedchamber: but he by Gods prouidence hauing knowledge of their coming, started out of his bed, and caught a sword which hong nere at hand, wherewith he slue first his chamberlaine that had brought them in, and then dispatched six of the other traitors (which were already entered his chamber) with singular force and manhood: the other fearing least with the noise, his seruants that lodged within the house should haue bene raised, and so haue hastied to assaile them on the backs, fled in all haste possible. Neuertheless, such pursute was made after them, that manie of them were apprehended, & upon their examination, being brought before the king, they declared plainlie how they were encouraged to worke that treason which they had gone about, by sundrie great barons and gentlemen of the countrie. Finally, the matter was so handled with them, that they disclosed the names of those that had thus procured them to the treason. Whereupon the king gathering an armie, he marched forth to pursue them, but before he came unto the water of Spaie, the conspirators had gotten together their power, & were lodged on the further side of the same water, to stop him from passing ouer.

The king seeing them thus assembled to impeach his passage, sent his banner-man sir Alexander Carron with a chosen part of his armie to passe the water, and to fight with his enemies, where, by the hardie onset of the said sir Alexander, they were quicklie put to flight, and manie of them that were taken in the chase, suffered death, according as they had well deserved. The realme after this execution done on those traitors, continued manie yeeres after in good tranquillitie. This Alexander Carron also for that he was slaine in the kings fight that day to fight most manfully, in slaying diuerse of the rebels with a crooked sword which he had in his hand (of which sort manie were used in those daies) he was highly rewarded at the kings hands, & ever after named Skringecour, that is to say, a hardie fighter. He had also his armes increased with a rampant lion holding a crooked sword, as is to be seene in the armes of his posteritie unto this day. Other there be that say he got the surname of Skringecour, because he slue an English man in a singular combat. The principall of this surname in our time held the constablership of Wynndie, bearing in his armes a crooked sword in fashion of an hoke.

After that king Alexander had appeased the intestine commotions thus within his realme, he set in hand to repaire the abbete of Scone, wherein he placed regular canons, and made eating the church in the honour of the Trinitie, and saint Michael. Not long after this also, he chanced to come into saint Colmes Inch, where he was constrained to abide three daies together through violent rage of weather and tempests: and because he found some reliefe of meate & drinke, by means of an heremit that dwelt within the same Inch, and kept a chappell there dedicated to saint Colme, he made of that chappell an abbete of regular canons, in the honor of saint Colme, endowing it with sundrie lands and rents for the maintenance of the abbat and convent of that house. He also gave to the church of saint Andrewes, the lands called the Boarrinck, so named, for that a great boze was slaine upon the said ground, that had done much hurt in the countrie thereabout. The tusks of this boze do hang in chaines upon the stalles of the quier in saint Andrewes church afore the high altar, and are 16 inches in length, & foure inches in thick-

ness. Moreover, the abbete of Dunfermling was furnished by king Alexander, and endowed with sundrie lands and possessions.

Whilest king Alexander was thus occupied in building and reparing of religious houses, his brother David lived in England with his sister quene Maude, & through fauour which the king his husband bare towards him, he obtained in marriage one Maude, daughter unto Moldsosus, or rather Malt the earle of Huntington and Northumberland, he got of his wife the ladie Judith that was neere unto king William the Conqueror. And for that the said Moldsosus or Malt the earle had no other issue to inherit his lands, David in right of his wife Maude inherited the same, and was made earle of Huntington and Northumberland, and had issue by his wife a son named Henrie, by whome the lands of Huntington, and some part of Northumberland were annexed unto the crowne of Scotland, as after shall appere. Maude the daughter of king Henrie Beauchelke, was married unto Henrie the emperor, the fourth of that name. William, Richard, and Cusene, the residue of the issue which the same Henrie Beauchelke had by his wife (surnamed for his singular bounteousnesse, the good quene Maude) in coming forth of France to repasse into England, perished in the sea by a tempest, to the great dolour of the king their father, and to all other his subiects of ech estate and degree. Their mother the said Maude was before that time departed out of this life. It was not long after, but that Alexander deceased also, and was buried in Dunfermling besides his fathers sepulture, in the 17 yeere of his reigne complet, and from the incarnation of Christ 1125 yeeres.

In the daies of this king Alexander, the kindred of the Cummings had their beginning, by one John Cumming, a man of great prowesse and baliance, obtaining of the king in respect therof, certaine small portions of lands in Scotland. The house of these Cummings rose in procelle of time thus from a small beginning to high honor and puillance, by reason of the great possessions & ample revenues which they afterwards attained. At length (as often hath beene) the impetuable height of this linage was the onelie cause of the decaye and finall ruine thereof, as in the sequel of this historie ye may at full perceiue. Also in the daies of king Alexander, the order of knights of the Rhodes had their beginning, and likewise the order of White monks, the author whereof was one Radobert. About the same time lived that holie man Richard de sancto Victore, a Scottish man borne, but dwelled for the more part of his time at Paris in France, where he died, & was buried within the cloister of the abbete of saint Victor, being a brother of the same house.

It now to proceed with the historie. After the deceasse of Alexander the fierce and first of that name, his brother David came unto Scone, and there received the crowne, as lawfull heire to his brother, for that he left no heire behind him. This David, according to the example of his noble parents, set his whole care about the due ministering of iustice, to the honor of almightie God, and the iustice of his realme. He had no trouble by warres with anye forraigne enemies, so long as king Henrie Beauchelke lived. Therefore hauing opportunitie of such a quiet time, he rode about all the parts of his realme, and to sit in hearing of iudgement himselfe, especially concerning poore mens causes and matters, but the controuersies of the lords and barons he referred to the hearing of other iudges. If he understood that anye man were indamaged by anye wrongfull iudgement, he recompensed the parties wronged, according to the value of his losse and hind-

The abbete of
Dunfermling.

David brother
to king
Alexander.

Moldsosus
earle of North-
umberland and Hun-
tington.

The lands of
Huntington and North-
umberland annexed to the
crowne of
Scotland.

The death of
king Alexander.

1124. H.B.
The begin-
ning of the
Cummings.

Knights of
the Rhodes.
White monks.

Richard de
sancto Victore

David.
David is
crowned king
of Scotland.

The care of
king David
for the poore.

A righteous
iudge.

Benketin
chere bam
bro.

King David
built 15 ab-
beies.

The name
of the abbe
builded by
king David

fourte bish-
ops erected
Scotland.

holie rood
house build

Liberalitie
king David
toward the
church rep-
aid.

The church
enriched, at
the crowne
imponerish
The fatene
king Jan
the first.
A fore satm
lo, Maior.
60000 poun
inlands ge-
uen to the
church.

Superfluous
possessions
the church.

The abbey of
Dunfermling.

David be-
came king
of Scotland.

David being
king of Scotland
in the year
1124.

The lands of
Dunfermling
in Scotland
were given
to the
monks of
Cisterciens.

he death of
king Alexander.

24. H. B.
he begins
the
ministry.

lights of
Rhodes,
item monks
hardly
to Victor.

David.
it is
said king
of Scotland.

care of
David
is poor.

the church
of Scotland.

Banketting
cheare ban-
quet.

King David
built the ab-
bey.

The names
of the abbies
built by
king David.

four bishops
were created in
Scotland.

Religious
houses builded.

Liberality in
king David
toward the
church repa-
red.

The church
enriched, and
the crowne
improverished.
The saying of
king James
the first.
A fore saint.
In Maier.
6000 pounds
inlands gi-
ven to the
church.

Superfluous
possessions of
the church.

hinderance, with the gods of the iudge that pro-
nounced the iudgement.

Thus in the first years of his reigne he did manie
things to the advancement of the common-wealth,
and banished such banketting cheare as was used a-
mongst his people after the example of the English-
men, perceiving the same to breed a great weak-
ning & decay of the ancient stoutnesse of stomach,
that was wont to remaine in the Scottish nation.
He builded to the number of fiftene abbeyes, part
of them in the beginning of his reigne before the
warres were begun which he had with the English-
men, and part after the same warres were ended.
The names of those abbeyes are as folloeweth: Holie
rood house, Kelso, Jedburgh, Melrose, Perth, and
Holmcultrane, Dundrenane, Cambuskenneth,
Kinlois, Dunfermling, Holme in Cumberland;
also two nunries, the one at Carleill, and the other
at north Berwick: with two abbeyes beside Perth-
castell, the one of saint Benedicts order, and the o-
ther of white monkes. He erected also foure bishop-
ricks within his realme, Kesse, Brechin, Duneld,
and Dablane, endowing them with rich rents, faire
lands, and sundrie right commodious possessions.
Moreover he translated the bishops see of Perth
lake unto Aberdeen, for sundrie advised considerati-
ons, augmenting it with certeine revenues, as he
thought expedient.

He was admonished (as the report goeth) in his
sleepe, that he shuld build an abbey for a religious or-
der to live in togither. Whereupon he sent for work-
men into France and Flanders, and let them in
hand to build this abbey of canons regular, as he
was admonished, dedicating it in the honor of a
crosse (whereunto he bare speciall deuotion) for
that vertie strangelie it slipped into his hands (on a
time) as he was pursuing and following of a hart in
the chase. But inough of these monkish deuises.
Manie prudent men blame greatlie the vnrea-
sonable liberalitie of king David, the which he used
towards the church, in diminishing so hugelie the re-
venues of the crowne, being the cause that manie
noble princes his successors haue come to their finall
ends, for that they haue bene constrained through
want of treasure to mainteine their roiall estates, to
procure the fall of sundrie great houses, to possesse
their lands and livings; also to raise payments and
exactions of the common-people, to the vtter impo-
uerishment of the realme. And sometime they haue
bene constrained to invade England by warres, as
desperat men, not caring what came of their liues.
Whereas they haue bene enforced to stampe
naughtie monie, to the great preiudice of the com-
mon-wealth. All which mischiefs haue followed since
the time that the church hath bene thus enriched, and
the crowne impoverished.

Therefore king James the first, when he came to
king David his sepulture at Dunfermling, he said,
that he was a fore saint for the crowne, meaning
that he left the church ouer-rich, and the crowne to
poore. For he took from the crowne (as Iohn Maior
writeth in his chronicles) 60 thousand pounds Scot-
tish of pærelie revenues, wherewith he indowed
those abbeyes. But if king David had considered how
to nourish true religion, he had neither indowed
churches with such riches, nor built them with such
roialtie: for the superfluous possessions of the church
(as they are now used) are not onelie occasion to eu-
ill prelates to live in most insolent pompe & corrupt
life, but an assured net to draw gold and silver out of
realms. But now to returne where I left, touching
the historie, ye shall note that (as I said before) Da-
uid had by his wife Maude inheritor of part of North-
umberland, Cumberland, and Huntington, a

sonne named Henrie, who married the earle of War-
rens daughter, a ladie of high parentage, as de-
scended of most noble blood both French and Eng-
lish. On whome he begat three sonnes, Malcolm,
William, and David; also three daughters, Adha-
ma, Margaret, and Maude. But now in the meane
time, whilst the estate of the common-wealth in
Scotland stood in high felicitie, vnder the prope-
rous gouernement of king David, there happened
to him an heauie losse. For the queene his wife the
foresaid Maude deceased in hir flourishing age, a
woman of passing beautie and chastitie, which two
points (as is thought) commend a woman aboue all
the rest. King David therefore took such griefe for
hir death, that he would neuer after giue his mind
to marie anie other, but passed the residue of his
life without companie of all women. She was bu-
ried in Scone, in the yeare of our Lord God 1122.

Whilst these things came thus to passe in Scot-
land, Henrie Beauchelke king of England, caused
all the nobles of his realme to take their oths, that
after his deceasse they shoud receiue his daughter
Maude the emperesse for their soueraine ladie and
queene. She was as then returned into England;
for hir husband the emperour was latelie before de-
ceased. King David also took his oth, and there-
fore when king Stephan (who usurped the crowne of
England after king Henries deceasse against the
said emperesse) sent vnto king David to come and
do his homage for the earledomes of Northumber-
land, Cumberland, and Huntington (according as
by his tenure he was bound to do) with intimati-
on that if he refused, king Stephan would invade
him with open warre; king David answered, that
he had giuen his faith once aforehand for those lands
vnto the emperesse Maude, which he minded not to
breake for the threatening words of anie new intia-
ons. King Stephan moued with this answer, sent a
powder of men to the borders of Northumberland,
(which as then was vnder the dominion of the
Scots) to make a rode vpon the inhabitants of that
countie. They that had the charge of this enter-
prise, entering into the lands of their enemies, put
all to fire and sword that came in their way. The
Scots kindled with that displeasure, roded into
England, and did the like displeasures and hurts
there. For the yeare after, the earles of March,
Kent, and Angus entred into England with a
great armie, against whome came the earle of Glo-
cester, and giuing them battell at Northalerton,
lost the field, and was taken prisoner himselfe, with
diuers other nobles of England. King Stephan
therefore, constrained to redeme the captiues, gaue
not onelie a great summe of monie for them; but
also made resignation of all such title, claime, or in-
terest, as either he or anie of his successors might
make or pretend to the countie of Northumber-
land and Cumberland. Howbeit his nobles were no
sooner returned home, but that repenting him of
that resignation, he gathered his puissance againe,
and entering into Northumberland, fought with the
Scots that came forth to resist him, and obtaining
the victorie, took a great part of the countie into
his possession.

King David, to redresse these iniuries, gathered a
mightie armie, with deliberat mind, either to expell
the Englishmen out of all the bounds of his domi-
nions, or else to die in the field. But shortly after,
Thurkane archbishop of Doke came vnto Nor-
burgh, called in those daies Marken, to treat for
peace, where a truce was concluded for three mo-
neths, with condition, that the Englishmen shoud
deliuer vp the dominion of Northumberland vnto
the lord Henrie king David his sonnes. But for so
much

Earle of war-
ren.

The issue of
Henrie.

Queene
Maude de-
ceased.

I. I. 22.

Maude the
emperesse.

R. Stephan.

Homage is
required.

The English
men invade
Northumber-
land.

The Scots
make robes
into England

The earle of
Glocester
Robert was
against king
Stephan, but
there might be
some other
happie vnto
whome king
Stephan had
giuen that ti-
tle.

A resignation.

R. Stephan
repenteth.

Norburgh in
old time
Marken.
A truce.

King David
inuedeth
Northumber-
land.
King Ste-
phan passeth
vnto Rox-
burgh.

much as this councant was not performed on king Stephens side, king David inuaded that part of the countrie which the Englishmen held, making great slaughter of all them that he found there about to resist him. King Stephan moued herewith leuied his people, and came in puissant arate vnto Roxburgh; but for that he had secret knowledge that some of the nobles in his armie sought his destruction, he was constrained to returne without atching of anie worthie enterprisc.

A peace.

Covenants of
agreement.

Homage.

King Stephan
returneth.
Carleill was
repaired by
William Rufus
king of
England, a-
bout the yeare
of our Lord,
1092.

The death of
Henric prince
of Scotland.
1152.

Prince Hen-
ric his issue.

The lawes
of nature.

Proportion.

The yeare next ensuing, a peace was talked by on, the archbishops of Canturburie and Yorke appointed commissioners in the treatie thereof on the behalfe of king Stephan, and the bishops of Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Saint Andrews on the part of king David. But Paul quene of England, the daughter of Cessace earle of Bullongne, and neere to king David by his sister Marie, was the chiefest doer in this matter, to bring them to agreement. The one of the kings, that is to say Stephan, laie at Durelme with his nobles; and the other, that is to say David, lay at Newcastle, during all the time of this treatie, which at length sorted to the conclusion of a peace, on these conditions: that the countie of Northumberland and Huntingdon should remaine in the gouernment of Henric prince of Scotland, as heire to the same by right of his mother; but Cumberland should be reputed as the inheritance and right of his father king David. And for these lands and seignories the forenamed prince Henric & his successors, princes of Scotland, should doe homage vnto king Stephan and his successors kings of England, for the time being.

The peace thus ratified betwixt the two kings and their subiects, King Stephan returned into Kent, and king David repaired into Cumberland, where he fortified the towne of Carleill with new walles and ditch. Thus passed the first three yeares of king Stephens reigne. In the fourth yeare came Paul the emperesse into England to claime the crowne thereof (as in the English historie more plainelie may appeare.) But whilest England was foremented with warres by contrarie factions of the nobles for the quarels of these two persons, no small sorrow hapned to Scotland for the death of Henric the prince of that land, and onelie sonne vnto king David, who died at Kelso, and was buried in the abbeie church there, in the yeare of our redemption, 1152. His death was greatlie bemoaned aswell of his father the king, as of all other the estates and degrees of the realme, for such singular vertue and noble conditions as appeared in him. But yet, for that he left issue behind him three sonnes and three daughters (as before is mentioned) the realme was not thought vnprovided of heires.

The king also being mortified from the world, toke the death of his sonne verie patientlie, considering that all men are subiect vnto death by the lawe of nature, and are sure no longer to remaine here, than their day appointed by the eternall determination of him that giueth and taketh away life & breath when it pleaseth him, as by daily experience is most manifest. Wherefore that king David weied the losse of his sonne in such balance, it may appeare by an oration which he made to his nobles, at what time (after his sonnes deceasse) they came to comfort him. For he perceiuing them to be right heauie and sorrowfull for the losse which he and they had sustained by the death of so towardlie a prince, that was to haue succeeded him, if God had lent him life thereto; in the end of a rotall feast, the which he made vnto those nobles that came thus to visit him, he began in this wise.

How great your fidelitie and care is, which you

bear towards me, although oftentimes heretofore I haue proued it, yet this present day I haue receiued most ample fruit thereof: for now do I plainelie see, that you lament no lesse for the losse of my late deceased sonne, than if you had buried some one of your owne sonnes, and are therefore come to your great trauell and paine to comfort me, whom you esteeme to be soze afflicted for the ouer-timelie death of my said most obedient sonne. But to let passe for this time due yielding of thanks to you for the same, till occasion and leasure may better serue thereto; this now may suffice, that I acknowledge my selfe to be so much beholden to you, that whatsoeuer thing I haue in the world, the same is ready to do you pleasure. But concerning the cause of your coming hither, in the wing your courtesies therein, you shall vnderstand, that my parents, whom I trust to be in heauen, and (as saints) inioy the fruits of their vertuous trauels here taken on earth, did so instruct me from my tender yowth, that I should worship with all reuerence the most wise creator and prudent gouernor of all things; and to thinke that nothing was done by him in vaine, but that the same is provided and ordained to some good vnto his high and vnsearchable counsell. And therefore whilest day and night I haue and doe reuolue and call to remembrance the precepts and instructions of my parents, whatsoeuer hath chanced either touching aduersitie or prosperitie, god hath or bad, the same hath seemed to me (at the first) receiuing all things with equall and thankfull mind, and interpreting them to the best, farre more light than they commonlie seeme to others; and lesse they did disquiet me: so as with vs I haue learned at length, not onelie patientlie to beare all aduersities that may happen, but also to receiue the same as things pleasant and euen to be desired. And verelie my hap hath bene to be greatlie exercised in this behalfe, for I haue first seene my father, more deere to me than anie earthlie treasure; and no lesse profitfull than greatlie desired of all the people: and yet neither the loue of the people, nor of his kinsmen and friends might warrant him from this fatall necessitie of death. I haue knowen my mother right famous in the world for hir singular vertue to passe hence in like maner. My brethren that were so louing, and againe so greatlie beloued of me; also my wife whom I esteemed aboue all other creatures, are they not gone the same way, and compelled to beare deaths hard ordinance? So verelie standeth the case, that no man might yet at anie time auoid the violence of his force when he cometh, for we all alike owe this life vnto him, as a due debt that must needs be paid. But this is to be receiued with a thankfull mind, in that the bountifull beneuolence of our God hath granted that we shall be all immortall, if we our selues through vice, & as it were spotted with filthie diseases of the mind, do not fall into the danger of eternall death. Wherefore of right (me thinke) I haue cause to reioice, that God by his singular fauour hath granted to me such a sonne, which in all mens iudgements was worthy to be beloued whilest he was here amongst vs, and to be wished for now, after he is departed from hence. But ought we to take it heauilie, that he to whom he belonged, and who had lent him vnto vs, should call for him againe, and take him that was his owne? For what iniurie is it, if (when I see occasion) I shall aske that againe, which you haue possessed through my benefit as lent to you for a time? Neither do I trust to want him long, if God shall be so mercifull vnto me, as I wish him to be: for I hope shortly to be called hence by commandement of that most high king, and to be caried by to rest among that fellowship of beauenlie spirits, where I shall

His parents
goble instructions.

What
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Losse of
friends.
His father.

His mother.

His brethren.

His wife.

Death cannot
be dispensed
with.

Why we
ought to take
the death of
our children
and friends
patientlie.

The ex-
tion of ki
David &
nobles.

King David
departed
of this life

115

" shall find my father and mother, my brethren, wife,
 and sonne in far better estate than here I knew
 them. Wherefore that I may repeate it once againe,
 I reioice: (I say) to haue obtained in my sonne, by
 " the grace of the supernall God, that I am assured by
 faith, he is already in that place to the which all we
 " doe earnestly wish that we may attaine, and do in-
 " deavour by all means, that when the time cometh
 in which our soules are to be loosed forth of these
 " fraile bodie of ours, as out of prisons, they may be
 found worthy of that companie, in which our confi-
 " dence is that he now most blissefullie is remaining.
 " Except anie man may thinke that we are so enui-
 " ous, that therefore we do lament, because as yet
 " we sticke fast ouerwhelmed and drowned in such fil-
 " thie miers, and cumbered in such thornie thickets and
 " bushes, out of the which he (being now deliuered of
 " all cares) hath escaped. But let vs rather by follow-
 " ing the footsteps of him and other vertuous persons
 " that are gone afore vs, labor both day and night, that
 " at length (through heauenlie fauour) we may come
 " to the place where we do reckon that by diuine
 power he is already arrived.

After that the king had made an end of his ora-
 tion, and thanks given to God for his bountifull
 magnificence, they rose from the table, and depar-
 ted to their lodgings, they all greatlie maruelling
 at the kings high prudence and goodlie wisdom.
 Then was Malcolme, the eldest sonne of the before-
 mentioned prince Henrie, proclaimed in his place
 prince of Scotland, and conueied through the most
 parts of the realme by Duncane earle of Fife, and
 other of the nobles appointed to attend vpon and to
 receiue the othes of all the barons for their allegi-
 ance in his name. William the second sonne of
 prince Henrie was conueied into Northumberland
 by the foresaid nobles, and there proclaimed and cre-
 ated earle of that countrie. Then went king Da-
 uid himselfe vnto Carleill, where he met with Hen-
 rie the sonne of the emperesse, who receiued the order
 of knightthod there at his hands. This was a little
 before that the same Henrie came to an agreement
 with king Stephan, whereby he was admitted to
 the possession of halfe the realme of England, and
 promised by oth of assurance (as the Scottish writers
 say) that he should neuer go about to take the coun-
 tries of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Hur-
 tington from the crowne of Scotland.

Shortly after was king David taken with a sore
 disease and maladie, which continued with him to the
 end of his life. And so when he perceiued himselfe
 to wax faint and feeble, he required to be borne in to
 the church, where he receiued the sacrament of the
 Lords bodie and blood, with most solemne reue-
 rence: and then being brought againe to his cham-
 ber, he called together his nobles, and commending
 to them his young nephues, the sons of his son the
 forenamed prince Henrie, he kissed ech one of them
 after an other, most instantlie desiring them in the
 honor of almighty God, to seeke the preservation
 of common quiet, to the aduancement of the publike
 weale. This done, he departed out of this life in the
 29 yeare of his reigne, or rather in the 30 yeare, if
 he reigned 29 and two moneths, as Iohn Maior
 saith. His bodie was buried in Dunfermeling, after
 the incarnation of Christ our Saviour 1153 yeares.

How farre this prince king David excelled in no-
 ble vertues and sober conuersation of life, I haue
 thought it better to passe ouer with silence, than to
 go about in few words to comprehend that, where-
 in if I should spend much time, I were not able in
 anie wise worthilie to performe. For where in such
 cases few things are slenderlie shewed, the residue
 may seeme to be omitted through fault of the writer.

But yet this is not to be forgotten, that where his
 singular pittifull regard, which he had toward the re-
 lief of the poore, passed all other his notable vertues,
 he purged his court also in such wise of all vicious
 rule and misordered customes, that his whole fami-
 lie was giuen onelie to the exercise of vertue. No
 riotous banquetting nor sursetting there was vsed
 amongst them, no lasciuious words heard come forth
 of anie mans mouth, nor yet anie wanton signes
 shewed to prouoke sensuall lust or carnall concu-
 pifcence. All the words, works, and whole demeanour
 of his servants tended to some conclusion: nothing
 moued to stirre strife or sedition, but all things or-
 dered in such friendlie and peaceable sort, that the
 chaine of brotherly love seemed to haue linked them
 all in one mind and will. Such a rule was their mai-
 ster king David vnto them and all other, to direct
 and frame a perfect and goodlie life after.

King David being dead & buried (as is before
 said) Malcolme nephew to him by his son Hen-
 rie succeeded in the estate. He was but 13 yeeres
 of age, when he began his reigne; but yet his modestie
 and vertuous conditions were such, that all men
 conceived a good hope that he would proue a right
 noble and worthy prince. He was nourished and
 brought vp in such vertue, euen from his infancie,
 that delighting in chaste conuersation and cleanness of
 bodie and mind, he liued single all the daies of his
 life, and without marriage: wherefore he was surna-
 med Malcolme the maid. About the time of his en-
 tring into the possession of the crowne, there was a
 great dearth through all the boundis of Scotland. And
 sone after followed a sore dearth both amongst men
 and beasts, though it was not perceiued that the
 disease whereof they died was anie thing conta-
 gious.

Hereof did one Somerleith the thane of Argile
 take occasion to attempt an higher enterpryse than
 stood with the basenesse of his linage and estate: for
 considering that the one halfe of the realme was
 consumed by mortalitie, and the other halfe nere
 hand famished through lacke of food, he thought it
 an easie matter for him, now whilst the king was
 vnder yeeres of ripe discretion, to stirre the goner-
 nance of the realme into his owne hands, and so as-
 sembling together an huge compaignie of such as in
 hope of preie lightlie consented to his opinion, he
 came forwards, to make as it were a full conquest,
 stealing and spoiling all such in his way as went
 about to resist him. But his presumptuous enterpryse
 was shortly repressed: for Gilcriff earle of Angus
 lieutenant of the kings armie, raised to resist So-
 merleiths attempts, incountred with him in battell,
 & slew 2000 of his men. Somerleith hauing receiued
 this overthrow, and escaping from the field, fled into
 Ireland, and so ended his life.

Henrie the second of that name king of Eng-
 land, hearing that Malcolme had thus subdued his
 domesticall enemies, feared least he being imbold-
 ned therewith, should now attempt somewhat a-
 gainst the Englishmen; and therefore by counsell of
 his nobles, he sent an herald vnto king Malcolme,
 commanding him to come vp to London, there to
 do his homage vnto him, for the lands of Cumber-
 land, Northumberland, and Huntington, in which
 and forme as his grandfather king David had be-
 fore done vnto his predecessor Henrie the first, with
 certificat, that if he failed, he would take from him
 all the said lands. King Malcolme obeyed this com-
 mandement of king Henrie: but yet vnder confu-
 sion (as the Scottish writers affirme) that it should in
 no manner wise preiudice the franchises and liber-
 ties of the Scottish kingdome. At the same time king
 Henrie had warres against Lewes the first, king of
 France,

This singular
 pitie toward
 the poore.

King Davids
 court.

King Davids
 seruants.

King Davids
 example, a rule
 of goodlie life.

Malcolme

The educati-
 on of king Mal-
 colme.

A dearth.

A death not
 contagious.

Somerleith
 thane of Ar-
 gile goeth a-
 bout to make
 himselfe king.

Somerleiths
 crueltie.

Gilcriff sent
 forth an armie
 against So-
 merleith.

K. Malcolme
 summoned to
 do homage.

K. Malcolme
 goeth with
 king Henrie
 into France.

parents
 instruct.

Malcolme the
 sonne of Hen-
 rie: procla-
 med prince of
 Scotland.

Earle of North-
 umberland.

e of
 da.
 father.

Henrie the
 emperesse his
 sonne recei-
 ueth the order
 of knightthod.

mother.

brethren.

wife.

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The exhorta-
 tion of king
 David to his
 nobles.

King David
 departeth out
 of this life.

1153.

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 nstie.

France, and so passing ouer into that realme, constrained king Malcolme to go with him in that fornie against his will, notwithstanding that he had a safe conduct fraile to come and go. In this boiage king Henrie did much hurt to the Frenchmen, and at length besieged the citie of Tholouse.

Tholouse besieged.
King Henries meaning.

In all which enterprises he had Malcolme present with him, to the end that Malcolme might incurre such hatred and displeasure of the Frenchmen, that thereby the bond betwixt them and the Scots might finally be dissolved. But in the end king Henrie hauing lost diuers of his noble men by sicknesse, returned into England, and then licenced king Malcolme to returne home into Scotland; who at his comming home, sent the bishop of Murray, and one of his secretaries vnto the se of Rome, as ambassadors vnto the pope, which as then hight Eugenius the third of that name, to recognise the obedience which he owght to the Romane see. Shortly after also, there was a parlement holden at Scone, where king Malcolme was sore rebuked by his lordes, in that he had bozne through his owne follie, armed against the Frenchmen their old confederate friends and ancient allies: but king Malcolme excused the matter with humble words, saieing he came vnto warlike into king Henries hands, and therefore might not chose but accomplish his will and pleasure at that time; so that he supposed berelie the French king would take no great displeasure with his doings, when he once vnderstood the truth of the matter.

Ambassadors sent to Rome.

Parlement at Scone.
K. Malcolme reproued by his nobles.
K. Malcolmes excuse.

King Henrie hauing perfect vnderstanding of this grudge betwixt the Scottish lordes and their king, thought to renew the same with more displeasure, and thereupon sent for king Malcolme to come vnto York, to a parlement which he held there, where at his comming he was burdened with a right grievous complaint surmized against him by king Henrie, for that he should reueale vnto the Frenchmen all the secrets of the English armie, when he was with him in France, at the aboue remembred tourne, alledging the same to be sufficient matter, for the which he ought to forfeit all the lands which he held of the crowne of England, as Cumberland, Northumberland, and Huntingdon. And though king Malcolme by manie substantiall reasons declared those allegations to be vntue and vniuillie forged, yet by king Henries earnest inforcing of the matter, sentence was given against him, by the general consent of all the estates there in that parlement assembled. And moreover, to bring king Malcolme in further displeasure with the nobles, king Henrie gaue notice vnto them, before king Malcolme returned backe into his countrie, how he had of his owne accord renounced all his claime, right, title, and interest, which he had to the foresaid lands, supposing by this means to make king Malcolme farre more odious to all his lieges and subiects, than euer he was before.

K. Malcolme goeth to York

Fond dealing and not likelie to be true.

Sentence giuen against K. Malcolme at York.

Malcolme therefore, vpon his returne into his countrie, not vnderstanding anie thing of that subtil contriued policie and slanderous report, was besieged within the castell of Wertha by the thane of Crenedale, and diuerse others. But after it was knowne how cruill king Malcolme had bene used, and most vntuillie slandered, they desired pardon of their offense, as induced thereto by vntue reports, which once being granted, they brake by their siege, and euer after continued in faithfull allegiance like true and most obedient subiects. But king Malcolme sore moued for that he was thus iniuriously handled by king Henrie, first desiring restitution to be made of all such things as had bene wrongfullie taken from him, and so detained by the Englishmen,

Open warres proclaimed against the Englishmen.

proclaimed open warres against them. At length, after sundrie harmes done, as well on the one part as the other, they came to a communication in a certaine appointed place, not far from Carlill, where (to be brieft) it was finally concluded, that K. Malcolme should receiue againe Cumberland and Huntingdon: but for Northumberland, he should make a plaine release thereof vnto king Henrie, and to his successors for euer.

Conclusion of agreement

For the which agreement he ran so farre into the hatred of his people, that he might neuer after find means to win their fauor againe; but doubting least if they should stirre anie rebellion against him, they might become an easie preie vnto the Englishmen, they remained quiet for a time. Howbeit shortly after, there arose another peece of trouble, though lesse in outward apperance, by reason of the small power remaining in the author, yet dangerous inough, considering it was within the realme it selfe. Wne Angus as then the thane of Galloway, perceiving he might not by secret practise atchieue his purposed intent (whatsoever the same was) determined by open force to assaile what luckie success fortune would send him; hoping that those which through feare safe as yet still, would assist him in all his attempts, so some as they saw anie commotion raised by him to occasion them thereto. Hereupon he assembled together a great companie: but before he could worke anie notable feat, to make anie account of, Gilchrist earle of Angus (whose faithfull ballancie was before manifestlie approued in the suppression of Somersleys rebellion) discomfited his power, in three sundrie bickerings, & chased Angus himselfe into Whiterne, where is a place of sanctuarie privileged for the safeguard of all offenders that flee thereto for succor in the honor of saint Martin.

K. Malcolme hares of his people.

Fear of outward enemies causeth quietnesse at home.

Angus the thane of Galloway raiseth a commotion: vpon what occasion he might make not any mention.

Angus discomfited by Gilchrist.

Whiterne a place of sanctuarie.

Malcolme then, for that he durst not breake the franchises of that place, set a band of men of warre round about it, to watch that he should by no means escape awaie; so that at length wearied as it had bene with long siege, he yielded himselfe to the king, who taking his soune to pledge for his good abearing in time to come, licenced him to go whither it should please him: but the most part of his lands and liuings were confiscat to the kings vse. Whereupon when he saw he might not mainteine his estate as he had done before, he became a canon in Holie rood house, and there ended his life (as it is reported.) It was not long after the pacifying of this trouble, but that a new rebellion was raised: for the Murray land men, by the prouocation of their capteine called Gildo, waisted with fire and sword the countie of Koss, Botwell, or Bongdale, Mar, Caroch, Buchanane, and the Bernes, in more cruell sort than anie forreine & most barbarous nation would haue done; insomuch that when the king sent diuers of his seruants vnto them to vnderstand the cause of their rebellious doings, they slue those messengers, contrarie to the law of nations.

Angus beset in whiterne.

Angus yielded himselfe to the king.

Angus became a canon.

A rebellion moued by the Murrays. Gildo capteine of the rebels.

The crueltie of the rebels.

To punish such iniurious attempts, the aboue named Gilchrist was sent with an armie into Murray land: but the rebels nothing discouraged with the knowledge of his approued prowesse, met him in the field, and put him to flight. Hereupon the king himselfe, supposing that his presence was needfull to encourage his people after this overthrow, came with a farre greater power than he had sent forth before, with displayed banner, ouer the riuier of Speie, nere to the mouth whereof he fought with the enemies, and in the end (after sore and long fight continued with great slaughter and bloodshed) he gaue them the overthrow, and in reuenge of their cruelties shewed in time of this their rebellion, and to giue example to all other his subiects that should go about to attempt the

Gilchrist discomfited by the Murrays.

Co. Me. ant.

The Murrays are overthrowen.

the like, he commanded that none of those of Murray land should be saved (women, children, and aged persons onelie excepted) but that all the residue of that generation shuld passe by the edge of the sword. Thus the Murray land men being destroyed according to his commandement thorough all parts of the realme, he appointed other people to inhabit their homes, that the countrie should not lie wast without habitation.

In this meane time, Somerleid the thane of Ar-gile, who (as ye haue heard) was fled ouer into Ire-land, vpon trust of the hatred into the which Malcolme was run, with the most part of all his nobles and commons, through this slaughter of his people, and namelie of them of Murray land, he thought to assaie fortunes chance once againe, and so therevpon returned with certeine kernes and naked men into Scotland. But this last enterprise of his came to a more vnluckie end than the first, for being vanquished in battell at Kentrow, he lost the most part of all his men, and was taken prisoner himselfe, and after hanged on a gibbet, by commandement of the king, according to that he had iustlie merited. Malcolme hauing thus subdued his aduersaries, and being now in rest and quiet, he set his mind wholie to gouerne his realme in byright iustice, and hauing two sisters marriable, he coupled the elder named Margaret with Conon duke of Britaine, and the yonger called Adhama he married with Florens earle of Holland.

After this, there was a councell holden at Scone of all the Scottish nobilitie, where when they were assembled together in the councell-chamber, Arnold archbishop of saint Andrewes stood vp, and by a vertie pitthe oration, toke vpon him to aduise the king to change his purpose touching his vow, which (as appeared) he had made to liue chaste. He declared vnto him by manie weightie reasons, that it was not onlie necessarie for him and his realme, that he should take a wife (by whome he might raise vp seed to succeed him in the possession of the crowne) but also that he might not choise a more perfect state of life (considering the office wherein he was placed) than matrimonie, being instituted, not by this law-maker or that, but by God himselfe, who in no one of all his ordinances might erre or be deceived. Againe for pleasure, he affirmed how nothing could be more delectable to him, than to haue a womanly ladie to his bedfellow, with whome he might conferre all the conceits of his hart, both of griefe and gladnesse, the being a comfort vnto him as well in weale as in woe, an helpe both in sickness & health, redie to assuage anger, and to aduance mirth, also to refresh the spirits being wearied or in anie wise faint through studious trauell and care of mind.

Then shewed he that an aid children were vnto their parents, namelie to kings, how in peace they might gouerne vnder them, to the great commoditie of the common-wealth, and in warre supplie their comes as lieutenants in defense of their countries, to the no small terror of the enemies. Therefore sith men are not borne onelie for their owne weale, but also for the profit of their friends, and commoditie of their countrie; it could not be chosen, but that he ought to persuaue with himselfe to alter his purposed intention, concerning the obseruance of chastitie, and to take a wife to the great ioy and comfort of his subjects, sith it was commendable both before God and man, and so necessarie withall and profitable, as nothing might be more. But these and manie other most weightie reasons could nothing moue his constant mind, hauing euen from his tender yeres affianced his virginie vnto Christ, trusting that God would so prouide, that the realme should not be destitute of conuenient helres, when the time came that it should please his diuine maiestie to take him hence to his mercie from amongst his subjects. Thus brake vp that councell without anie effect of the purpose for the which it was called.

Shortlie after it chanced that king Malcolme fell sicke, continuing so a long time, by reason whereof he sought meanes to conlude a peace with Henrie king of England; which being brought to passe, he set two kermen in hand to laie the foundation of saint Kewles abbete, which afterwards bare the name of saint Andrewes. When he had finished this house, being a goodlie place of worke, and vertie coslie, as may appere at this day by the view thereof, he assigned forth certeine rents for the sustentation of the canons, whome he placed there of the order of saint Augustine, not so largelie as serued for the maintenance of superfluos there, but yet sufficient for their necessarie finding: by reason whereof, the canons of that abbete liued in those daies in most devout deuotion, hauing no prouocations at all to inordinate luffs and sensuall pleasures; but onelie giuen to diuine contemplation, without respect to auarice, or enlarging the possessions and reuenues of their house. He founded also the abbete of Couper of the Cisterciour order, and indowed it with manie fatre lands and wealthie possessions. Finally, being vexed with long infirmittie, he departed out of this life at Jedburgh the 12 yere of his reigne. A certeine comets or blasing starre appeared 14 daies together before his death, with long beames verie terrible to behold. His bodie was buried at Dunfermling, after the incarnation 1185 yeres. In the daies of this Malcolme, Roger archbishop of York, constituted the popes legat, could not be suffered to enter into Scotland, because he was a man highlie defamed for his couetous practising to enrich himselfe by vnlawfull meanes.

After Malcolme succeeded his brother William, surnamed for his singular iustice, the Lion. Shortlie after his coronation, he sent ambassadozs vnto Henrie king of England, requiring him, that according to iustice, he would restore vnto him the earldome of Northumberland, sith it appertained by god and lawfull interest vnto his inheritance. King Henrie answered the messengers, that if king William would come vnto London, and there do his homage for Cumberland and Huntington, he should be assured to haue all things so ordered, as he reasonable could with or demand. Wherevpon king William went into England, and so came to London, and after he had done his homage for Cumberland and Huntington, he required the restitution of Northumberland. But king Henrie made answer as then, that forsomuch as the same was annexed to the crowne, he might not without the assent of all the estates of his realme make restitution thereof. Notwithstanding, in the next parlement, he promised to cause the matter to be proponed: and if it came to passe that his demand were found to stand with reason, he would do therein according to conscience, when time expedient should serue thereto.

About the same season, king Henrie passed ouer into Normandie with an armie, and caused king William, with manie other nobles of Scotland, to go with him in that iourne. For king William would not disobey his commandement at that present, in hope to attaine in quiet and peaceable manner his sute touching the restitution of Northumberland (as the Scottish writers do affirme) but in the end, after he had continued a long time with king Henrie, and perceived no comfort to recouer his lands, he got licence with much adoe to returne home: and so coming backe into England, passed through the realme with

A peace concluded with England. The Abbete of saint Andrewes builded.

Superfluous rents of abbies, prouocations to inordinate luffs.

The abbete of Couper founded. The death of king Malcolme. A comet.

1185. Roger archbishop of York the popes legat.

William surnamed the Lion. Ambassadozs sent to the king of England.

King William is required to do homage.

King William request for the restitution of Northumberland. The answer of king Henrie.

King Henrie sailed into Normandie. King William with manie nobles of Scotland went with king Henrie ouer into France.

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Malcolme
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he not amig
ition.

gus dis-
tressed by
cris.

sterne a
re of lanch-
rie.

gus believ-
in whi-
te.

gus believ-
himselfe
be king.

gus believ-
ie a ca-

ebellion
ued by the
ireis.
do captain
be rebels.

e cruelle
re rebels.

cris dis-
tressed by
Murray.

re Murray
are a
thpouen.

The Mur-
reys destroyed

Somerleid
returneth in-
to Scotland.

Somerleid
vanquished at
Kentrow,
Somerleid is
hanged.

King Mal-
colmes sisters
married.

Parlement
at Scone.

The oration
of Arnold bi-
shop of saint
Andrewes.

Matrimonie
instituted by
God.

The pleasure
of mariage.
The commo-
dities by a
wife.

Children an-
aid.

Men not
borne for them-
selues.

Commenda-
ble before God
and man.

Malcolme
might not be
persuaded to
take a wife.

*R. Williams
scale of justice.*

*Scotland
more indain-
ged by dome-
sticall theues
than by fo-
reigne enemies.*

*Ambassadors
sent to king
Henrie.*

*See more
thereof in
England.*

*A portion of
Northumber-
land restored
to the Scots.
King William
received a
peace of North-
umberland
South his right
sued to the re-
sidue.
King Henrie
repenting him
scide of that
which he had
delivered to
the Scots
sought new
occasions of
warre.
warres with
England.*

*King William
inuaeth
Cumberland.*

with his nobles into Scotland, where he applied his whole endeavour to understand the state of the common-wealth of his subjects, and speciallie he took order in most diligent wise, to punish cruelties done by theues and robbers, which vndoubtedly was one of the most profitable acts that he could deuise to accomplish at that present, considering the state of his realme, as it then stood. For if the damages & skathes committed by theues and robbers were equallie pondered with the hurts and hinderances which daily grew by open warre against anie foren nation, it may well appere, that more harme ariseth, & more heinous cruelties are exercised against the poore and miserable commons and innocent people, by such as liue by rapine & spoiling at home, than by anie outward enemies, be they neuer so fierce and strong in the field. And therefore the prudent consideration of this pynce was no lesse to be commended, in that he sought to repress the licentious outrage of such as theues and pynie murderers, than if he had slain many thousands of foren enemies.

When he had once cleined the realme of those misgouerned persons, he sent erst sones his ambassadors to king Henrie, requiring (as before) to haue Northumberland restored vnto him, with notice giuen, that if he might not haue it with fauour, he would assaie to recover it by force. King Henrie perceiving that he must either satisfie king Williams request, either else haue open warres with the Scots, by aduise of his nobles, restored to king William so much of Northumberland as his grandfather R. Halcolme had in possession. King William accepted the offer, but so, as he protested that he received not that part in full recompense of the whole which was due vnto him (so saie the Scottish writers) but so as his entier right might alwaies be saued as well to the residue as to that which was then restored. Within few yeeres after, king Henrie feeling what hinderance it was for him to forbear the commodities of those lands, which were thus deliuered by to the Scottish kings use, repented him of that bargaine; and therefore to find some occasion to recover the same again, he procured his subjects that dwelled vpon the borders, to make forreies into the lands peggining to the Scots, so to prouoke them to battell.

Complaint of these iniuries being brought vnto the warden of the Scottish borders, by such Scots as had lost such goods as were taken awate by the Englishmen, he sent to demand restitution; but for so much as he could haue no towardlie answer, he got together a great number of men, the which entering into the English ground, did much hurt on each side where they came. At the same time was king Henrie in France, and therefore the Englishmen thought it sufficient to defend themselves as well as they might without attempting anie notable enterprise in reuenge of the displeasures done by the Scots. Haruest was also at hand, and therevpon they ceased on either part from further inuasions, till the winter season, which passed also without anie exploit achieved, worthy to be remembred; sauing certeine small rodes made by the Scots into the English borders, as they saw occasion to serue thereto.

But in the summer next following, king William raised a mightie armie, and came with the same into Cumberland, the right wing of the which armie was led by Sir Crist, whose approued balliance often shewed in the time of king Halcolme, had aduanced him to marie with the kings sister. The left wing was assigned vnto the conduct of one Rowland the kings cosen, who was also lieutenant of the bordermen. The middle ward or battell the king himselfe led. The Englishmen, to the intent they might haue time and leasure to assemble their power, sent vnto

king William, offering vnto him, not onely large summes of monie, if he would returne backe with his armie without further inuasion, but also redress of all manner of iniuries and wrongs, if anie such on their behalfe were to be proued. But king William for answer herevnto declared, that he had not begun the warre for anie desire he had to monie; neither had he first giuen the occasion, as one that was euer willing to liue vpon his owne: so that if they could be contented to restore Northumberland being his rightfull heritage, he was not so desirous of blood, but that he would gladlie cease from all further attempts.

The Englishmen hauing receiued this answer, to the end they might protract the time in sending still to and fro, till they might espie some occasion to waite such leates as they had imagined, addressed forth other ambassadors vnto king William, with diuerse faire offers and golden promises. In the meane time, to take the Scottishmen at some aduantage, they conueie their whole power in the night season nere vnto the place where the same Scottishmen late in campe, & diuiding themselves into two parts, the one was appointed to abide in the fields, till the sunne were vp, and then to shew themselves to the enemies, to traine them forth to battell: the other companie was laid close in a ballie not farre off, to take the aduantage as they saw their time. In the morning about the rising of the sunne, those that were appointed to procure the skirmish, approached so nere to the enemies campe, till they came euen with in sight of them. The Scots amazed with the strangeness of the thing, for that they had not heard before of anye assemblie of the Englishmen, at the first were somewhat afraid; but anon encouraging one another, they boldlie issued forth vpon their enemies, who of purpose (at the first) made but weake resistance, and at length fled amaine, to the intent to scape the Scottishmen to breake their arrate of battell in pursuing them, which they did so egerlie, that they left their king but slenderlie garded with a small companie about him. When the ambushment lieng in the ballie, brake forth vpon him, according to the order before appointed, and in the meane time, the other that fled cast themselves about, and manlie abode their enemies, so earnestlie laing it to their charge, that in fine they droue them backe, and constrained them to lie in good earnest, which they themselves had but onely counterfeited to do before.

King William perceiving his people thus discomforted, and himselfe inclosed on each side amongst his enemies, after he had assaied to breake forth on some side from amongst them, when he saw his inuention could by no meanes preuaile, and that the enemies made onely at him, he yielded himselfe. Where was not much blood spilled on either side at this bickering, for the one part in the beginning of the fraie (as ye haue heard) fleeing of set purpose to the place where their ambush late, escaped without much hurt; and the other, scared by the breaking forth of the ambush, abode the hunt but a small while, returning immediatlie towards the king; and then perceiving they could do no good, they made the best shift they could each man for himselfe, to escape the enemies hands. The king being thus taken of his enemies, was conueied to king Henrie ouer into Normandie, where he was as then remaining. The yeere that king William was thus taken, was after the birth of our Sautour Christ 1174, and the ninth of king Williams reigne.

Other writers report the maner of his taking, not altogether agreeable with that which we haue here aboue remembred, who declare how R. William, after he had waisted all Cumberland, came into Northumber-

*The offers of
the English-
men.*

*The answer
of king Wil-
liam.*

*The English
men take by
politic to han-
quish the
Scots.*

*The English
men retire of
purpose.*

*The king left
but slenderlie
garded.*

*The Scots
constrained to
lie.*

*King William
yielded him-
selfe prisoner.*

*King William
conueied into
Normandie.*

1174.

*Discord of
writers.*

Williel
Paruus.

Capitel
the En-
men.

W. Par

Christ
Rowle
sit the
Hymner

North
land by
Engli

Daniel
Huntin

The hi
Scots
leauie t
king of
land for
land.
Rog. Ho
Mau.

Northumberland, not ceasing till he came to Ant-
 wike, where he staid for a time to haue had battell:
 but in the meane while the Englishmen late close to-
 gither without noise or appearance, in such wise that
 no Scottishman could haue understanding where
 they were. At length king William wearied with
 long taring thus at Antwike, and seeing no entines
 to appeare, determined to worke some exploit yet be-
 fore his returne, and thereupon sent forth the most
 part of all his armie abroad into the countrie, to for-
 reie the same, keeping no great companie about
 him, till the returne of the other thus sent forth.
 Whereupon incontinentlie a great ambushment of
 Englishmen came vpon him with counterfeited
 Scottish ensignes, and were not once suspected for
 Englishmen, till the king was compassed in by them
 on eche side, and so finally taken and led a waie per a-
 nie Scottishman with thereof, saue a few which were
 left (as is said) with him for the time. In deed Wil-
 helmus Paruus, a canon sometime in the abbey of
 Wybolington in Northshire, in that his booke which he
 writes of the Norman kings of England, affirmes
 how there were not manie more than about three
 score horsemen with king William, while he was
 thus taken; and that the Englishmen were not past
 foure hundred horsemen, which took vpon them that
 enterpryse; whose captiues (as he recteth) were
 these: Robert de Stutenill, Ranulfe de Glanvill,
 Bernard de Ballioll, and diuerse other.

The same author writeth, that after the taking of
 the king, there rose a mutinie amongst the Scots:
 for whereas the Irish Scots bare a naturall grudge
 against the English Scots, yet whilest the king was
 present amongst them, they durst not utter their
 malicious intentions: but now that he was thus ta-
 ken from them, so manie of the English Scots as
 fell into the hands of the Irish, paid dearelie for the
 bargain, being cruellie murdered and slaine: so
 that the residue were constrained to get them out of
 the waie into castles and towres, where they might
 be receiued. But now it is to be considered, that be-
 cause there was no great slaughter made at the ta-
 king of king William, the warres notwithstanding
 continued betwixt England and Scotland: for the
 two before specified chieftains Gilcriff and Rowland
 stoutlie withstood the Englishmen, and beat them
 backe as they enterprised to enter into Cumber-
 land. At length a peace was taken, during the time
 that king William remained in captiuitie; vnder
 these conditions, that Northumberland should conti-
 nue vnder the dominion of the Englishmen, and
 Cumberland (with the earledome of Huntington) to
 remaine (as before) vnder the gouernance of the
 Scottishmen.

Immediatlie vpon the taking of king William
 thus at Antwike, his brother Dauid earle of Hun-
 tington, thorough licence of king Henrie came into
 Scotland, to haue the gouernement of the realme,
 till the king his brother might be redeemed. So some
 therefore as he had once established the realme in
 good quiet and iustice, he sent Richard the bishop of
 saint Andrews, with diuerse other noble men, over
 into Normandie, to take order there with R. Hen-
 rie for the ranfome of the king his brother, which was
 agreed in this manner. First, it was accorded, that
 king William should become and acknowledge
 himselfe to be the king of Englands liege man, a-
 gainst all men for the realme of Scotland and his o-
 ther lands; and for the same should do fealtie to the
 said king of England, as to his liege soueraigne lord,
 in like sort as other his liege people were accusto-
 med to do. And further, he should also do fealtie vnto
 the lord Henrie, the king of Englands sonne, (sa-
 uing alwaies the faith which he owght the king his

father.) And in like manner it was couenanted and
 agreed, that all the prelates of Scotland, and their suc-
 cessors, should recognise their wanted subiection to
 the church of England, and do fealtie to the king of
 England, so manie of them as he should appoint.
 And likewise the earle and barons of Scotland, and
 their heires for their part, should do their homage
 and fealties vnto the said king of England, and to
 the lord Henrie his sonne, so manie as therevnto
 should be required.

Moreover, the king of Scots should paie for his
 redemption one hundred thousand pounds sterling,
 the one halfe to be paid in hand: and for sure pay-
 ment of the other halfe, the earledomes of Cumber-
 land, Huntington, and Northumberland should be
 deliuered vnto king Henrie in pledge or mortgage,
 till the time that the same summe was paid. And
 for the more fuerthe of these couenants, and that the
 Scots should moue no warre against the English-
 men, foure of the strongest castles within Scotland,
 that is to saie, Berwike, Edinburgh, Roxburgh, &
 Strirling, were deliuered into the Englishmens
 hands. These things being thus ordered the eight
 day of December 1175, the king returned home,
 there followed a new stre in Scotland, for Gilbert
 of Galloway, a right cruell and most mischievous
 person, purposing to conquer the crowne by force,
 made great slaughter of all them that withstood his
 desire. And because his brother reproved his do-
 ings, he put out his eyes, and cut off his hands. A-
 gainst this Gilbert was Gilcriff sent with an ar-
 mie by the king. There was fought a sore battell
 betwixt them, for the most part of those that followed
 Gilberts commandement, were desperat fellows,
 such commonlie as for murder and other heinous
 crimes by them committed were in danger of the
 lawes, and therefore vpon hope of pardon desired
 a change; but yet in the end, Gilcriff with multitude
 swan the field of them, and slue more in the chase
 than in the battell. Gilbert himselfe escaped and got
 ouer into the Ile of Man, and fled from thence into
 Ireland. Wilhelmus Paruus reporteth this matter
 somewhat otherwise, as thus: In the armie of king
 William (saith he) when he was taken nere vnto
 Antwike, were two brethren, Gilbert and Wared,
 that were lords of Galloway, hauing there with
 them a great retinue of their countriemen. These
 were the sonnes of Fergusius, sometime lord of that
 prouince; after whose decesse the king of Scots that
 is superiour lord thereof, diuided the countrie be-
 twixt these two brethren. But Gilbert the eldest bro-
 ther found himselfe much grieved to haue anie part
 of those lands (which were his fathers) giuen from
 him; yet doubting punishment at the kings hands,
 he durst not attempt anie thing against his brother,
 till it fortun'd the king to be taken. And then deli-
 uered of the feare which had staid his mischievous
 purpose, he taketh his brother at vnwares, and cru-
 ellie murdered him, after no common maner; but
 rather martyred him in beastlie wise, so to satisfie
 the instinct of his diuelish nature. And immediatlie
 after inuading the vpper countries, he exerciseth
 great slaughter of men on each hand. But his bro-
 ther had a sonne called Rowland, which prouing a
 valiant yong gentleman, boldlie resisted his vnles
 rage, with the assistance and aid of his fathers
 friends. And thus was Scotland brought into trou-
 ble (as Wilhelmus Paruus recordeth) till by the fore-
 said Gilcriff the murderer was expelled, as before
 is exprest. In the yeare following came Hugo car-
 dinall of saint Angelo as legat from the pope into
 England, with authoritie to reforme the English
 churches, in such cases as were thought requisite;
 and after he had made an end there, to do the like in
 Scotland.

The prelates
 of Scotland
 do fealtie to
 the king of
 England.
 The earles
 and lords do
 homage vnto
 him.

King William
 ranfomed.

Foure castles
 deliuered to
 the English-
 men in pledge.

1175.
 Gilbert of
 Galloway re-
 belleth.

Gilbert of
 Galloway
 banquished by
 Gilcriff.

Wilhelmus
 Paruus.

Hugh card-
 nall of saint
 Angelo the
 popes legat.

offers of
 English.

answer
 to wil-

Wilhelmus
 Paruus.
 English
 the by
 to hang
 he

Wilhelmus
 Paruus.

Captiues of
 the English-
 men.

W. Paruus.

English
 the of

English
 the of

English
 the of

English
 the of

English
 the of

English
 the of

English
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English
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English
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The bishops of Scotland summoned to a conuocation at Northampton.

Gilbert a learned man defended the liberties of Scotland.

Gilbert bishop of Cathness.

Wonders.

Haile.

The sun darkened.

Thunder.

The foundation of the abbey of Arbroath, or Arbrothochoke.

1178.

The abbey of Dunrie of Haddington founded.

Ambassadors to the pope.

A rose of gold.

Gilcriff murdered his wife upon suspicion and adulterie. The kings indignation against Gilcriff.

Gilcriff proclaimed traitor.

Breduis the brother of Gilcriff.

Scotland. When he had therefore finished with England, he cited all the bishops of Scotland to appeare before him at a day prefixed at Northampton. They came according to his appointment, and being assembled there in consistorie, he went about in most earnest wise to perswade them to receiue the archbishop of Poike for their metropolitane. But one Gilbert a young man, howbeit singularly well learned, and for his holinesse of life much commended (as Hector Boetius writeth) being sent of purpose by king William unto this conuocation, to foreshew that nothing were concluded in the same, prejudiciall to the ancient liberties and franchises of the realme of Scotland, did argue so stiffly to the contrary, that the cardinall left off the pursute of such manner of matter, and brake vp that counsell without determination of anie thing to the purpose in that behalfe. This Gilbert that thus defended the cause and liberties of the Scottish clergie, was afterwards made bishop of Cathness, and finally after his departure out of this transitorie life, registered for his supposed perfect holinesse of life among the number of saints. The chiefest cause that moued the Scottish clergie to withdraue their obedience from the primasie of Poike, was the dissention and continuall enmitie betwixt the two nations for superiority in temporall causes. The same yeare that this counsell was holden at Northampton, sundrie wonders were seene in Albion. On the thirteenth day being the feast day of the natiuitie of saint John the Baptist, there fell such a storme of haile, that it killed manie sheepe and small cattell: people that were out of houses, and from vnder couert anie where abroad, were beaten to the earth with violence of that storme. The sunne in September about noontide was darkened for the space of two houres together, without anie eclipse or cause naturall by interposition of clouds. In Northeshire was such terrible thunder with strange lightening, that manie abbeies and churches were consumed with the fire.

About this season, the abbey of Arbroth was built in most magnificent wise, and indowed with lands and reuenues in such ample sort, that few houses within the bounds of Albion might compare therewith. The church was dedicated in the yeare of Grace 1178, by king William, in honor of Thomas Becket archbishop of Canturburie, with whom (as is said) he had great familiaritie in time of his young yeares. At the same time the abbey of Haddington was founded by Adhama the mother of king William, and shortly after she had built it, she died. Not long after, king William sent as ambassadors John bishop of saint Andrews, and Reinald abbat of Arbroth unto pope Alexander the third, to present unto him his obeisance, according as he thought stood with his dutie. The pope seeming to reioice thereat, sent shortly after unto the king a rose of gold, filled with balme, and certeine new priuileges concerning the libertie of the church of Scotland. At the same time Gilcriff, hauing his wife in suspicion of adulterie, drove hir out of doores, and afterwards strangled hir in a village called Panis, not past a mile from Dundee. The king (for that she was his sister) took such indignation therewith, that he seized vpon all his lands and goods, purposing to haue put him to death if he might haue got him into his hands: but when he saw he could not be found, he proclaimed him traitor, and rased his castell (where in he had dwelled) quite to the ground, in such wise that nothing remaineth anie token at this day where it stood. This Gilcriff had a brother that hight Breduis, who before this mischance had got the lands of Agsiluie: of whome the house of the Agsiluies took

their beginning, that after came to great authoritie in the court, though at this time (through Wilcriffs offense) his whole familie was nere hand destroyed. About this time also, the queene, king William his wife, deceased. A daughter which he had by hir, named Adhama, he gaue in marriage vnto the earle of Laon: but he himselfe after the deceasse of this his first wife married Emengard, daughter to Richard vicount of Beaumont that was sonne to a daughter of king William the Conquerour. By this mariage and alliance, the peace was newlie confirmed betwixt England and Scotland, in such wise, that neither part might receiue anie rebels to the other, by means whereof Wilcriff, that before was fled into England, was constrained to returne into Scotland, disguised in poore weed, with two of his sonnes, and there passed forth his life a long time in great miserie amongst the woods and in out places, vnknewen to anie man what he was, by reason of his poore and simple habit. Somewhat before the aboue remembred mariage, Henrie king of England at the motion of Hugh bishop of Durham rendered by the castell of Edenburgh into king William his hands.

About this time the Scouldane named Saladine prospered hugely against the christians in the holie land, making such cruell slaughter of them, that to heare thereof, all christian hearts were moued to pittifull commiseration and dolorous teares: in so much that Henrie king of England vowed to go thither with an armie to relieue the common necessitie of the christians publike weale, and had gone in deed, if he had not bene hindered by the conspiracie of his sonne, whom latelie before he had caused to be crowned king, that went about to surpe the sole administration to himselfe now in his fathers life time. About the same time William went with an armie into Kosse, against Akakulzen and Akabein, two capteins of the westerne Isles, which vsed vpon occasion to passe ouer into Kosse, Cathness and Murray land, spoiling and wasting those countries; when they heard of anie power comming against them, they would straight returne to their ships, and repasse againe into the Isles. But at this time, the king had sent forth a naue to burne all those vessels, wherein the robbers had passed ouer and had left at anchor, by reason thereof when they were inclosed in on euerie side by the king, and taken prisoners, they after had suffered death on the wheele, according to the manner of the ciuill law.

The king in his returne from this iourne, came by the abbey of Arbrothochoke, to view the worke of that house, how it went forwarde, commanding them that were ouersers and maisters of the worke to spare for no costs, but to bring it vp to perfection, and that with most magnificence. After his departure from thence, he took the way toward Bertha, and by aduenture espied where Gilcriff was deliuing vp turfes, together with his two sonnes. And though he knew not what they were, yet he mused to see two such goodly young men, as by resemblance they appeared to be, to be thus occupied in such toiling and base labour. Incontinentlie herewith Gilcriff with his bald head came afoze him, and falling downe on his knees at the kings feet, said: If there be anie mercie in the (most ruthfull prince) for them that are brought through their offences into extreme miserie, hauing suffered condigne punishment for the same; I beseech thee for the loue that Christ had to all sinfull people, not sparing to shed his most precious blood for their redemption, to haue some pittie & compassion on me, & these my poore & miserable sons, which with me haue suffered much griefe and penurie, not hauing deserued the same by anie crime by the m

The house of the Agsiluies

The earle of Laon.

Emengard, 1186.

The peace confirmed with England.

The miserable state of Gilcriff.

The castell of Edenburgh restored.

Saladine the Scouldane.

King Henries purpose to go into the holie land against the Saracens hindered by rebellion of his sonne.

Akakulzen and Akabein capteins of pirates.

Death on the wheele.

Arbrothochoke is builded.

Gilcriff deliuing clothes.

Gilcriff asketh pardon of the king in his knowne habit.

Gilcriff's death by the king's hand.

The king's death by the king's hand.

Gilcriff's death by the king's hand.

Lawes by king's hand against the king's hand.

them committed.

At the last, when king William had inquired of him what he was, and how it chanced he fell into such kind of miserie, the teares came so fast trickling from his eyes, that of a long time he was not able to declare his owne name. At length being come to himselfe, he said: I am Gilcriff (noble prince) the most sorrowfull creature on earth, which (alas) put my hands in thy blood, and was therefore disherited of all my lands, and banished with these my two sonnes out of thy realme, whereupon we remained in England for a time, till through proclamation made against outlawes, I was constrained to come hither againe with my said sonnes, where we have liued by roots all the summer season, and now in the winter are glad to get our lining with trauell of hand thus in digging and deluing of cloods. Therfore if anie ruth or pitie haue place in thy heart, or that thine indignation be qualified, haue mercie on our sorrowfull estate, and remit the offense, whereby thou maist not onelie purchase great honor and fame by example of pitie, being highlie renowned for that vertue amongst all nations, but also win great merit afoze God, for shewing thy selfe the follower of Christ, the giuer of all mercie, grace, and peace.

The king moued by these words, and remembering the good seruice which Gilcriff had imploid so oftentimes afoze in defense of the realme; and againe pitying his case, to consider from what degree of honor he was fallen into the deepest bottom of extreme miserie, he took him whole to his fauour, and not onelie forgane him his former offenses, but also restored vnto him, and to his sonnes, all such lands as sometime appertained vnto them, except so much as the king had alreadye giuen vnto the abbey of Abirbrothoke. Gilcriff euer after perseuered in due obedience to his prince. And forsomuch as his eldest sonne deceased before him without heires, & that his younger sonne, by reason of some impediment which he had, was vnniet for marriage, he gaue the most part of his lands after his owne deceasse vnto the said house of Abirbrothoke. His younger sonne also, as lesse well affectionated towards the same house, gaue the residue of his lands therunto. The father and both his sonnes are buried before the altar of S. Katharine within the church of this abbey, as the superscription of their tomes sheweth.

Though king William was earnestlie occupied in the advancing forward of the building of Abirbrothoke, yet did he not forget his dutie in the administration of his lawes; but diligentlie caused iustice to be executed, to the punishing of the wicked, and the rewarding of them that well deserved. He made also sundrie new lawes for the restraining of theues and oppressors of the people, so rigorous, that they might be in feare to heare him named. Furthermore, where as the church of Scotland was subiect to the church of Yorke, he obtained of pope Clement the third of that name, letters of exemption for his clergie, whereby the church of Scotland (within the which were contained the bishops sees of saint Andrews, Glasco, Dunkeld, Dunblaine, Wigborne, Aberdeen, Murray, Rothe, and Cathnesse) was declared exempt from all other forein iurisdiccions, except onelie from that of the see of Rome, so as it might not be lawfull from thenceforth for any that was not of the realme of Scotland, to pronounce sentence of interdiction or excommunication, or otherwise to deale in iudgement of ecclesiasticall causes, except such one as the apostolike see of Rome should specially appoint, and send thither with legantine power. The date of the said bull or letters of exemption thus obtained was at the popes palace of Laterane, the

third Ides of March, and first parte of the said pope Clements government. Shortly after, to wit in the year 1198, died Henric king of England, after whom succeeded his second sonne Richard: for Henric his eldest sonne deceased before his father.

King Richard, after his coronation, prepared himselfe to passe with an armie into the holie land, and therefore made peace with all his neighbors, that no trouble should follow to his realme by reason of his absence: and herebypon to keepe the Scots in friendship, rather by beneuolence than by feare, he rendered into their hands the castles of Roxburgh, Beruik, and Sterling: and moreover that part of Northumberland which his father had taken from king William when he took him prisoner. He also deliuered the eariedomes of Huntington & Cumberland; but vnder condition, that all the castles and holds within them, should be in the keeping of his capitaines and souldiours, such as he should appoint. He released to king William also the residue of such summes of monie as were due for the foure castles laid to gage, ten thousand pounds onelie excepted, which he received in hand at that present towards the charges of his iourne. When king William had thus received his lands and castles by surrender, he made his brother David earle of Huntington, who thereupon doing his homage vnto king Richard, according to the old ordinance deuised by king Malcolme the first, went with him also in that volage with five hundred Scottishmen, or rather five thousand (as the translation of Hector Boetius saith) if no fault be in the printer.

As the christian armie laie at siege before the citie of Acres, otherwise called Acon, it chanced that one Oliuer a Scottishman borne, was within the towne retained in seruice among the Saracens; for being convict of felonie in his natie countrie he was banished out of the same, and fled to the Saracens, remaining so long amongst them, that he had learned their tongue verie perfecte, so that as then few knew what countreman he was. It fortuned that this Oliuer had one of the gates in keeping, on that side the towne where was but a single wall, without trenches, or anie other fortification. He happened by some good aduerture to espie amongst the watch of those that were of the retinue of David earle of Huntington, one of his owne kinsmen named John Durward, with whom of long time before he had bene most familiarlie acquainted; and incontinentlie he called to the same Durward, desiring vnder assurance to talke with him. After certaine communication, for that this Oliuer had not as yet bitterlie in his heart renounced the christian faith, he appointed with Durward to giue entrie at a certaine houre vnto earle David, and to all the christian armie, vpon condition that earle David would see him restored againe vnto his land and heritage in Scotland. The houre set, earle David came with a great power of men to the gate before rehearsed, where he was suffered to enter according to appointment, and incontinentlie with great noise and clamour brake into the midst of the citie.

In the morning betimes, king Richard perceiving the citie thus woone, entred the same, and shortly after wane a tower, which the Saracens for a while manfullie defended. Thus was the citie of Acres woone from the Saracens, chieslie by means of the Scottishmen. But now touching their returne from this volage (for sith in other places more large mention is made of such exploits as were achieved therein, I passe ouer to make anie longer discourse thereof in this place) ye shall vnderstand, that in that terrible tempest, in the which king Richards name was disperied in his coming homewards (as in the

The death of Henric king of England.

Richard.

The castles of Roxburgh, Beruik, and Sterling: rendered to king William.

Earle of Huntington. Scots with king Richard in the holie land.

The siege of Acres. Oliuer a Scottishman.

John Durward.

Earle David entered the citie Acon.

house of Gilcriff

Gilcriff declared what he was.

earle of

Richard, 1198.

peace made with England.

misericordie of

castell of Roxburgh.

David the Dane.

Henric king of England, and restored vnto him his lands.

David king of Scotland, and restored vnto him his lands.

on the

Abirbrothoke.

It was devised by king William against the

castell of the

Earle David
taken prisoner
he is re-
deemed.

He went to
Scotland.

Arrived at
Dundee.

The name of
Dundee.

Procession
was holden.

A church
built.

Privileges
granted to the
towne of
Dundee.

The abbey of
Lundoch.

Advers with-
out hurt.

R. Richards
returne into
England.

The gift of
king William
to king Ri-
chard.

A ynte raised
that the king
was dead.

the historie of England is more at large expressed) the ship also that earle David was in, chanced to be throtene on land on the coasts of Aegypt, where being taken prisoner, and led into Alexandria, at length he was redeemed by certeine merchants of Venice, and first conueied vnto Constantinople, and after vnto Venice, where he was bought out & redeemed by the English merchants, and in the end suffered to depart home. At his coming into Flanders, he hired a vessel at Sluis, therewith to returne into Scotland; but being losed a litle off from the shore, such a vehement tempest suddenly arose, that drove him, not without great danger of life, nere to the coasts of Fozwaile and Shetland.

Here in the midst of this extreame icopardie (as hath bene reported) after he had made a vow to build a church in the honoz of the virgin Marie, if he might escape that danger of seas, he arrived at length in Late water beside Dundee, not far from saint Nicholas chappell, without either rudder or tackle. The place where he arrived before that time hight Aledam, but he as then changed the name, and called it Dundee, which signifieth as though ye should say, The gift of God. When his brother the king heard that he was returned, supposing long time before, that he had bene dead, he came speedilie vnto Dundee to welcome him home, shewing himselfe most glad of his returne, inso much that he caused publike processions to be celebrate through the realme, to giue God thanks that had thus restored his brother home into his countrie. Earle David, according as he had vowed, builded a church in the field commonlie called the wheat field, and dedicating it in honoz of the virgin Marie, made it a parish church. At a parlement also holden after this at Dundee, licence was granted vnto him to build an abbey in that place if shuld please him within Scotland, and to indow it with lands and rents as he should thinke good. There were also manie privileges granted the same time vnto Dundee, which indure to this day.

Earle David not refusing the grant and beneuolence of the king his brother, builded an abbey called Lundoch, for monks of the order of saint Benedict. One thing there is much to be wondered at, as a strange singulartie. For whereas that house standeth in a ballie, inclosed on each side with wood and water, by reason thereof there is great abundance of adders; yet doth no man catch hurt by anie of them, inso much that ye shall see yong children play and run by and downe amongst a great number of them, without anie skath or hurt following vnto the m thereof. In this meane while, Richard king of England (who also in his returne out of the holie land was taken prisoner by the emperor of Almanie) was deliuered for a great summe of monie, and so returned into his countrie. King William hearing of king Richards returne into England, to congratulate the same, took his brother earle David with him, and came vnto London, where, in token of ioy, that he had vncincedlie conceived for his safe coming home, after all troubles and dangers which he had passed, he gaue vnto him two thousand markes sterling, for that he knew at what great charges he had bene, aswell for furnishing of his boiage, as also for redeeming of his libertie.

By these friendlie points of humanitie shewed, there folloved great amitie and loue betwixt these two kings. But king William fell sicke in England, and as it often happeneth, such as were in quiet persons, desirous to be deliuered of all feare of lawes, were straight way put in an vntrue belief, that he was dead; and causing it to be hyed abroad, began to exercise all kind of misdeameanzs by inua-

ding the poore and simple people, with spoilings and slaughters in all parts. But after it was certeinlie knowne, that the king was not onelie aliue, but also recovered of his infirmitie, and coming homeward, those raskals and wicked rebels withdrew vnder the conduct of one Herald the thane of Cathnes, and erle of Mkenie, vnto the uttermost bounds of Scotland. Howbeit the king pursued them in such diligent and earnest maner, that he apprehended the most part of them in Cathnes, and commanded iustice to be done on them, in such wise, that mercie was not yet wanting: for such as were thought to be after a sort guiltlesse, were pardoned, and the other punished, euerie one according to the measure of his offenses.

But the principall leader of them, that is to say, the forenamed Herald, for that time escaped into the westerne Isles, but shortly after, returning to Cathnes, he was taken and brought to the king, who caused his eies first to be put out, then gelded, and lastlie to be hanged on a paire of gallowes. Also all those of his linage that were men, were likewise gelded, that no succession should follow of so wicked a seed. In the yere next ensuing was more dearth felt in Scotland, than euer was heard of before: for a measure of barlie, in Scotland called a boll, was sold for five crownes; and yet in the yere next following, accounting from the natiuitie of our Saviour 1199, was more plentiful abundance than euer had bene scene afore. The same yere king Williams wife Ermengard was deliuered of a yong sonne named Alexander. The same yere also died Richard king of England, & his brother John succeeded in his place. About thre yeres after this, was the foresaid Alexander the kings sonne created prince of Scotland. And the same yere came a legat from the pope sent to R. William, presenting vnto him a sword, with a sheath & hilts of gold set full of rich pretious stones. He presented vnto him also a hat or bonet, made in manner of a diademe of purple hne, in token (as it should meane) that he was defender of the church. Manie indulgences and privileges were granted at the same time by the pope, for the libertie of the church of Scotland. It was ordeined also the same time, that saturday should be kept as holdaie from none forward, and great punishment appointed for them that transgressed this ordinance, in doing anie bodilie worke from saturday at none, vntill mondaie in the morning.

After this, king William returned againe into England to do his homage vnto king John, for the lands of Cumberland, Huntington, and Roxhamberland. Immediatlie thereupon king John willed him to passe with him into France, to make warres against the Frenchmen. And because he refused so to do, king John made claime to all the foresaid lands as forfeited to the crowne of England, and caused a great botie of gods to be fetched out of the same: so that open warres had immediatlie folloved, if the English lawes had not compelled R. John to make restitution of all the gods so taken; because they thought it not expedient in anie wise to haue wars with the Scots at the same time, being already in trouble with the Frenchmen. In the winter following, the frost was so vehement, & continued so long, that till mid March, no plough might be put into the ground. Ale was frozen in such wise within houses, and cellers, that it was sold by weight. Such a great snow fell also therewith, that beasts died in manie places in great numbers. Moreover, from the Twelfth tide till Februarie, there was euerie day berie terrible earthquakes.

After the end of winter, king John hauing made an end of his warres with France, began to build a castell

Herald thane
of Cathnes
succourer of
rebels.

Iustice not
destitute of
mercie.

The thane of
Cathnes
taken.
Seuerer punishment.

Great dearth

1199

Alexander the
prince of
Scotland.

A legat sent
from the pope.

A hat.

Defender of
the church.

Saturday after
none to be
kept holie.

King William
do homage to
king John of
England.

A child he
by R. will

Churches
dowed by
William.

The erect
of the see
Argile.

The town
Dorseth
died by inu
asion.

Earthquakes

The king
began of
building

A castell on
the yowe.

A peace est
ablished at y
betweene the
kings John
and William

The content
of the peace

Scottilly bi
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A peace esta-
blished at York
betwixt the
kings John
and William.

The conuents
of the peace.

Scottis hos-
tages deliuered
vnto king John.

A surrender
made to a bfe.

A child healed
by St. William.

Churches in-
dowed by king
William.

The erection
of the see of
Argyle.

The towne of
Bertha drow-
ned by inun-
dation.

The king in
dangr of
drowning.

a castell in Northumberland ouer against Berwikke, upon purpose to haue some quarell to fall out with the Scots. King William being aduertised thereof, sent his ambassadores vnto king John, requiring him to desist from such attempts, and not to take any occasion of new trouble: but forsomuch as he received no towardlie answer againe from St. John, he assembled a power, & comming to the castell which king John had caused to be builded, he ouerthrew the same, and rased it to the earth. King John fore offended herewith, raised a mightie armie, and came towards Scotland, but at his comming to the borders, he found his aduersarie king William readie to receiue him by battell, if he had come forward; howbeit through mediation of prudent men, the matter was taken vp betwixt them, so that on either side the armies were dissolved, & both the kings repairing to York, established a peace there, with these conditions, that Margaret and Isabel daughters to king William, after the tearme of 9 yeres then next ensuing were once expired, should be coupled in marriage with Henric and Richard the sons of king John, vpon this paction and couenant, that if the one died, the other should succede to the crowne. For the which it was couenanted, that king William should giue a right large dowry. Also the castell which king John had builded, and king William rased, it was agreed that it should remaine so defaced, and neuer after againe to be repaired. For the sure performance of these articles thus betwixt the two kings concluded, nine noble men of Scotland were appointed to be deliuered as hostages vnto king John. In that assemble there at York, king William also surrendered into the hands of king John, the lands of Cumberland, Huntingdon, and Northumberland; to the intent he should assigne those lands againe vnto his sonne prince Alexander, and he to do homage for the same, according to the maner and custome in that case prouided, for a knowledge and recognition that those lands were holden of the kings of England, as superior lords of the same. During the abode of these two kings at York, there was brought vnto them a child of singular beautie, sonne and heire to a gentleman of great possessions in those parties, being fore bered with diuerse and sundrie diseases; for one of his eyes was consumed & lost through an issue which it had of corrupt and filthie humors, the one of his hands was dried vp; the one of his feet was so taken, that he had no vse thereof; and his tong likewise that he could not speake. The physicians that saw him thus troubled with such contrarie infirmities, iudged him incurable. Neuerthelesse, king William making a crosse on him, restored him immediatlie to health. By reason wherof, manie beleued that this was done by miracle, through the power of almightie God, that the vertue of so godlie a prince might be notified to the world.

After his returne from York into Scotland, he indowed the churches of Jedibottell, Helios, Holie rod house, Dunfermling, and Aberdeen, with manie faire possessions, as the letters patents made thereof by him beare manifest testimonie. He also erected one new bishops see called Argyle, giuing thereto sufficient lands towards the maintenance and sustentation thereof. After this, comming vnto the towne of Bertha, he had not remained there manie daies, but there chanced such a flood, by reason of the rising and inundation of the two riuers, Tait & Almond, that through violence of the streame the towne wals were bozne downe, and much people in the towne drowned, yet they could make anye thist to saue themselves, insomuch that though the king with his wife, and the most part of his familie escaped out of

that great danger and leoparde, his yongest sonne yet named John, with his nurse and twelue other women perished, and twentie other of his seruants beside. There was heard such clamor, noise, & lamentable cries, with bitter rotings and deaddull thylkings, as is vsed in time when anye towne is suddenly taken and surprised by the enimies: for as the comon prouerbe witnesseth; Fier & water haue no mercie: and yet of these two, water is more terrible and dangerous: for there is no force or wit of man able to resist the violence of inundations, where they suddenly beake in.

King William, after that the towne of Bertha was thus destroyed and ouerslowed with water, began the foundation of an other towne, which was after called Perth, by a man of that name that bought the ground where the same towne was builded. Furthermore, to aduance the dignitie and augmentation of this towne, the king granted sundrie beneficall priuileges and freedoms thereto, that it might the sooner rise in riches and wealth. The first foundation thereof was laid after the incarnation of our Saviour 1210 yeres, but the name was changed afterwards, and called Saint Johns towne, which name it beareth euen vnto this day. About the same time there rose such new trouble in Cathnes, for one Gotfred the sonne of Makulzen (of whose rebellion ye haue heard before) spoiled with often incursions and rode the countrie of Kesse, and other bounds thereabouts. His companie increased daile more and more, by repaire of such number of rebels as came vnto him out of Lochgubaber, & the westerne Isles. King William, to repress these attempts, sent forth the earles of Fife and Atholl, with the thane of Buchquhane, having six thousand in their companie, the which encountering with the enimies in set battell, gaue them the ouerthrow, and taking Gotfred their chiefe captaine prisoner, brought him vnto the king, who caused both him and diuerse other which were likewise taken prisoners, to lose their heads. Gotfred himselfe was fore wounded, before he was taken; so that if his takers had not made the more speed in the conueieng of him to the king, he had died of his hurts before execution had thus bene done on him accordinglie as was appointed.

About this time arose the dissention and variance betwixt John king of England, and pope Innocent the third, for that the English cleargie refused to aid the said John with such summes of monie as he demanded of them. Shortly after, William king of Scotland, wzorne with long age, departed out of this world at Struelking, in the 74 yere of his age, and in the 49 yere of his reigne, and after the incarnation of Christ 1214 yeres. He was buried in Aberbrothoke, before the high altar within the quier. The yere afore his death, two comets or blasing starres appeared in the moneth of March, verie terrible to behold; the one did shine before the rising of the sunne, and the other before the going downe thereof. The yere next following, there was a colt in Northumberland that calued a verie monstrous calfe; for the head and necke resembled a verie calfe in deed, but the residue of the bodie was like vnto a colt. In the winter after, there were scene also two mones in the firmament, the one being seuered from the other, and in shape naturallie horned, as ye see the monie in hir increasing or waning. King William in his life time founded the abbete of Balmernoch, but his wife quene Ermengard indowed it with lands and possessions after his deceasse. In the 46 yere of this king Williams reigne, two monks of the Trinitie order were sent into Scotland by pope Innocent, to whome king William gaue his palace roiall in Aberdeen, to conuert the same into an abbete for them

John & kings
son drowned.

The towne of
Perth builded

Freedom
granted to the
towne of
Perth.

Saint Johns
towne.
Gotfred man-
ned a rebellion
in Cathnes.

His companie
increaseth.

The earles of
Fife and Atholl
sent against him.
The rebels ou-
erthrowne.
Gotfred ta-
ken and be-
headed.

The dissenti-
on betwixt the
pope and king
John.
The cause.

The death of
king William.

1214.
Two blasing
starres.

A monstrous
calfe.

Two mones.

The abbete of
Balmernoch
founded.

to inhabit: and was in mind to haue giuen them manie other bountifull gifts, if he had liued anie longer time.

Alexander.

Alexander the second is crowned at Scone. A time of mourning.

A parliament at Edinburgh

Confirmation of officers.

The office of the constable.

The lands of Forfar given to the old quene. A princelie appointment.

Dissention betwixt king John and his nobles.

King Alexander passed to London.

The league betwixt France and Scotland renewed.

The best approved writers affirme that Lewes went not our into France, till after the death of king John. Lewes and king Alexander accursed. A council at Rome.

After the decesse of king William, his sonne Alexander the second of that name succeeded, and was crowned at Scone with all due solemnitie; which being finished, he went unto Abirzothoke, where he remained 14 daies, in attending the funeral obsequies of his father, and commanded that no publike plaies nor great feasts should be vsed or kept in all that yere, to the intent the death of his father might be lamented through the whole realme. The king himselfe, and all his seruants also, were clothed in mourning weed, during the space of one whole yere. The first parliament which he called, was holden at Edinburgh, in the which he confirmed all the acts and ordinances devised by his father: and further appointed that all such as had borne offices vnder him, should still intop the same. Namelie he commanded that William Wood bishop of Dunblaine should still continue lord chancellor, and Alan of Calloway high constable, which is an office of most honor & reputation next to the king, as he that hath power of life and death, if anie man draw blood of an other by violence within two miles of the court.

When this parliament was ended, because the old quene his mother determined to remaine, during the residue of hir life, in the place where that holie woman quene Margaret sometime led hir life, he gaue vnto hir towards the maintenance of hir estate, the castles & townes of Forfar, with the lands and possessions to the same belonging. He also appointed certeine sage and most graue personages, to be chosen forth as iudges, which should be resident in euerie citie and god towne of his realme, for the hearing and due determining of all quarrels and matters in controuersie betwixt partie and partie. In this meane time great dissention rose betwixt John king of England, and his barons, by reason whereof great waeres ensued, as in the English historie dooth appere. The barons made sute both to the French king, & to the king of Scots for aid, so that at length Lewes the French kings sonne came ouer to support them, whereof when king Alexander was aduertised, he likewise came with an armie through England vnto London, causing his souldiers by the waie to abstaine from doing anie kind of damage to the people. By his comming things were partlie quieted for a time, and shortly after that he had communed with Lewes touching sundrie affaires pertaining to both the realmes, they passed the seas with ten vessels ouer into France, leauing their powers behind them to assist the English lords.

The French king aduertised thereof, came doونه to Bullongne, where finding his son and king Alexander, he renewed the ancient bond of amitie betwixt France and Scotland, with the same Alexander, according to the covenants of the old league, with this addition; that neither prince should receiue the enemies of the others realme, nor to marrie with anie stranger, the one not making the other priue thereto. These things being ratified, king Alexander and Lewes returned into England: shortly thereupon, king John died, more through anguish of mind and melancholie, than by force of anie other naturall disease. His son Henrie, the third of that name, succeeded him. And in the meane time had the pope accursed both Lewes, and king Alexander, with all those that fauoured their cause against king John, which curse was pronounced in a generall council, which was holden at Rome by pope Innocent, there being present foure hundred and twelue bishops, and eight hundred abbats. King Alexander after the decesse of king John, returning hometowards with his

armie, thought he might haue passed quietlie without anie annoyance by the waie, through meanes whereof he lost a certeine number of his men, being suddenly inuaded by such Englishmen, as watched their time to take the Scots at some aduantage, in straieng abroad out of order: with which iniurie king Alexander was so moued, that he spoiled and harried all the countries by the which he passed, till he was entered within the confines of his owne dominion.

Shortly after, Cardinall Gualo came into England furnished with the popes authoritie, to denounce the excommunication aboute remembred, against Lewes and Alexander, with all their fautors, whereupon he accursed not onelie the foresaid persons, but also interdicted all the places where they came, inasmuch that in the end Lewes was constrained to buy an absolution with no small summes of monie, of that auaricious cardinall Gualo: and after vpon a graement also made with king Henrie, he returned into France. Not long after came k. Henrie with an armie into Scotland, soe indamaging the countrie: but so sone as he was aduertised that king Alexander had assembled all the power of his realme to giue him battell, he retired with all speed into England. The king of England had in his armie at the same time 12000 men of armes, verie perfectlie appointed and furnished with armor and weapon as was requisit, and the king of Scots but onelie siue hundred. But of souldiers there were in the Scottish armie 60000 able personages well appointed, with ares, speares, and bowes, readie to die and liue with their prince, constantlie beleuing, that to lose this present life here in his defense, was an assured waie to be saued in an other world.

After that king Henrie was gone backe into England, king Alexander followed after him into Northumberland, where he ouerthrew & beat doونه manie castles and strengths, which the Englishmen held. When marching through the countrie vnto Carlisle, he wan that citie, and garnished it with his people. After this, laieing siege vnto Roxham castell, when he had continued at the same a certeine time, and perceiued how he lost but his trauell, he left it, and returned home with great honor and triumph for his other atchieued enterprises in that tournee. King Henrie being once aduertised that king Alexander had broken vp his campe, incontinentlie got effions his people together, and comming to Berwik, wan both the towne and castell. After entring into Scotland, he burned and spoiled the countrie along by the sea coasts, till he came as farre as Haddington, putting all such to the sword as were found in the waie; women, preests, and children onelie excepted. He assaied to haue wone the castell of Dunbar, but missing his purpose there, he returned into England.

In the meane time, the auaritious prelat Gualo, vpon trust to purchase some large portion of monie in Scotland, put the same vnder proceesse of interdicting, & namelie he accursed king Alexander most terrible, for that he had inuaded England, and (as he alleged) spoiled churches as well as prophane places. These curses so inflamed the hearts of the Scottishmen with hatred against the Englishmen, that the same was not like to haue ended without the utter destruction and ruine of both their realmes. Neuerthelesse at length, by the diligent trauell of the bishops of Forke and Salisburie, which came vnto king Alexander to treatate an agreement, a small peace was concluded, vnder these conditions. First it was agreed, that king Alexander should render the citie of Carlisle into the Englishmens hands, and king Henrie the towne of Berwik vnto the Scots. The whole dominion of Cumberland to remaine vnto king Alexander, with the one halfe

King Alexander returneth into his countrie.

Cardinall Gualo.

Lewes returneth into France. King Henrie inuadeth Scotland.

Ex codice antiquo S. Albani, scriptum by Mat. Paris (as I take it.)

King Alexander in Northumberland.

Carlisle won by the Scots.

Berwik won by king Henrie.

Haddington.

Scotland interdicted.

Bishops of Forke and Salisburie.

A peace concluded.

The conditions.

The cleargie of Scotland summoned by cardinall Gualo to conuene to Rome.

State of spirituell promotions.

The Scottish cleargie cited to Rome.

The complaint of the Scottish cleargie to the pope.

The auarice of Cardinall Gualo.

Cardinall Gualo condemned in a summe of monie.

The Scottish bishops absolved. David earle of Huntingdon deceased 1219.

An interdict betwixt the kings of England and Scotland.

Marriages concluded.

A legat sent from pope Innocentius for a collection.

A legats exult.

In other legats.

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to his coun-
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halfe of Forthumberland, to the Kerroffe. And fur-
ther, that king Alexander should be absolved of the
censures of the church, which Gualo the cardinall
had denounced against him.

Thus the two kings being accorded, the two fore-
said bishops comming unto Berwick, absolved king
Alexander, and deliuered his realme of interdiction,
by such authoritie as they had procured of the cardi-
nall Gualo. But yet the same cardinall, not mir-
ding to depart with emptie hands, summoned all
the prelates of Scotland to appeare before him at
Anwik, there to receiue their full absolution, to
the intent by such means to trouble them, till they
had disbursed to his vse some large portion of mo-
nie. Sundrie of them which loued quietnesse more
than contention, satisfied his mind; but others refus-
ed bitterlie so to do, taking great indignation that
spirituall causes were thus dispatched for monie,
and ecclesiasticall preferments bought and sold, no
otherwise than secular possessions and prophane dig-
nities. Incontinentlie thereupon Gualo cited them
to Rome, supposing that rather than to take vpon
them so long a iournie, they would haue compoun-
ded with him at his pleasure. Notwithstanding
they being nothing in doubt thereof, went vnto
Rome, and at their comming thither, made vnto
the pope their complaint in most greuous manner,
of the insufferable iniuries attempted in England
and Scotland, by his most couetous legat the fore-
said Gualo: by reason of which complaint, and of
sundrie such letters & informations as dalle came
out of England and Scotland, from other bishops &
abbats, containing right greuous accusations, con-
cerning the insatiable auarice of Gualo, the pope re-
uoked him home to Rome, to make answer in his
presence vnto such matters as were laid to his
charge.

At his returne thither, for so much as he was not
able to discharge himselfe of such manifest crimes
whereby he was burdened, the pope condemned
him in a great summe of monie, to be paid as a fine
for his trespasse and transgressions. And those Sco-
tish bishops, which were come for their absolution,
were absolved by the pope, and suffered to depart in
peace. In this meane time, David earle of Hun-
tington, brother to William late king of Scots,
(of whome ye haue heard before how he went in the
iournie made by the christian princes into the holie
land) decessed, and was buried within an abbey
in England. Henrie king of England, after he came
to yeares of perfect discretion, shewed himselfe to be
more desirous of peace than of warres. Where-
upon at Forke there was a meeting appointed be-
twixt him and king Alexander, where mutuall ali-
ance was accorded betwixt them on this wise. Iane
the sister of king Henrie was promised to be giuen
in mariage to king Alexander, and two sisters of
king Alexanders were despoiled vnto two great
princes of the English nobilitie. These mariages
were thus concluded in the yeare of our Lord, 1220.

In the yeare next following, came a legat into
Scotland from pope Honozius, with buis to gather
a summe of monie towards the furnishing forth of
an armie against the Turks or rather Saracens.
This legat was a cardinall, and named Egidius,
who hauing purchased no small quantitie of coine
both of the cleargie and laitie of Scotland, spent the
same in riot and outrageous insolencie, making his
excuse at his returne to Rome, how it was taken
from him by certaine Brigants and robbers. With-
in short while after, was an other legat with fem-
blable commendation sent into Scotland from the fore-
said pope. But king Alexander, being aduertised
of his comming, called a counsell, in the which one

of the bishops (as should seeme) took great indigna-
tion, to see how couetousnesse reigned in most shame-
full wise amongst the Romish legats, and spake in
manner as followeth.

Albeit sundrie considerations there are which In opation of
might stay me from uttering such things as be most
preiudiciall to the common-weale, yet (most noble
prince) when I consider thine humanitie, faith, and
constancie, giuen to nothing more than to the de-
fense and weale of thy true liege people, I cannot
but (for the zeale I beare to common libertie) de-
clare the truth. For sith all manner of tyrannie is
intollerable, yea even that which is exercised by
kings or princes descended by lineall succession to
their rightfull heritage: much more is that tyran-
nie to be detested, which is exercised by men of vile
and base linage. Therefore, if the sundrie and ma-
nifest wrongs done to vs these manie yeares now
passed, had come by the popes themselves, the same
might somewhat more sufferable haue bene borne:
but sith naughtie & vile persons, of base birth and ob-
scure linage, promoted to benefices and ecclesiasti-
call dignities onelie for their wicked and horrible vi-
ces, haue not onelie interdicted our realme, with-
out latofull commission; but haue also consumed in
maintenance of their wayton and insolent vices,
that monie which they gathered in our countrie by
the popes authoritie, vnder colour of raising an ar-
mie to go against the Turks and Infidels; I am of
this opinion, that their cursed auarice ought to haue
no further place amongst faithfull people, speciallie
amongst vs, whose simplicitie and humblenesse they
haue in contempt. In the yeares passed, ye com-
plained of the iniuries done by Gualo, when he had
put your realme vnder the censure of interdiction,
and the most part of your prelates vnder the curse;
because they would not answer him with monie, ac-
cording to his couetous demands, wherewith he
might mainteine his outrageous lusts. Which Gualo
also (as should appeare) by most certaine coniectures,
was of such a diuelish nature, that though he were
sent to treat a concord betwixt the Englishmen
and Scots; yet to satissie his auaricious desire, he
ministred such occasion of warre betwixt them, that
both the realmes (had not the matter bene the low-
ner taken vp) were at a point to haue entered so far
into malicious hatred the one against the other, that
it was not like that anie peace would haue taken
place, till the one or both had bene vtterlie destroy-
ed. But since these heinous and terrible deeds are
manifest inough; to what end should I here remem-
ber them, sith the same cannot be done without your
great griefe and displeasure? Pozeouer, after we
were deliuered of this Gualo, shortly after com-
meth another, one shewing himselfe to come forth of
the same thop; for in conuersation of life he was to
be iudged no whit better, but rather worse: for after
that he had got by amongst vs of this realme large
summes of monie, vnder pretense of redaming the
christian prisoners out of the Saracens hands, and
waging of new armies against them; he wasted the
same monie in riotous lust and insolencie, feining,
when it was gone, that it was bereft him by Bri-
gants. Therefore sith we haue had experience, and
are already sufficientlie taught by the doings of the
two fore-remembered legats, to our heauie griefs
and no small damages; we may be withoutlie repu-
ted vnwise and beriefoles in deed, if we now admit
the thirde. For it is not to be thought, that this new
legat shall vse the matter in anie better sort, than
his fellows haue done before him. And verelie, if
anie man should demand of me, what I thinke ought
to be done in this matter, I do for my part profess,
that neither this legat, nor anie other in times to
come,

The cleargie
of Scotland
summoned by
cardinall
Gualo to come
to Anwik.

halfe of spirit-
uall prom-
ises.

The Scottish
cleargie cited
to Rome.

The com-
plaint of the
Scottish cleargie
to the pope

The auarice
of Cardinall
Gualo.

Cardinall
Gualo con-
demned in a
summe of mo-
nie.

The Scottish
bishops absol-
ued.
David earle
of Hunting-
ton decessed.
1219.

In interuiew
betwixt the
kings of
England and
Scotland.

Mariages
concluded.

A legat sent
from pope
Honozius for
a collection.

A legat ex-
cuse.

An other le-
gat.

In opation of
a bishop.

Tyrannie in-
tolerable.

When of base
linage.

The Scots
for offended
against Gualo.

The practice
of Gualo.

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come, ought to be receiued within this realme, considering how the same hath bene waisted & robbed by their continuall exactions. If there be anie amongst you that hath more monie than he knoweth which way well to spend, he may (in the name of God) bestow it vpon the poore, rather than to the vse of such vicious legats, as order it in such sort, that all men haue cause to thinke whatsoener cometh into their hands, is but cast away and clearelie lost.

Legats cannot be receiued.

These wordes of this bishop (whatsoener he was) were liked so well of all the counsell, that the legat could not be receiued into the realme. After the breaking vp of this counsell, the marriage was consummat betwixt king Alexander and Jone, sister to Henrie king of England; also betwixt Hubert de Burgh high iustice of England, and Margaret sister to king Alexander, by reason of which marriages, the peace was confirmed with the Englishmen, and as it had bene sealed by for a more full and certaine assurance. Shortly after followed ciuill warres in Scotland, by the motion of one Gilespie Ross, who hauing liued most licentiouslie in riotous outrage, at length arreared open warre against the king, and first sleaung diuerse such of his companions as had kept him companie aforesaid in his lewd misdeameans, for that they refused now to sticke to him in this rebellious enterprise, he went with the residue that offered to take his part vnto the towne of Enuerne, which he toke and burned, with diuerse other places being of the kings possessions, till at length John Cumyn earle of Buchquhane coming against him with an armie deliuered to him by the king, pursued the said Gilespie in such earnest wise, that finally he toke him with two of his sons, and striking off all their thre heads, sent the same to the king as a witnesse how he had sped.

Peace confirmed with the Englishmen. Gilespie Ross a rebel.

Enuerne burned by Gilespie Ross. John Cumyn earle of Buchquhane. Gilespie Ross beheaded.

New trouble.

This businesse being thus quieted, an other ensued after this maner: The men of Cathnes soze offended with their bishop named Adam, for that vpon refusal to pay their tithes he had accursed them, fell vpon him within his owne house, and first scourging him with rods, at length set fire vpon him and burnt him within his owne kitchen. Which act being reported to the king, as then sojourning at Edinburgh, he hasted forth with all speed to punish the offenders, not ceasing till he had taken foure hundred of them, all the which number he caused to be hanged; and for that he would haue no succession to come of such a wicked seed, he appointed all their sons to lose their stones. The place where they were so gelded, is called euen to this day the stonie hill. The earle of Cathnes, for that he neither succoured the bishop in time of need, nor yet sought to punish the offenders that did this cruell deed, was deposed of his earledome, and the lands belonging to the same. The pope highlie commended king Alexander for this punishment taken of them, that had so cruellie murdered their bishop.

Streight execution.

The stonie hill. The earle of Cathnes lost his lands.

King Alexander commended of the pope.

The priuileges of Aberdeen.

The archdeacon of Murray.

After this king Alexander coming vnto Aberdeen, gaue manie large gifts and priuileges thereunto, although the same before this time inioied sundrie notable commodites and endowments giuen and confirmed by other kings his predecessours. The bulls which were granted by sundrie popes concerning the liberties of the churches in Scotland, were committed by the king to the custodie of one Gilbert archdeacon of Murray, who succeeded next after the foresaid Adam in the see of Cathnesse. In the third yeare after, as king Alexander with his mother Crumgard were sitting at their banquet on the twelue day in Christmas, otherwise called Yule, the earle of Cathnes, hauing good oportunitie thereto, presented himselfe before the king, and besought him of grace and pardon for his passed offense. King

Alexander taking ruth & pittie of him, restored him (vpon his fine to be paid in maner as was agreed betwixt them) vnto all his former honours, lands and possessions. Neuerthelesse the offense that was pardoned by man, was afterward punished by the iudgement (as some thought) of almightie God: for he was slaine as he lay in bed one night by his own meniall seruants, whome he had roughlie intreated, as the same went. The house also wherein he was thus slaine, was likewise set on fire and burnt ouer him, that no man should haue suspicion of his slaughter, but that it might seme as though it had come by some sudden aduenture.

The earle of Cathnes is pardoned and restored to his lands.

The earle of Cathnes is murdered by his seruants.

About this time, or somewhat before, there came into Scotland (sent by saint Dominicke) certeine blacke friers, of which order the same Dominicke was the first author. These men that were first sent by him, liued according to his institution, more peacefully than such as folloved: for as it often happeneth, althins commonlie from a good beginning fall into worse estate, so that the successors of those men declined from all good religion, into most insolent abuses and misorders, and so continuing in vicious liuing the space of thre hundred yeares, at length were perfectly reformed into a better rule, by a frier named John Adamson, that proceeded doctor in the profession of diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Aberdeen, at the same time that Hector Boetius the Scottish rhonographer proceeded there in the same facultie. On the same maner, about the selfe same time, were sent into Scotland, as well as into all other parts of the christian world, friers minors, of saint Francis his order. Some of them also after his decesse fell to dissolute liuing, keeping no such strict rules, as both he prescribed, and also obserued.

The first coming of blacke friers into Scotland.

John Adamson.

The first coming of friers minors.

But now to returne to the residue of the historie. The Scottish people inioied peace a long time after the appealing of the trouble in Cathnes, till time that Alane lord of Galloway and constable of Scotland departed out of this life; and for that he had diuided his lands before his death amongst his thre daughters, his bastard sonne gathered an armie of 10000 men, in hope to attaine the possession of Galloway by force of armes; but at length after he had wrought much scath in the countrie by his violent inuasion, he was slaine with five thousand of those that toke his part, by the earle of March, and Walter Stewart of Dunwald, which was sent against him with a power. The eldest daughter of the aboue mentioned Alane of Galloway, was giuen in marriage vnto Roger Quince earle of Winchester, who after his father in lawes decesse, was made constable of Scotland, which office continued in the hands of his succession, till king Robert the second his daies; in whose time this Roger of Quincies posteritie was disherited and extinguished, for certeine offenses committed against the kings maiestie, and then afterwards the office of the constable was giuen to the Haies of Arroll. The second daughter of the foresaid Alane was married vnto John Balliol; & the third to the earle of Albemarle. Thus was the lordship of Galloway diuided into thre, by reason whereof the inhabitants of that countrie, taking displeasure therewith, cleaued vnto the aboue mentioned bastard, till he was vanquished and slaine, as before ye haue heard. This trouble being appealed thus within the realme, Al. Alexander was aduertised of great diuision rising betwixt king Henrie of England and his nobles, and therefore to helpe towards an agreement betwixt them, he went to London with his wife queene Jone, and Isabell his sister. Although his earnest diligence, all the debates and quarels were removed, and the parties throughtly accorded. Which being done, he married

The death of Alane lord of Galloway.

His bastard sonne raised a commotion.

The earle of March.

Roger Quince earle of Winchester constable of Scotland.

The diuision of the lands of Galloway.

Al. Alexander goeth into England.

Isabell sister of Alexander married earle of Norfolk Jone quene of Scotland decessed.

King Al. der man the daug of the 102. Couce. John C. earle of 2. gae depi this life.

Patricke of Arhol murder.

John E. suspected.

Conton of the cleargie saint Jo towne.

Homert thane of gile rebel.

Homert humble 1 million.

Isabell gun to be ded by his Henrie against Isabell. March. Pa disgraci the Scot writers t ching the calom of t swarre, as the English rhonicles may read.

Embassat south of France.

Scottishm that went with Lew king of France in Egypt.

The earle of
athynes is
wounded and
drownd to his
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he earle of
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wounded by
servants.

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Isbell the
sister of king
Alexander
married to the
earle of
Dorsette.

king Alexan-
der married
the daughter
of the lord of
Concie.

Patrick earle
of Atholl
murdered.

John Bissart
suspected.

Commu-
cation of the
clergie at
saint Johns
towne.

Somerleid
thane of Ar-
gile rebelleth.

Somerleids
humble sub-
mission.

A castell be-
gun to be bul-
ded by king
Henrie a-
gainst Ber-
wick.

Ambassadors
forth of
France.

Scottishmen
that went
with Lewes
king of
France into
Egypt.

married Isabell his sister unto the earle of Dorsette, and in the meane time his wife quene Jane deceas-
sed, without leaving anie issue behind hir, which
chance caused the king hir husband to returne with
great griefe and lamentation into Scotland. In
the yere next following, which was after the incar-
nation 1239, king Alexander (because he had no
succession begot of his bodie) married at Rockburgh
the daughter of Ingelram lord of Concie, a virgine
of excellent beantie named Marie, on whome he got
a sonne named Alexander, which succeeded after his
deceasse in the gouernement of the realme.

About the same time, John Cumin earle of An-
gus, being sent in ambassage to Lewes the French
king, died by the way. Also at Haddington was holden
a roiall toynament, where knights and esquieres
aduauced the mselues by valiant prowesse to win ho-
no: neuertheless the end of all that pleasure and
pastime ended in sorrow. For Patrick Cumin earle
of Atholl was slaine within his lodging in the night,
and the house set on fire and burned ouer him, to the
intent no suspicion should rise, but that it hapened
by some euill misfortune, and negligence of fire. But
yet was John Bissart, with Walter Bissart his
uncle the while suspected for the matter, inasmuch
that though no euident profe could be had against
him, yet were they banished the realme, and lost all
their goods by confiscation to the kings vse. After
these things were thus passed, a conuocation was
called of the cleargie at saint Johns towne. In the
which were diuerse prouinciall ordinances and sta-
tutes, made by consent of the king and nobles of
the realme, which were obserued in the church of
Scotland vnto these late daies. About the same time
also, one Somerleid thane of Argile, the sonne of
that Somerleid of whome ye haue heard before,
following his fathers steps, rebelled against the
king, soe indanaging by robes & forages the parts
bordering vpon the confines of his countrie of Ar-
gile, till at length the earle of March brought him to
the hynke of such extreme necessitie, that he was
faine to yeld himselfe, with a cord about his necke
in token of submission; and being so brought before
the king, obtained pardon of his heinous offense.

In the same season, Henrie king of England,
prouoked by the setting on of such seditious per-
sons remaining in his court, as trusted by wars to
aduance their priuat gaine (during which time law
and iustice haue no place) began to build a castell iust
against Berwicke, in the same place where the o-
ther was begun afore by king Richard, which (as
be fore is thewed) was rased and the towne downe by
king William, by the articles of agrement with
covenant that it should neuer be builded vp againe.
This attempt of the Englishmen had ministred
sufficient occasion of warre, if the nobles of Eng-
land (considering that the building vp of this castell
was contrarie to their bond and promised faith) had
not staied the towke, and so therevpon that begin-
ning of new trouble betwixt the English and Sco-
tish nations for that present ceased.

In the yere following came ambassadors forth
of France into Scotland, declaring that H. Lewes
was readie to passe forward on that iourne, which he
had taken in hand to make into Fletzie, and there-
fore desired aid of king Alexander, to support him in
those warres against Gods enemies. With these
ambassadors were sent ouer into France, certeine
chosen bands of men of warre vnder the leading of
Patrick earle of March, David Lindseie of Glen-
neske, and Walter Steward of Dundonald, three
capteins of great wisdom, and perfect experience
in feats of chualtrie. The most part of all those
Scottishmen, that thus went forth in that iourne,

perished in Egypt either on the sword or by sick-
nesse, so that few or none of them returned home a-
gaine. From henceforth, king Alexander liued not
long; but falling into a sore and grienous sicknesse
within a certeine Ile called Carnere, not far distant
from the coast of Argile, deceassed in the same Ile
shortlie after, in the 51 yere of his age, the 35 of his
reigne, and of our redemption 1249, his bodie (ac-
cording as he had commanded in his life time) was
buried in Helrosse.

After that Alexander the second was thus dead
and buried, his sonne Alexander the third of
that name, not passing nine yeres of age, was pro-
claimed king. There was no small ado on the daie
of his coronation amongst the nobles, for that by
reason of the obseruation of starres, it was iudged
to be an infortunate daie for him to receiue the dia-
deme. And againe some held opinion, how he ought
to be made knight first, before he were crowned; so
that thus they were at strife together, in such ear-
nest maner, that it was doubted, least this conten-
tion would haue bred some great inconuenience,
had not the earle of Fife preuented the same, in cau-
sing vpon a sudden the crowne to be set vpon the
kings head, being placed in the marble chaire, accor-
ding to the custome, without regard to the frivolous
allegations of them that spake to the contrarie.
When the solemnitie was ended, there came before
him an Hyllandman (for so they call such as inhabit
the mountaine countries of Scotland) who in a
kind of meter of the Irish language, saluted him
as king, thus: Bernachd de Albin Alexander, mak
Alar, mak William, mak Henrie, mak David, and
so forth (reciting in maner of a genealogie or pede-
grée, all the kings in order of whome he was descen-
ded, till he came vnto Cathelus the first beginner
of the Scottish name & nation.) The words in Eng-
lish are as followeth: Haile king of Albine, Alexan-
der the sonne of David, the sonne of Aler, the sonne
of William, the sonne of Henrie, the sonne of Da-
uid, and so forth as before. This Hylland Scot was
highlie rewarded by the king for his labour, accor-
ding as was thought requisite.

In the second yere of his reigne, king Alexan-
der (or rather such as had the gouernement of the
realme vnder him) assembled together all the pre-
lates and barons of the realme at Dunfermling,
and there ordeined to take vp the bones of his grand-
mother quene Margaret, which being done, he cau-
sed them to be put into a shryne of siluer, the 21 day
of Iulie, and minding to place the same where it re-
steth at this present, as it was borne forth toward
that place, when the bearers came against the se-
pulchre of hir husband king Malcolme, they were
not able to remoue the reliques anie further, till by
the counsell (as is said) of an aged man that was
then & there present, they took vp the bones of the
same Malcolme also, and bare them forth with hirs
to the place aforesaid, where they after rested in great
veneration of the people. Such as were appointed
gouernours (during the minozitie of king Alexan-
der) doubting least the tender yeres of their souer-
eigne might inbolden the enemies of the realme to
attempt some inuasion, sent ambassadors vnto Hen-
rie king of England, requiring that the peace might
be ratified anew with him and his people, and fur-
ther to make a motion of marriage to be had betwixt
king Alexander and a daughter of king Henries.

Shortlie after, vpon this motion, both the kings
met at Roxke with a great number of lords, as well
spirituall as temporall of both the realmes, where
king Alexander (according to the promise before that
time made) married the ladie Margaret daughter to
the forenamed king Henrie, on saint Stephens day
Kilf. in

The death of
king Alexan-
der the second.
38, 10. Ma. but
that can not
be.

Alexan-
der.
Alexander the
third crowned

An infortu-
nate day.

The earle of
Fife preuen-
teth the occas-
ion of further
troubles.

The saluta-
tion of an Hyll-
land man.

The transla-
tion of quene
Margarets
bones.

They were at
sainted in the
daies of king
Alexander the
saire, as in the
English chro-
nicle it may
appare.

An interciem
of the kings of
England and
Scotland.

I 2 5 0.

Complaint
made of the
Cumins.The Cumins
put to the
hozne.The king ta-
ken by the
Cumins.The great
power of the
Cumins.Thirtie and
two knights
of one sur-
name.
The height of
great families
the cause of
their fall.The earle of
Denteith is
poisoned.The king set
at libertie.John Russell
an English-
man.The feast of
Corpus Chri-
sti instituted.
The first com-
ing of the
Carmelite
friars.A part of the
holie crosse
found.

in Christmasse, with all solemnitie and tofull mirth that might be deuised. The charges whereof were borne partlie by king Henrie, & partlie by the archbishop, who in feasting those princes spent right liberallie. At length, king Alexander after he had solaced himselfe in the companie of his father in law king Henrie a certeine time, returned into Scotland with his new married wife. During the minority of k. Alexander, the realme of Scotland was gouerned in great prosperitie by the nobles: but after his comming to ripe age, he was informed of certeine extortions done by some of the pæres of his realme against the poore people, and thereupon determined to see redresse therein. Amongst other there were accused of such trangression, the earles of Denteith, Atholl, and Buchquhane, with the lord of Strabogie, which were of one surname, that is to saie, of the Cumins. These being summoned to appeare before the iustices, with one Hugh Abernethy, and other of their complices, upon their contempt so to doe, were proclaimed traitors, and as the Scottish men tearme it, put to the hozne.

The foresaid lords moued with this displeasure, purposed to reuenge the same, and assembling their powers in secret wise, toke the king at Kinrossie, and brought him into Strueling, where they kept him as captiue in ward a long time after. Through which aduenture much harme ensued, by reason of misdealed persons, that wrought manie oppressions against the people, in hope to escape the due punishment for their mischievous acts prouided, with the king who should haue seene iustice ministered, was holden in captiuitie by his presumptuous aduersaries. But of this matter ye maie see more in the English chronicles, about the 39 yere of Henrie the thirde. The house of the Cumins was in those daies of great power within the realme, both in multitude of offspring, riches, lands, possessions, and mainrent. There were at the same time to the number of 32 knights of that surname within the realme, all men of faire possessions and reuenues. But as it often happeneth, that men of great possessions and dominion are had in suspicion with the prince, whereby the same is for the more part the cause of their ruine and fall, speciallie when they presume too farre upon their high power: so it chanced here. For within a short time after that the king was thus taken (as before is shewed) the chiefe author of the whole conspiracie, that is to saie, the lord Walter earle of Denteith, who was highest in authoritie among all those Cumins, was poisoned (as was thought) by his owne wife, through which mischance the residue of the Cumins were so exanimated, that obtaining their pardon, for all offenses passed of the king, they did let him againe at libertie.

This woman did thus make auaile hir husband the erle of Denteith through instigation of an Englishman called John Russell, as by coniectures it was suspected; namely, for that refusing to marrie with anie of the Scottish nobilitie, he toke the said Russell to husband, though in estate to be compared with hers, he was iudged a match farre vnnæmet, and thereupon constrained to lie with him into England, he died there in great miserie. About this time pope Urban the fourth of that name instituted the feast of Corpus Christi, to be celebrated each yere on the thursday after Trinitie sundaie. The Carmelite friars came at this time into Scotland, and erected a chappell of our ladie without the walles of saint Johns towne, which the bishop of Donkeld appointed them, therein to celebrate their seruice. It was also said, that in this season a monke of Delrosse was admonished in a dreame, where he should find a part of the holie crosse, not far from Deplis in Lou-

thian, inclosed in a case ingrauen with the title of S. Nicholas. And not farre from the same was likewise found a stone chest, right cunninglie wrought and ingrauen, wherein were found certeine bones wrapped in silke, but whose bones the same were it was not knowne. As soone as the case was opened, within the which the crosse was included, manie miracles were wrought (as it was then beleued.) King Alexander for deuotion hereof, builded an abbey in hono^r of the holie crosse, in the same place where that pæce of the crosse was so found. In this abbey afterwards there were monks inhabiting of the order of the Trinitie.

Not long after, the two kings of England and Scotland met together at Marke castell, accompanied with a great number of the nobles and gentlemen of both their realmes, for the redresse of certeine misorders committed betwixt the borderers. Such reformation also was here deuised, and recompense made on either side, that both the realms continued afterwards in more perfect tranquillitie for a certeine space, than euer was seene in anie kings daies before that time. In this season was the church of Glasco finished in that perfection as it stands to be seene at this day, right sumptuously builded, for the most part at the charges of William bishop of that see, who liued not long after the finishing of the said worke. In the yere following, which was the yere after the birth of our Saviour 1263, there fell a great dearth through both the realmes of England and Scotland, by reason of the wet harvest preceding, so that the corne and graine was quite marred and corrupted before it could be got beside the ground.

Acho king of Norwaye, being informed how the Scots were thus oppressed with famine and other miseries, by report of them that made the same more than it was in deed, supposed to find time and occasion fit for his purpose, to subdue them whole to his dominion. Hereupon, preparing an armie and a fleet of ships conuenient for such an enterprize, he landed with the same in the westerne fies, on Lannas day otherwise called Petri ad Vincula. Those fies continued vnder subiection of the Norwegians and Danes, from king Edgars time vnto the daies of this Acho. From thence the said Acho with a mightie power of his Danes and Norwegians came ouer into Aran and Bute, which are two fies, and onelie at that time amongst all the residue were vnder the dominion of Scots. But Acho hauing quicklie subdued them at his pleasure, in hope of more prosperous successe, transported his whole armie ouer into Albion, and landed with the same on the next coasts, where after he had besieged the castell of Aire a certeine time, he toke the same, and began to waste and spoile all the countrie thereabouts.

King Alexander being soze affonied with these newes, for that he was yong, and not able (as it was doubted) to resist the force of his enemies, imboldened upon such frequent victories as they had atchieued, thought best to prolong the time by colour of some treatie for a peace, that waie to diminish the enemies force, by long sojournning in campe without trial of anie battell. Hereupon were ambassadozs sent vnto Acho, of the which one amongst them appointed thereto, being well languaged and wise, at their first comming before him spake in this manner.

Where is not that our king & nobles of the realme (by an ancient custome obserued euen from the beginning) doe vse first to seeke redresse of all iniuries receiued, before they offer to be reuenged with the sword; ye should not now behold oratozs sent vnto you to talke of concozd, but a mightie armie in ordi-

In abbey
built.In interview
March. Paris
Sixteth that
in the yere
1256, both k.
Alexander &
his wife came
into England
to visit king
Henrie, whom
they found at
Woodstoke,
as in the Eng-
lish chronicles
further ap-
peareth.

I 2 6 2.

A great dearth

Acho king of
Norwaie.The westerne
fies vnder
subiection of
the Danes &
Norwegians.Acho landed
in Albion.The castell of
Aire besieged
and tooken.King Alexan-
ders purpose
to inferre his
enemies force.Ambassadozs
sent to Acho.The oration
of one of the
ambassadozs.Peace to
preferred
for warwherefo
warres
to be maThe can
their melBurning
churchesKing Alex-
anders
answer.The can
Acho's co

peace to be preferred before warres.

Wherefore warres ought to be moued.

The cause of their message.

Burning of churches.

King Achos answer.

The cause of Achos com.

nance of battell comming towards you to giue the onset. We are of that opinion, that we neuer get so much gaines by victorie of the enimies, no though they haue robbed and spoiled our confines, but that we account it much better to haue peace, if we may haue restitution of wrongs done to vs, by some manner of honest meanes. For what greater follie may be, than to seeke for that by fier and sword, which may be purchased with faire and quiet words: neuertheless, when our iust desires and reasonable motions are refused of the enimies, when we find them not willing to haue peace (for the obtaining whereof all warres ought to be taken in hand) but rather that their onelie seeking is to haue warres, not respecting the quarrell: we are ready to rise whole together in reuenge of such contempts with all possible speed and violence against our aduerfaries. We are sent therefore from our king and soueraigne, to inquire what occasion you haue thus to invade his realme and subiects, in violating that peace and league, which hath bene obserued and kept betwixt vs and your nation, the space of this hundred yeres, and not onelie to take from him his two Isles of Bute and Aran, but also to invade the maine land of his dominions, with such crueltie, as neither consideration of age or person seemeth to be had; but that women, children, and feeble old persons haue passed by the sword, as well as those that haue stood at resistance with weapon in hand against you. What heinous offence haue the Scottismen at anie time committed either against you or anie other (whose reuengers ye may seeme to be) that they should deserue to haue such crueltie shewed against them? What furious ire hath moued you to burne the churches of God and his saints, with the murder of his people that flee into the same for safegard of their liues? But if you dread not God that gouerneth all things (by his diuine providence) which here in this world we see; if ye dread not the saints nor vengeance to come on you by the punishment of the righteous God: ye ought yet to dread the two most puissant kings of Albion, alied together in bond of amitie and marriage, which shall come against you with such puissance, that ye shall not be able to resist the same. Therefore sith ye may depart with honoz, we on the behalfe of him from whome we are sent, do admonish you, that better it is for you to redresse such iniuries as ye haue already done, and therewith to repaire home, than to aduenture to be brought vnto such desperate ends, that when ye shall be constrained to seeke for mercie, the same in no wise will be granted vnto you. ¶ These words were spoken by the ambassadors, vpon purpose to put some terror into the hart of this hardie king Acho.

¶ Neuertheless he was abashed so little therewith, that he answered them in this manner. Your beliefe is (I perceiue) ye ambassadors, to abash vs with your fierce and stoufull words, supposing vs so weake harted, that we should leaue off our enterprise through your menacing threats: but ye are farre deceiued. Iuerlie if your imagination be such. And where ye exaggerate our iniuries done to you in taking from you certeine Isles, we perceiue you are not met nor indifferent persons to be chosen for iudges in that cause, neither do we mind to learne of you, what we ought to esteeme right or wrong in such behalfe. If ye desire further to know and vnderstand the cause why we haue invaded Aran and Bute, we saie and affirme, that not onelie those two Isles pertaine to vs and our people by good title and ancient right of inheritance, but also all the other Isles of Scotland, as we are able by firme evidences sufficiently to proue. And therefore are we now come to take presentlie so much in value out of Scotland, as ye haue taken in

issues and profits out of those Isles in times past from vs. Shew then to your king, that we feare neither his menacing words, nor yet anie other violence that he can shew against vs. Notwithstanding, if he be more desirous of peace than of battell, and lusteth to auoid the spoiling and burning of his townes, and slaughter of his people; or if he desired not to see the bitter extermination of his realme afore his eyes, command him to send vnto vs forthwith ten thousand marks sterling for the fruits of our lands taken vp and receiued by him and his elders in times past, and further that he make a cleare resignation of all claime or title that he may seeme to pretend vnto the said Isles, in such sort that the same may passe vnder our dominion in perpetuitie without anie contradiction.

When king Alexander had heard that the answer of his enimie was, he was therewith fore moued, & perceiuing no waie to elchue the battell, but that he should be constrained to trie fortunes chance, he assembled together an armie of fortie thousand men, that though he were not able to match his enimies in prowesse, he might yet passe them in number. He diuided his host into three battells. In the right wing was Alexander Steward, a very valiant knight, nephew to that Alexander which indowed the abbey of Passie. He had with him all the men that came forth of Argile, Leuenor, Atholl, and Gallotway. In the left wing was Patrike Dunbar, hauing with him the men of Louthian, Fife, Mers, Berwik, and Strueling shire. In the middle ward was the king himselfe, with all the remnant people of the other parts of Scotland, to succour the wings when danger appeared. These battells were ordered in such arrate, that euerie band had a capteine assigned to them of their owne language, to exhort them to manhood, thereby to win praise and honoz.

At his entring into the confines of Conningham, where he came first within sight of his enimies, he called his people together, and exhorted them to do their dutifull indeuors like hardie and valiant men, against those enimies that invaded their countrie without anie iust cause or title of warre, and to put their trust in almighty God, desiring him to grant victorie vnto that part, which had most right and iustest cause of battell. He further shewed how needefulle it was for them to behaue themselves valiantlie, and how much it stood them in hand to fight with manlie courages, in defense of their wiues, children, libertie, and lands, hauing no hope of suertie of life but in the valiant vsing of their able hands, so that their whole safegard rested in this point, either to vanquish their enimies with manhood, or else to liue in seruile bondage as their slaues and miserable thials, and to suffer their wiues and daughters to be abused at their lust and pleasure. He willed them therefore to consider, that not onelie he, but all Scotland should see them fight that day, noting both their manhood & cowardise. But sith their cause was iust, and moued onlie in defense of their native countrie and ancient libertie, he trusted they would shew the more hardinesse and courage, namelie against them that sought onelie bloud and spoile. These with other like words king Alexander vttered with bold spirit, to encourage his people. And on the other part king Acho likewise thought it expedient to vse some exhortation vnto his armie, that they should not be afraid of the great number and huge multitude of the Scots.

The chiefeest point to encourage them to do valiantlie, he supposed was the hope of spoile, and therefore he put them in remembrance, how by victorie not onelie all such riches as the Scots had brought thither with them (which could not be small) but also

ming into Scotland.

his demand.

King Alexander assembleth his power.

The ordering of the right wing.

Alexander Steward leader of the right wing.

Patrike Dunbar capteine of the left wing.

The king in the middle ward.

King Alexander exhorte his people to do valiantlie.

Hope of suertie in what point it rested.

The necessitie of the cause.

Shewers of bloud & spoile.

Achos exhortation to his people.

Hope of spoile encourageth men of warre.

all the whole substance and treasure of the realme to be at their commandement, yea and the realme it selfe, if they minded to enjoy it: so that this was the day which they had so much desired, wherein sufficient opportunitie was offered to shew what reward should follow to each man for his good and valiant service. But for that high enterprises and famous exploits might neuer be achieved without extreme jeopardy, it behoued them to attaine to these so great commodities by periling thorough, and overthrowing by dint of sword the arraied battels of their enemies, which how easie a matter it should be for them to bring to passe, such as well considered the circumstances, might soon coniecture. For though dearth and famine which so long hath reigned amongst the Scottish people, their bodies and forces (saith he) are so wonderfullie infabled, that they appere to represent rather shadowes than full personages of men able to make resistance.

Againe, in consideration how necessarie it was for euerie man to fight without fainting, sith they were inuironed on each part without meane to escape, he desired them, that if it so fell out, that they should chance to be overcome (which as he trusted should not come to passe) that in such misadventure they would yet sell their liues dearelie, and not to die unreuenged. Thus hauing opened vnto them that prosperous hap followed by victorie, and what danger by the overthrow, he thought to haue sufficientlie instructed them to put all feare aside, and to do what lay in their uttermost forces to vanquish the enemies.

The ordering of the battell.

The kings on either side, hauing thus exhorted their people to do their indentors, they arraie their battells. Acho disposed all his best souldiers and whole force of his armie in the middle ward, for that he had knowledge how the Scottish king was placed in the middle battell of his people: wherefore he supposed, that if he might overthrow and vanquish that part where the king stood, he should easilie then put the residue to flight. His wings (because he had not number sufficient to furnish them fullie) were arraied more weaklie in slender and thin ranks: but yet at the first encounter there was a terrible fight betwixt them, especiallie where the two kings fought: for they pressed still with great violence on that part where they saw anie danger, not ceassing to exhort & encourage their men to stand to the bargain with manlie stomachs, so that on either side these two kings played the parts of verie valiant capteins.

The battells joine.

The baliance of the kings.

Acho with a band of verie hardie souldiers assailed sundrie times to perse and disorder the battell where king Alexander fought: notwithstanding he had so great number of people there with him, that he sufficed even the ranks with fresh men where he saw it needfull. Also betwixt the wings, there was no lesse crueltie shewed on either side in the beginning of the battell, till at length the Norwegians, perceiuing themselves overpressed with multitude, and compassed in on euerie side, did somewhat begin to shrink, and first those in the left wing, constrained to breake their order, fell to running auaie. Alexander Steward therefore, that had the leading of the right wing of the Scots, hauing pursued the enemies a certaine space, and slaine Achos nephue, a man of high reputation and authoritie amongst the Norwegians, caused the retreat to be sounded, and gathering his men againe into arraie, brought them against the enemies of the middle ward, where was hard hold betwixt the two kings, the battell continuing with great slaughter on both parts, and vncertaine a long while to whether part the victorie would incline: but the Norwegians being now assailed on the backs by a new power of their enemies, at length they began to flie auaie.

The left wing of the Norwegians are put to flight.

Achos nephue is slaine.

The maine battell of the Norwegians fleth.

In the meane time, the left wing of the Scots, whereof one Patrike had the leading, was in great danger, by reason the capteine himselfe was sore wounded, and thereby all the companies in the same wing sore discomfited: but after they once beheld how the middle ward of their enemies was put to flight, they recovered new courages, and with great force caused their aduersaries, with whom they were matched, to giue backe also: and so were the Danes and Norwegians chased by the Scots, with verie cruell slaughter through all Cunningham, not ceassing from the pursue of the enemies, till night made an end of that daies worke, laing Acho with a few other escaped out of danger, and coming to the castell of Airc, which (as ye haue heard) he had wone before, he was there informed of an other losse which he had sustained: for his fleet containing the number of an hundred and fiftie ships, were so beaten with an outrageous tempest, that there were not past foure of all that number saued, the residue being drowned and broken against the rocks and cliffes. The mariners also, being constrained to come on land for safeguard of their liues, were slaine by the people of the countrie, so that few of them or none at all escaped.

The left wing of the Scots in danger.

The Danes and Norwegians chased by the Scots.

The losse of Achos ships by tempest.

The losse of the mariners.

Acho fleeth into Dykneie.

1263.

John Fourdon.

Acho being thus abashed with these two unfortunate mishances, aswell for the losse and discomfiture of his armie by land, as for the perishing of his nauie on the seas, got him vnto those foure ships that were saued, and sailed with them about the coast, till he arrived in Dykneie. In this battell, which was fought at Largis on the third day of August, in the yere 1263, there were slaine of Danes and Norwegians 24 thousand, and of Scots about foue thousand. Thus saith Hector Boetius. But Fourdon saith, meth not to agree altogether herewith, who writing of this inuasion made by the Norwegians into Scotland, saith, that they were but twentie thousand men of warre in all, imbarcked in foure score ships, which coming to the new castell of Aran, besieged as well the said castell of Aran, as the castell of Bute, and toke them both, spoiling also the churches alongst the sea coast, and after arriving at Largis in Cunningham, on the feast of the natiuitie of our ladie, lost the most part of their vessels, which were drowned together with thousands of men in the same. The residue that got to land, encountering with the Scots led by Alexander Steward of Dondonald, were discomfited, put to flight, chased & drowned in the sea, into the which they were driven. Amongst other that were slaine, a nephue of king Acho was one, a yong gentleman of great baliance, and sore lamented of his vnckle. Acho had much ado to escape himselfe, he was so egerlie pursued of his enemies.

Thus haue I thought good to shew the diuersitie of mixters in this behalse, that it may appere how things are sometimes amplified by Boetius, to aduance the glorie of his countrymen, further perhaps than by the simple veritie of those that did write before him, may in some points be well auerred. But now to proceed. King Acho at his coming into Dykneie, sent into Norwaye and Denmark for a new armie, prouiding ships & all other things necessarie, to haue made a new inuasion into Scotland against the next spring: but for that he himselfe departed out of this life in the beginning of the yere next following, all that purueance and great preparation was dashed, and came to none effect. The same day that Acho deceased, that is to saie, the 21 day of January, Alexander prince of Scotland, the eldest son of king Alexander, whome he begot on his wife quene Margaret, the sister of Henrie king of England, was borne, to the great reioicing of the people. For the people conceived double ioy & gladnesse.

Embassadors sent from Magnus the son of Norwaye king of Sweeland.

In time of trouble betwixt the son of Malcolm Canmore & their vnckle Donald the son of Magnus the son of Malcolm Canmore.

Embayed by of Achan. Reginald. 1228. Slaine, or slaine.

1230. Hulbac, Hulba Soderen. Slaine and Godgebus. Bute. Hulbac slaine.

Slaine and Godgebus dwelt the kin, done of the slaine betwixt them.

1237. Slaine. Harold.

1247. Harold slaine into Norwaye. As drowned in his return.

nelle hereof, because that both a new prince was borne, and that crinie dead which sought the destruction of the whole realme. After the decessale of king Acha, his sonne Magnus succeeded him, a verie faithful prince, and one that had the feare of God before his eyes.

In the second yeere of his reigne, he sent his ambassadores (of whom the chiefe was the chancellor of Norwaye) unto king Alexander, whom they found at saint Johns towne, and there signified unto him, that king Magnus their maister would willingly give ouer all his title, right, and claime unto Aran and But, so that the residue of the Isles might remaine in quiet possession of him and his successors in time comming. Whereunto was answer made by king Alexander, that the Isles by right of old inheritance pertained unto him and his progenitors kings of Scotland, and therefore he might not make any agreement with the Danes or Norwegians, till he had reconceied the full possession of the same Isles. The ambassadores being dispatched and sent awate with this answer, incontinentlie Alexander Stewart of Wallete, and John Cummin were sent with an armie ouer into Aran, which Ile they then reconceied (though not without blood) forth of the hands of the Danes and Norwegians, who had kept the same in possession now for the space of 167 yeeres passed, but not without some alteration and trouble, as may appere by the annales of Richard Southwell, a writer (as should seme) well instructed in matters as well touching Scotland, and the north parts, as also concerning the state of the out Isles. And therefore that the same may the better appere to the readers, I haue thought it not impertinent to set downe what I haue read in the same Southwell, touching the kings, or rather viceroies of Aran, and those Isles which for a season (as should seme in deed) were substituted by the kings of Norwaye, though it may also appere, that sometime there was a certeine succession in them, as from the father to the sonne, & from the brother to the brother, &c: in manner as if it had bene by waie of inheritance.

In the daies of king John therefore (as saith the foresaid Southwell) one Godfred reigned as king in Aran. And in the yeere 1228, one Reginald being king of those Isles, was murdered by wicked persons, & then his brother Olave reigned in his place. In the yeere 1230, the king of Norwaye appointed one Husbac, the sonne of Olmund (surnamed Haco) to gouerne the said Isles called Sodorrenes, that is to say, the Ile of Aran, & the other Isles thereabouts the coasts of Scotland; the which Husbac, together with two other capitains Olave and Godfred, surnamed Don, came by sea, and arrived at But, where they wan the castell: but Husbac was slaine with a stone that was throwne downe upon him. And then after this, the foresaid Olave and Godfred came unto the Ile of Aran, where they diuided the kingdome of the Isles betwixt them, so as Olave had Aran allotted to him for his part, and Godfred the other Isles. But after that Godfred was also slaine, Olave gouerned both in Aran, and in all the other Isles (those excepted which the sonnes of Somerleld held in possession.) In the yeere 1237, in the moneth of Maye, Olave king of Aran, the sonne of Godfred, & brother to Reginald, departed this life, after whose decessale his sonne Harold succeeded him, and reigned 12 yeeres, being but 14 yeeres of age when he began his reigne.

In the yeere 1247, Haco king of Norwaye sent for Harold king of Aran to come unto his coronation, who comming thither, was honorablie receiued, and obtained king Hacos daughter in marriage: but as he returned from thence, in the yeere 1249,

together with his wife, they perished in the seas by a tempest on the coasts of Ireland. Then succeeded his brother Reginald, who reigned but 27 daies, for he was slaine the first of June the same yeere, by the seruants of a knight called Puarus. Then Harold the sonne of Godfred Don gouerned Aran one yeere, being remoued by the king of Norwaye: & after him Magnus the sonne of Olave began his reigne ouer Aran & the other Isles, by consent of the Spankemen themselves. But in the yeere 1254, one Puarus was ordeined king, or rather viceroie of those Isles, & gouerned the same, till the foresaid Magnus king of Norwaye resigned his title to all the said Isles unto king Alexander (as ye haue heard) who placed his lieutenants there, of whom the first was called Godfred mac Hares, the second Alane. And after him Maurice Wharfaire succeeded; and then followed one that was the kings chaplaine.

For the time of the resignation made, I followe Hector Boetius, by reason of some contrarietie which appeareth in Southwell in the account of the yeeres assigned to the reignes of those Island kings, if you confer the same with the time of the foresaid resignation. But now to the matter. The lieutenant appointed to haue the rule of those Isles, now that they were thus come into the hands of the Scots, was bound by his office to be readie with thirtene ships, and five hundred mariners to come to the aid of the Scots, at all times when he should there to be required. After this, were the earles of Atholl, Carrick, and March, Alexander Stewart, with the thanes of Argyle, and Kennos, sent with a puissant armie unto the other of the westerne Isles, the which those that were greatest, they brought with much ado vnder the obstrance of the crowne of Scotland, the residue submitted themselves.

Magnus king of Norwaye informed hereof, sent thither his chancellor in ambassage unto king Alexander, to trie if he might by treatie recouer againe those Isles: and if he might not bying that to passe, yet to compoind with him for a pecunie tribute. The first motion of the chancellor would in no wise be heard, therefore surceasing to spend any longer time about it, they fell in communication touching the second, which took effect at length in this wise. King Magnus by his letters vnder his great seale, renounced and gaue ouer his right or claime that he had or might haue, both for him and his successors to all the Isles of Scotland. And king Alexander for this resignation was agreed to paie the said king of Norwaye, foure thousand marks sterling, together with a pension or tribute of an hundred marks by yeare. And for the more confirmation of loue and amitie betwixt the two kings and their people, Margaret the daughter of king Alexander, being not past one yeeres of age, was promised in marriage vnto Hanigo, the sonne of king Magnus, the same marriage to be consummat when she came to yeeres mariable. Further, in place where the greatest slaughter of Danes and Norwegians had bene made, it was covenanted that an hospitall should be erected & founded there, for the sustentation of poore folks.

About this season, there were great warres in England betwixt king Henrie and his barons, of whom the chiefe was Simon Mountfort earle of Leicester, and diuerse other. B. Henrie being not well able to withstand his aduersaries attempts, requested B. Alexander to send him some aid of Scots to subdue the rebels of his realme, that had arreared warres against him. Whereupon shortly after, was Alexander Cummin, with five thousand chosen men, sent by king Alexander into England, who right ballantlie bare themselves in that war which

1249.
Reginald.
He began to
reigne the first
of Maye.
Puarus.
Harold.

Magnus.

1254.
Puarus.

Lieutenant or
baillie of the
Ile of Aran
vnder the
Scots.

The westerne
Isles reconceied
out of the
hands of the
Norwegians

The chancellor
of Norwaye
waic ambassa-
dor to king
Alexander.

The release of
Magnus
king of Norwaye
waic to the
Scottish Isles.

A pecunie
pension.

Margaret K.
Alexanders
daughter.

warre in
England.

King Henrie
required aid of
the Scots.

Alexander
Cummin sent
into Eng-
land.

e left being
be Scots
anger.

e Danes
Norwe-
is chaled
be Scots.

Isle of
on Orkney
ispeit.

Isle of
tarinera.

Isle of
Shetland.

263.

Foundon.

ambassadors
sent from
Magnus K.
of Norwaye to
king Alexander.

In time of the
trouble be-
twixt the sons
of Alacolum
Cannmore and
their uncle
Donald Kane
Magnus K.
of Norwaye
the son of Da-
lar subdued
these Isles.
Richard South-
well.

Godfred king
of Aran.
Reginald.
1228.
Olave, or
Dennis.
1230.
Husbac.
Isle of Sodo-
renes.
Olavus and
Godfredus.
But.
Husbac slaine.

Olavus and
Godfredus di-
uided the king-
dome of the
Isles betwixt
them.

1227.
Alane.

Harold.

1247.
Harold passeth
into Norwaye.

Is returned
in his returne.

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make a
mission
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at dieth
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sonne to
gls

Robin Hood
and little
John his
companion.

A legat from
pope Clement

The legats
demand.

The answer
of king Alex-
ander to the
legats mes-
sage.

The more pre-
cepts the more
offendours.

King Alex-
anders wife-
dome praised
by king Hen-
rie.

A thousand
marks sent to
the pope.

Scottish cap-
tains sent in-
to Affrike.

1270.
Thomas
earle of Car-
rike.

Margha
daughter to
the earle of
Carrike.

Robert
Bruce.

Robert
Bruce married
to Margha
daughter to
the earle of
Carrike.

king Henrie held against his barons, whereof in the English chronicle ye may read more at large. In these daies (as the translator of Hector Boecius hath written) that notable and most famous outlaw Robin Hood lived, with his fellow little John, of whome are many fables and merie jests devised and song amongst the vulgar people. But John Major writeth that they lived (as he doth gesse) in the daies of king Richard the first king of England, 1198.

In the yeare next and immediatlie following, after that Henrie king of England had subdued his domestical enemies, there came a legat from pope Clement the fourth, requiring him to have a collection of monie in Scotland towards the charges of lenteng an armie against the Saracens. But this legat was not received into the realme, but commanded to shew his message upon the borders. He demanded therfore of euerie parish-church in Scotland foure marks sterling, and of euerie abbey foure score marks. And to the end he might the sooner purchase sauour to the furtherance of his purpose, he devised by the way certeine statutes and ordinances right profitable to be used in the realme of Scotland, as he indged. But king Alexander for answer hereunto alledged, that the Scots minded not to receive anye statutes or decrees, other than such as were ordeined by the pope, or some generall council: for by a generall rule; The more precepts, the more offendours are alwaies found. And as touching the request made for the collection of so great summes of monie, it was not thought necessarie, that so much coine should go forth of the realme: neuertheless if it were thought expedient, he would be contented to send forth at his owne proper costs and charges, a number of armed men to go with the christian armie against the Turks: but for monie otherwise forth, the realme would not depart with anye, least it should be wastfullie spent, or taken by the way of theues, as it had bene aforesetime.

Henrie king of England praised much the wisdom of king Alexander for this his answer, as he declared hostilie after by his sonne prince Edward, who came to visit his sister the queene, and his brother in law king Alexander at Rossburgh, where they met him; for ye must vnderstand that king Henrie had also learned by experience to be wise in that behalfe, as well as others. King Alexander yet after this sent vnto the pope a thousand marks in silver: and vnto the French king, that required his aid in that iournie which he made into Affrike against the Saracens there, a thousand soldiers, vnder the leading of the earles of Carrike & Atholl, John Stewart brother of Alexander Stewart, Alexander Cummin, Robert Beth, George Durward, John Quincie, & William Gordon. All these going ouer with king Lewis into Affrike, died there, either vpon the enemies sword, or by the intemperat heat of that countrie (whereunto they had not bene accustomed) in the yeare after the incarnation 1270. The earle of Carrike, whose name was Thomas, perishing thus amongst the residue in Affrike, left no inheritor behind him to enjoy his lands, sauing a daughter named Margha, being then about fiftene yeares of age. This yong ladie, chancing to ride on hunting in the woods for pastime and solace, as the vse is, fortunated by aduenture to meet with a noble yong man one Robert Bruce the sonne and heire to Robert Bruce the lord of Anandale in Scotland, and Cleueland in England, begot of Isabell the second daughter of Dauid earle of Huntington. The ladie immediatlie became so inamored of this yong gentleman, that she led him with hir home vnto Carrike, where (without making hir friends priuite to the matter) she married him in all hast, least anye

man should be about to hinder hir determined purpose. Of this marriage was borne that Robert Bruce which afterwards (through want of heires of the lineage of king Alexander) attained the crowne of Scotland. As soon as Alexander was aduertised hereof, he took such indignation that he should bestow hir selfe so lightlie vpon one whom he neuer saw before, that he seized hir castell of Turneburie into his hands, with all hir other lands and possessions, as it were by elcheat, for that she had married without his consent. Notwithstanding, within short while after he took pitie on hir case, and for an easie composition of monie which she paid for hir marriage, restored to hir againe all hir lands and livings, suffering hir to enjoy hir husband without anye more trouble or veration. In the third yeare after, the said ladie was deliuered of the afore-remembered Robert Bruce that was after king of Scotland. And the same yeare, which was the yeare after the birth of our Sauour 1274, Dauid the second son of king Alexander deceased; and the third yeare after, the brother of Edward king of England came into Scotland to visit the queene their sister, & their brother in law the king, & after did attend them in their iournie to London, whither they went to be present at the coronation of the foresaid Edward, as then returned forth of Affrike after the deceasse of his father king Henrie, to take vpon him the gouernement of the kingdome descended vnto him by right of inheritance. He was crowned the same yeare on the day of the assumption of our ladie in August, with great solemnitie and triumph.

At the same time there was a forman in king Edwards court, of such passing strength of bodie, that he ouerthrew all men with whome he wrestled, till at length one Fergushard a Scottishman borne of the countrie of Rosse, descended of noble parentage, banquished him to his great praise & advancement in hono: for king Alexander in guerdon of so much this deed there done in the presence of so honorable an assemblie, gaue vnto him the earledome of Rosse for evermore. Of this Fergushard succeeded five earles all of his surname, but the first earle was named William Rosse, otherwise Leslie, in whose sonne the seventh earle failed the dignitie of that house for fault of succession. At the same time prince Alexander king Alexanders sonne did homage vnto king Edward for the earledome of Huntington, as the Scottish writers do testifie. Shortly after that king Alexander was returned forth of England at that time into Scotland, his wife queene Margaret deceased, and was buried in Dunfermling. She bare by him two sonnes, Alexander and Dauid, and one daughter named Margaret, the which (according to the assurance before made) was married about thre yeares after hir mothers deceasse, vnto Hainigo, or rather Aquine king of Forwaie, and deceased in the second yeare after the solemnization of the marriage, leauing behind hir a daughter named also Margaret.

But before this hap fell so out, euen immediatlie after the death of queene Margaret the mother, hir yonger sonne Dauid deceased: by reason whereof, king Alexander being carefull of his succession, procured a marriage for his elder sonne prince Alexander, with the earle of Flanders his daughter, the which being brought into Scotland, was married vnto the said prince in Jedburgh, on the sunday after the feast of saint Martin in winter, in the yeare of our Lord 1279. The feast of this marriage was holden with great triumph and solemnitie continually for the space of fiftene daies together. & This yeare a number of the Scottish nobilitie, which had attended the ladie Margaret into Forwaie, were

King Alexan-
der displeased
with the fore-
said Margha.

Robert
Bruce that
was after
king of Scot-
land is borne,
1274.

King Alexan-
der with his
wife the
queene came
to London.

A forman
of passing
strength,
Fergushard a
Scottishman
ouerthrew the
said forman.

The earle-
dome of Rosse
gaue to Wil-
liam Rosse
alias Leslie.

The death of
queene Marg-
aret.

The marriage
of Margaret
king Alexan-
ders daugh-
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The death of
Dauid sonne
to king Alex-
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The marriage
of Alexander
prince of
Scotland.

1279.

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lost by shipwacke, as they would haue returned backe againe to Scotland after the confirmation of his marriage there with king Harugo or Aquino. Shortly after, by the force of deaths dreadfull and, and grievous losses chanced unto king Alexander, the one following in the necke of another. For first his eldest sonne prince Alexander, being not past threentie yeares of age, departed out of this world, without leaving any issue behind him; and not long after, his daughter Margaret quene of Scotland deceased also, leaving behind hir one onlie daughter as before is mentioned being as yet but an infant.

In the same yeere was a generall counsell holden at Lions, the pope and a great multitude of the prelates of christendome being there assembled. So this counsell were summoned to appeare all the p[ri]ncipals, wardens, and ministers of the beggung mers. And for that there were so many sundrie orders of them, each man devising of his owne braine some new alteration; all those orders were reduced into the four orders, which after by the church of Rome were approved and allowed. A generall commandement was also given, that no man should go about to begin any new forme of such vaine superstitious orders, which appoint themselves to such labor, to the end they may live in pleasure, lust, idleness, upon the travell of other mens browes. In this mean time, after that the christian armie was returned home out of Affrike, by reason of a truce concluded with the Soldan, the same Soldan that truce notwithstanding) ceased not to make great slaughters and invasions upon those christian men that remained behind. The christian princes for moved berewith, made their apperalls for a new expedition into the holie land. The Scots gave the tenth part of all their lands, or rather (as some booke say) the tenth part of all tithes belonging to churches, to the furtherance of this iourne: notwithstanding through such enuie and contentions as rose amongst the said princes, that iourne brake, to the great damage and preiudice of the christian faith.

King Alexander having lost his wife and children in manner as is before expressed, not onlie himselfe, but also all Scotland was in great perplexitess and sorow, each man by a certaine foreiudgement and misgiving in mind, doubting the mischance that might thereof insue. But yet did king Alexander, by the advice of his nobles, in hope of new issue, marie the daughter of the earle of Champanne in France, named Yolant. The marriage was celebrated at Jedburgh with great feasting and triumph: but that joy and blithnesse endured not long after. For the same yeere on the 18 day of April, as he was galloping upon a fierce horse at hunting, forcing him in his race somewhat rashly, he was throwne over the west cliff towards the sea by a wonderful misfortune, so robelie, that he brake his necke, and so therewith immediatly died in the 42 yeere of his reigne. He was buried at Dunfermling, in the yeere after the incarnation 1290. It is said, that the date before the kings death, the earle of March a little before night, demanded of one Thomas Leicemont, otherwise named Thomas the rimer, or (as the translator of Hector Boetius saith) Thomas Crilston (who in those daies was reputed for a noble prophet); (as we may call him) a foote saie, what weather they should have on the morrow. So the same said Thomas answered, that on the morrow (before none) should blow the worst wind and tempest that ever was heard of in Scotland at any time before.

On the morrow when the skie appeared cleere and bright, without cloud or any other signe of foule

weather, and that it blew more unto the midst of the daie, and no wind heard from any side, but all calme and quiet. The earle of March sent for the fornamed Thomas, and told him that he had mistaken his marks, in prophesying of any such notable tempest as he had spoken of the night before, considering it proved so lithe a daie, without appearance of any tempest to insue. This Thomas said little thereto, saying that he said it was not yet past none. And incontinentlie hereupon came a post to the castel, gate of Dunbar, where this earle of March as then lay, bringing word of the kings sudden death, as before is recited. Then said the prophet: That is the fearefull wind and dreadfull tempest, which shall blow such calamitie and trouble to the whole state of the whole realme of Scotland. This Thomas was a man of great admiration of the people, his coming sundrie things, as they afterward chanced; howbeit they were ever hid and involved under the veile of dark and obscure speeches.

Many strange wonders and unseem sights were seen in the daies of this Alexander the third. In the 11 yeere of his reigne, there was such an infinite number of woggles through all the parties of Albion, that not onlie the leaves and fruits of trees, but also flowers, herbes in gardens were eaten by and consumed with them. And in the same yeere, the waters of Forth and Tay rose with such high tides in flowing over the banks, that many townes and villages were drowned, to the great destruction both of men and beasts. In the 20 yeere of his reigne, there was a comet or blazing starre scene of a marvelous quantitie, shining every day towards the south, even about none daies. On the Epiphany day next after, rose so great winds, with stormes of such unmeasurable great hailstones, that many townes were throwne downe by violence thereof. In the meane time, rose through the vehement rage of winds, a sudden fire, in many bounds within the realme of Scotland, that did much hurt to buildings and edifices, burning up steeple with such force of fire, that the belies were in divers places melted, as though it had bene in a fornace. Amongst other, those of the abbey of Abirbrothoke were most precious, which were as then consumed together with the steeple wherein they hung. The townes of Aberneth and Perth were burned the same time: also part of Lanrick, with the temple, and all the townes and villages in Clow, a part of Angus: and likewise many townes and other buildings in Lothian, and in divers other parts of the realme, so long here to rehearse.

In the 21 yeere of his reigne, was the first coming of the pestilence into Scotland, with great mortalitie of the people, where it had not bene heard that ever this sickness had come within that realme before that time. In the solemnization of the second marriage of king Alexander, as the bridegroom according to the manner led the bride in a dance, a great number of lords and ladies following them in the same dance, there appeared to their sight as it were closing by the hundredmost of the dancers, a creature resembling death, all naked of flesh & linc, with bare bones right dreadfull to behold. Through which spectacle, the king and the residue of all the companie were so affrighted, and put in such fright & feare, that they had quicklie made an end of their dance for that time. In the daies of this Alexander the third, lived sundrie great clearkes. Amongst other, Michaele Scot was reputed for an excellent physician, and for his singular practice & knowledge in that profession was no lesse esteemed and had in high favour with Edward king of England, than with king Alexander, during his life time.

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2. blisling
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pestilence into
Scotland.

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Learned men

Michaele
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sician.

Francis Thins
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this marke.)

The lawes of
Alexander the
third.

* This Alexander made manie healthfull and good lawes, thereof most by the negligence of men, and longnesse of time are worne away; so that things so profitablie by him deuised, saine rather by report to haue bene ordeined, than that they are by custome practised. He diuided the kingdome into foure parts, through which he made his progresse almost euerie yere, remaining about thre moneths in euerie place, there to sit in iudgement, and to heare the complaints of the poore, at what time the meanest person might haue free accesse vnto him. As often as he went into anie prouince to giue sentence of law, he commanded the gouernor of that place to receiue him with a chosen companie; and when he departed thence, to bring him to the borders of his iurisdiction, where he was honorable receiued of the next gouernors. The which traouelling about his realme he vsed, to the end that he might know all his nobilitie, and that he might also be knowne of all others. During which time of his progresse, no great traine or multitude of courtiers did follow him; because he would not charge his people in receiuing of them; and for that cause also abated and restrained the troope of horsemen which followed the nobilitie, and brought them into a certeine & meane number, because he supposed that the multitude of horses (whereof in warre there was no vse) were needlesse deuourers of meat. Further, he forbade his people to trauell by sea for gaine or merchandize, when he considered that through the unskillfulness of sailing, the rashnesse that men vsed in committing themselves to the seas, and the rapine of pirats, manie men were lost, and their goods spoiled: whereby the merchants were driuen to extreame pouertie. Which precept when it had continued almost a whole yere; and by manie mens speeches was reprehended as dangerous and hurtfull to the weale publike, at the length there arriued such plentie of strange merchandize in Scotland, that the abundance and cheapenesse thereof did exceed the memorie of anie former age. But yet to take order with and for the benefit of the merchants, he forbade his people to buie anie thing brought in by strangers, but such as were merchants of his land, and that all the other people should buie of them such things as they needed.)

Scotland
without a k.
and gouernor.

Whichekes
insuing for
lacke of a
king.

Six gouer-
nors chosen to
haue the rule
of Scotland.

King Alexander the third, being in such miserable wise deceased, as before is specified, the realme remained in great discomfort, by reason he had neither left anie issue behind him to succeed in the gouernment thereof, neither taken order in his life time by testament, or otherwise, for anie other to supplie the rone of a gouernor, so that hereof insued such infinit misorders, by the presumption of wicked and vngenerous persons, the which vpon hope to escape unpunished (because iustice was like to want due process) ceased not to attempt manie vnlawfull acts; to the grieuous oppression of the people: which misruled demaunders and disordered enterprises of those outrageous persons, when such as had anie zeale to the wealth of their countrie vnderstood daile to multiplie and increafe, they thought it appertained to their duties to prouide some remedie in due time, and thereupon called a counsell together, wherein after sundrie consultations had, and manie matters debated touching the rule of the realme, it was finally agreed, that six gouernors should be elected and chosen, of the which thre should haue the administration and rule of the north parts, and these were William Fraser bishop of saint Andrews, Duncan earle of Fife, & John Cumyn earle of Buchuane. The other thre were appointed to the gouernance of the south countries, that is to say, Robert bishop of Glasgou, sir John Cumyn (a man of high estimati-

tion for his wisdom and experience as well in matters concerning peacc as warre) and James high steward of Scotland.

But in the meane time Edward king of England, surnamed Longshanks, cast in his mind, how he might make some conquest of Scotland, now the same was thus destitute of an head to gouerne it. And for that he well vnderstood that the daughter of Moruait (of whom before ye haue heard) was right inheritor to the crowne of Scotland, though she were but verie young in yeres, & not able for marriage: yet to compass his purpose that waies forth, he sent his ambassadors vnto the lords of Scotland, requiring to haue hir to wife, and the realme with all, as due vnto hir by good title and right of inheritance. The lords, after long deliberation herein had, consented to his desire, vnder these conditions, that the realme should remaine in all freedoms and liberties, without anie kind of seruite subiection, in the same maner and state as it was vsed in the daies of king Alexander last deceased, and other his noble progenitors: and if it chanced, that no issue came of this marriage to succed them, then should the crowne returne by remainder ouer to the next heirs of king Alexander, without anie claime or pretext of title to be made by king Edward, or anie of his successors in time to come.

Immediatlie herewith; two noble knights, sir John Scot of Albuore, and sir James Wlemis, were sent into Moruait to fetch the hyde ouer into Scotland: but before their coming thither, she was deceased, & so they returned backe into Scotland againe without effect of their errand. And thus by means of hir death, all amitie betwixt Englishmen and Scots ceased. Then began to insue great trouble and businesse in Scotland, by reason of the contention which sprang betwixt the kinsmen of king Alexander, for the title and claime which they severallie made and pretended to the crowne. Where were thre chiefie that seemed by nearnesse of blood to haue most right, and therefore made most earnest sute in their claime: John Balliol, Robert Bruce, and John Hastings. This Robert Bruce was sonne to the son of that Robert Bruce, which married Isabel the yongest daughter to David earle of Huntingtong, on whom he got a son named also Robert, that married the inheritor of Carrike, as we haue shewed before, whose sonne this Robert Bruce was, that now claimed the crowne. John Balliol came of Margaret, eldest daughter to the foresaid David earle of Huntingtong: for Alane lord of Galloway, which married the said Margaret, begot on hir two daughters, of the which the eldest named Dornogill, was giuen in marriage vnto sir John Balliol, father vnto this John Balliol, that thus made claime to the crowne; alleging that forsomuch that he was come of the eldest daughter of earle David, the brother of king William, he ought by reason to be reputed as next heire to the same king William, sith none other person aliue approached so nere vnto him in blood.

* Here I thinke it convenient before any more be spoken of this historie, to interlace somewhat (besides that which is already spoken, being here in part repeated) of the descent of this Dornogill, the daughter of Alane lord of Galloway, beginning the same somewhat higher, in this sort. In the reigne of William I. of Scots, which began in the yere of Christ 1160, as faith Lesleus, lib. 6. pag. 226. Fergusius gouernor of Galloway left two sons, Gilbert, and Ethred, who after the death of their father, fell at variance for the lands of Galloway, to be diuided betwixt them in equall portions. This hall coming to the eares of king William, he was desirous to quench

How can this
be true, when
Edward
had a wife at
that time; but
verie the
Scottish writers
show themselves
overcome with
so much malice
in most things
which they write
in the defamatio
of Edward.

Of this me
re though
to followe
somewhat
created bet
pag. 275.
The cruel
of one blood
another.

The daughter
of Moruait
deceased.

The conten-
tion betwixt
the kinsmen of
Alexander
for the crown.
See more of
this matter in
the English
historiques.

The ancestors
of Robert
Bruce.

The line of
the Balliol
which his title
to the crowne.

Gilpat
other sp
Scotland

Gilcon
spoke
countie

Robert
late lord
Galloway

Fr. Thins.

Buchanan.

Wil. Paruus
nameth him
Ethred.

Of this mat-
ter though not
so fullie is
somewhat in-
creased before,
pag. 275.
The crueltie
of one brother
to another.

quench those flames of unkindnesse betwene the
said brethren, and for thit cause with indifferencie
(as he supposed) he ment to pacifie and satisfie each
part, by dividing the inheritance equallie betwene
them. But Gilbert highlie taking this partition in
grudge (because he was eldest, & that the whole inhe-
ritance belonged to him) did with like hatred pursue
both the king and his brother, the one as envious a-
gainst him, and the other as an unequall iudge, in gi-
uing his right from him. Wherefore when king Wil-
liam was taken prisoner of the Englishmen, this
Gilbert being of bold spirit (and now by the kings
misshap out of all danger, being deliuered from the
fear of anie law) began to bitter his conceived ha-
tred till this time couertlie concealed. For upon the
sudden, he took his brother prisoner, put out his eyes,
cut out his tongue, and not contented with a simple
death (to be giuen vnto him at one instant) did most
miserable a long time together put him to paine, by
dismembzing the severall parts of his bodie, before
he should die. After which wretched fact against his
owne brother, he joined himselfe to the English na-
tion, and taking prizes on the borders, he did unna-
turallie and traitorously (as it were an utter ene-
mie to his countie) rage against his owne citizens,
with all kind of murder and slaughter of battell. In
which he did such harme, and so great oppression, as if
he had not bene resisted by his nephue Rowland (ga-
thering a strong power to him of such common peo-
ple as remained stedfast in dutifull obedience to the
imprisoned king) he had utterlie spoiled all the coun-
tries adjoining to England, or else would wholie
haue brought them into his subiection. For this
Rowland a lustie young gentleman, bold of spirit, in-
dowed with noble strength of mind and bodie, did not
onelie beat downe the force of his uncle, but did ma-
nie times (and that sometimes most haplie) fight
with the English, when they spoiled his native soile,
or that he made anie invasion into their borders.

Gilpatrick &
other spoile
Scotland.

Gilbert & his
spoile his
countrie.

Wheth him-
selfe lord of
Galloway.

At length when king William was deliuered of
restraint, and returned into Scotland, this Gilbert
(notwithstanding all his former evils) by the media-
tion of his friends, found fauor in the king, and was
pardoned of all his offenses, but yet so as he promi-
sed to make recompense of all such damages as he
had committed; for the sure performance whereof,
he found sufficient pledges to the king. But Gilbert
shortlie after departing this life, they which had ser-
ued vnder him, giuen by continuall vse vnto theft
and blood, did yield themselves to the fauourable pro-
tection of the king of England, either for inconsan-
cie of mind, or fear of punishment, being touched
with remorse of conscience for the euill which they
had before committed. These men thus shadowed vnder
the wings of England, did againe take armes a-
gainst their countrie, vnder the conduct of Gilpa-
trike, Henrie Bennedie, and Samuell, who before
had bene authors and executors to Gilbert, of all
such evils as were by him performed. Against whom
was Rowland sent with an armie, who in a set bat-
tell slue the captaine, and a multitude of both kinds
of the common people. They which escaped the con-
flict, did flee to the refuge of one Gilcombe, capteine
of such persons as liued vpon spoile and pilfering,
who by continuance of followers, & increase of peo-
ple, were now growne to some number, & did wan-
der ouer all Louthian, robbing & spoiling in euery
place where they set foot: and not so content, did from
thence passe into Galloway, where this Gilcombe
took in hand the defense of Gilberts cause (now ut-
terlie forsaken of all men) vnder colour whereof, he
not onelie challenged the inheritance belonging to
Gilbert, but also behaued himselfe as chiefe lord of
all Galloway. At length encountering with this

Rowland in the halends of October (the third mo-
neth after the companie of this Gilbert was be-
fore dispersed) this Gilcombe was valiantlie slaine,
with the greatest number of his followers, by the
said Rowland, on whose part there was verie few
missing.

The king of England highlie offended therewith
(because the yere before they had sworn themselves
to serue faithfullie vnder him against their owne
blood) came in haste with a maine armie to Carleill
to seeke reuenge thereof. Which when William king
of Scots vnderstood, he laboured by all the means
he could, to appease the king of Englands displea-
sure, and to reconcile this Rowland vnto him. In the
end the king of Scots wrought so with the Eng-
lish, that Rowland was admitted to come to Car-
leill to the presence of the king of England: the which
Rowland did accordingly. At what time before the
king of England, refelling the slanderous accusati-
ons of his aduersaries (and further declaring that he
had done nothing either rashlie, or vnjustlie against
his and the common wealths enemie) he was hone-
rable by the English king suffered to depart from
Carleill. These things thus done, & king William
returned into Scotland, he called to remembrance
the continuall constancie and good seruice, which
thred the father of Rowland had manie times done
to him and to the realme; herewithall not forget-
ting the worthie exploits which this Rowland had of
late performed for the common wealth: for which
considerations he worthilie recompensed the said
Rowland, in bestowing on him the whole countrie
of Galloway. And further (although he did not me-
rit the same by reason of his fathers euils) yet the
king mildlie considering, that the sonne was not to
beare the offense of the father (but hoping by this vn-
deserued liberalitie, to bind him faithfullie to serue
him) did giue the lands of Carrike vnto the sonne of
the said Gilbert. All which William Parvus reporteth
to haue happened in the yere of Christ 1183.

Rowland re-
stoyed to the
fauour of the
king of Eng-
land.

Rowland
made lord of
Galloway.

Carrike giuen
to the sonne of
Gilbert.

Rowland con-
stable of Scot-
land.

Alane lord of
Galloway, &
constable of
Scotland.

Rowland being thus made lord of Galloway,
married the sister of William Horuill constable of
Scotland, who dieng without issue, obtained the
same office by inheritance in right of his wife, from
whome did issue Alane lord of Galloway, and con-
stable of Scotland, by inheritance from his mother,
a valiant gentleman, and such a person as for his no-
table seruice (imploied in Ireland on the behalfe of
John king of England) was rewarded by the said
king with honorable and rich reuenues: for which by
the permission of William king of Scotland, he pro-
fessed himselfe the liege man of John king of Eng-
land, and swore fealtie vnto him. This Alane (as is
before said) married Margaret the elder daughter of
Dauid earle of Huntington, of whome he raised thre
daughters, whereof the eldest being Donnagill, was
married to Balioll, the second to Bruce: in right of
which Donnagill, the sonne of this Balioll challenged
the crowne of Scotland, as descended from the el-
der sister. On the other side Robert Bruce, albeit he
was descended of the yongest daughter to earle Da-
uid, yet was he come of the first issue male, for his fa-
ther was first borne, and therefore if king William
had decessed without issue, the crowne had descen-
ded to him: for which consideration he maintained
that he ought now to be preferred. Hastings also for
his part, because he was come of the yongest daugh-
ter of king Dauid, married to his father Henrie Ha-
stings, wanted not allegations to propone, why he
ought to be admitted. Beside these, there were other
also, that made claime to the crowne of Scotland,
and had matter sufficient to mainteine their sute.
This controuersie being brought before the gouer-
nors, was at sundrie times argued with much con-
sention,

The title of
Robert Bruce

Hastings.

The doubt of
the governours

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.

The title
doubtfull.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.
The nobles
swear to
stand to the or-
der of king
Edward.

This report
of the Scottish
writers smel-
leth altogether
of malice con-
ceined against
him, for that
he scourged
them to force
for their
intrusings.

Respect of
persons in de-
ciding contro-
versies is not
to be confide-
red.

tention, not without the assistance of the nobles fauoring the parties, as occasion of friendship or kinred moued them, namelie Balioll and Bruce had no small number that leaned vnto their parts; by reason whereof, the governours were in doubt to proceed to any definite sentence in the matter, least if they declared one of them king, an other would attempt to usurpe the crowne by force.

Whereupon they iudged it best to referre the decision of all this whole matter to some mightie king, which was of puissance able to constrain the parties repugnant to obeye his sentence. Wherevnto was none thought so meet as Edward king of England, and therefore they chose him. [Of whose faith and loue towards them, they did not anie whit mistrust, because Alexander the last king of Scots had found the father of this Edward, both a louing father in law to himselfe, and by right tutor to his realme. Wherevnto also they ioined this cause of hope in king Edward, for that the said Edward had of late before tried the fauor of the Scots towards him, by a singular testimony, in that they so easilie consented to ioine the heire of Scotland with the son of the said Edward.] Whereupon king Edward toke this charge vpon him, as competent iudge, & promised by a certain day to come vnto Berwik, willing that their counsell might be assembled there against that time. At his coming thither, at the day assigned, and hauing heard what could be said on each part, and thoroughlie considering at length their allegations, he perceiued the same doubtfull, and required a longer time to discuss the truth by good aduise of counsell: and therefore required to haue twelue Scottishmen, the best learned and most skilfull lawiers of all the realme to be associat with twelue Englishmen, which he promised to choose forth of the most perfect and wisest clerks that might be found within all his dominions, to the intent that by their ripe and aduised debating of the matter, the truth might appere, according to the which he minded to giue sentence, without fauor either of one part or other. [Before which he toke a solemn oth of the ambassadoers of Scotland, and such nobles as were there to stand to his definitive sentence, further thereupon requiring a writing to be made, sealed with the scales of the same nobles.] After when all such matters and proses as were proposed by the parties, alledged by them for furtherance of their titles were put in writing, as matter of record, he returned backe againe into England.

¶ Where the Scottish writers report, that king Edward bled himselfe nothing byrightlie in this matter, but accordinglie (as it often happeneth) had the eyes of his conscience blinded, vpon hope to gaine somewhat by this credit thus to him committed. But how vntrustlie he is slandered in this behalfe, I leave to the indifferent readers to consider, by conferring that which the Scots doe write thereof, with that which is to be found in our English historie. But to proceed as we find it in the Scottish writers. King Edward was to be satisfied in knowledge of the truth, sent into France for men learned and of great experience in the lawes, that he might haue their opinions in the demands of the parties for their doubtful rights. But (saith Hector Boetius) he first commanded them in no wise to agree vpon any resolute point, but rather to varie in opinions, that when the place should seeme doubtfull by reason of their contrarietie in deciding thereof, he might the better vnderstand that colour, giue iudgement with which partie he thought most expedient to serue his purpose.

Wholbeit the most part of the lawiers iudged with Robert Bruce, both for the worthines of his person, and also for that he was come of the first issue male. But some there were that gaue sentence with John

Balioll, for that he was descended of the eldest sister. King Edward supposing this to be the time most conuenient for his purposed intention to conquer the realme of Scotland, returned to Berwik, where he had appointed the 24 learned men before specified, to be present, that final sentence might be giuen, according as he had before promised. When he was come thus vnto Berwik, and the foresaid 24 learned lawiers assembled as assistants with him, and the parties appearing before him in a chamber provided for the purpose, he caused the doores to be suerlie kept, and the entries strongly warded, that no man might come in or out, but by his appointment and licence. His purpose was to make him king, that would be fittest to hold the crowne of Scotland of him, as superiour lord thereof. And because he knew that Robert Bruce was a man of singular manhood and wisdom, he thought best to assaie him first, and if he found him not conformable to his purpose, then he minded to trie what the Balioll would doe.

When Robert Bruce had the sight heare of king Edwards motion, he answered that he desired the libertie of his countrie, more than his private profit, and therefore minded not to deliuer his countrie (which euen to that day had bene it) into the bondage and seruitude of the Englishmen. King Edward perceiuing his stoutnesse of stomack, brake off with him, and fell in talke with the Balioll, who had such blind desire to attaine the crowne, that he passed not whether he ioined the same in libertie or seruitude, so he might haue it. Whereupon when this Balioll had giuen his faith by assured oath vnto king Edward, that he would doe homage vnto him for the realme of Scotland, and acknowledge to hold the same of him as superiour lord, king Edward gaue sentence with him, to haue most right to the crowne and realme of Scotland, now thus in controuersie.

It is said, that the earle of Gloucester, a man of great prudence and authoritie in England (seeing the Balioll thus made king, and Robert Bruce with out reason put backe) spake in this sort to king Edward: O king, remember what is done by thee this day, sparing to giue righteous sentence in this matter; for though the same be now couered and hid, it shall be reuealed, when the great iudge that searcheth consciences, and the secrets of euery mans mind, shall cause thee to answer for it at the dreadfull day of that vniuersall iudgement: thou hast now giuen sentence on a king, but then shall iudgement be giuen on thee.

Shortlie after, John Balioll went in great arraie vnto Scone, where he was crowned king of Scotland on saint Andrewes day, in the yere from the incarnation 1292. In the yere next ensuing, on saint Stephens day in Christmase, he came to Perthcassell vpon Tine, and there did homage vnto king Edward for the realme of Scotland, contrarie to the mind and consent of all his nobles, for that by this meanes, he seemed to submit his realme (which had remained in freedom vnto those dates) into the seruitude of the Englishmen: but small felicitie succeeded thereof. And here it appeareth by Buchanan, that the nobilitie of Scotland, which held with Balioll, did also their homage: for being farre from home, they durst not contend against the power of two kings. Whereof some taking it grieuouslie in their hart, dissembled with the present time, and couered their anger vnder the cinders of a faire countenance, which yet in the end burst out, notwithstanding this painted shew. For the declaration and proofe thereof, there was shortlie after occasion offered to Spakniffe, by the death of the earle of Fife, being (in the time when there was no king) made one of the first governours of the realme: for this earle was not onelie killed by these of Abirneschie (which

Fr. Edward
commeth to
Berwik.

The purpose
of king Ed-
ward, as the
Scots doe
vnto him, is
port.

The answer
of Robert
Bruce.

The Balioll
promiseth to
doe homage to
king Edward

The saying of
the earle of
Gloucester (as
the Scots
write, but not
like to be
true.)
King Ed-
ward was no
man so to be
dealt with.

John Balioll
crowned king
of Scotland.
1292.

John Balioll
doth homage
to king Ed-
ward.

So say the
Scottish writers,
but how
trulie, read
more heretofore
in England.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan. li. 8.

John
king
died
short
time
after
the
1
of
a
year

3
re

8

9
6

(which familie did then greatlie flourish in riches and authoritie within Scotland) but the brother also of the said earle was called into law by the Abirneithians, for whom the king in assemble of the states did give sentence against the other. This Patrick after the land whereof the contention grew was so adjudged, supposing therein the king to be more brutish against him than was cause, and that the king was not so fene a reneger of his brothers death, as he hoped that he would be; forsooke the Balioll, and appealed to the king of England, before whom he commended his sute against Balioll. The deciding whereof was appointed to be holden at London, there was an assemble of parliament of the nobilitie, after the English manner, amongst whom this Balioll had his place also.

The parliament begun and Balioll there summoned or cited, would have answered by his proctor or attorney: but this (not being allowed) Balioll was compelled to rise out of his seat, and to defend his cause himselfe in an inferior place. Which contumelie when he durst not at anie time redresse, secretly he still bare in mind, untill fit oportunitie might answer the reuenge thereof. But when he would, and then could not deliuer himselfe of such disgrace; he returned home with a mind of deablie anger, rolling mounteins of choler therein, who still bending himselfe on euerie side to satisfie his anger, dwelled on this point; how he might reconcile the hearts of his subiects: and offend the state of the English. Whilst Balioll with this meditation was feeding his hot stomach, a fit means was now offered to performe his desire, by reason of the wars newlie growen betwene England and France, as after shall appeare. For vpon this occasion of wars, king Edward of England commanded this Balioll by tenure of his land, & tenure of his homage, to come with all the power he could prepare to aid him in his warres against the king of France.)

King John Balioll incontinentlie heretofore became repentant, in that he had indangered himselfe thus by doing his homage; and thereupon sent his ambassadores to king Edward, as then sojourning at London, to renounce his act touching the same homage, alledging that for so much as it was done without the aduise of the three estates of Scotland, it was of no strength in it selfe, and not mete to be obserued being done by force; for which cause he would renounce his friendship and alliance, as well for manie other iniuries done vnto him and his; as for that he would seeke to restore his countrie to his former libertie. Which message when none of the better sort durst take in hand to execute, a certeine monke (as other haue the abbat of Alberghie) caried these letters into England, vpon the receipt whereof, king Edward answered the ambassadores (whom he taxted with innumerable contumelies) that since we perceiue (saith he) your king will not come vnto vs, we intend hostile to come vnto him, therewith the ambassadores departed. Butus (saith Buchanan) could scarcele returne home in safetie: being at his returne into Scotland rather had in contempt of his owne people, than anie not reuerted for such an ambassage.

After this, king Edward the better to accomplish his purpose against the Scots, found means to conclude a peace with the king of France, and for the more confirmation of the same peace, the French kings daughter was giuen in marriage vnto king Edward his sonne.ouertheless (as saith the Scottish chronicle) he purposed (when he had wrought his will once against the Scots) to invade France as secretly as before, notwithstanding anie bond of amitie or marriage by him contracted. After this, he

procured the friendship of Robert Bruce, and vpon promise (as it is to be thought) to make him king, the same Robert deliuered into king Edward his hands all such castles as he held in Scotland. John Balioll the Scottish king, vnderstanding that king Edward minded to make a conquest vpon him, sent William bishop of saint Andrews, and Matthew bishop of Dunkeld, with sir John Sotolis, and sir Ingram Chirstraine into France, to renew the ancient league betwixt him and Philip the fourth, as then king of France; which accordingly was done: and for the more corroboration thereof, the eldest daughter of Charles earle of Flanders and Anjou, brother to king Philip, was promised in marriage vnto Edward Balioll, the sonne of king John, which Edward should inioy lands of yearelie rents & reuenues to the summe of fiftene hundred pounds sterling, in places not of the demelines belonging to the crowne, as Wallienille, Dampierre, Warecourt, and Horneis, which his father held in France with Lanarke, Riston, Daldeleie, Cuninghame, and the castell of Dundee, with the appurtenances in Scotland: and hereto was annexed a prauise, that if those seignories and places exceeded the value of fiftene hundred pounds of yearelie reuenues, then should the surplusage remaine to the king of Scotland: but if the same amounted not to that summe, then should the said king make them good, and supplie the same with other rents in Scotland, or otherwise, as should be thought meet. And further, the said summe of fiftene hundred pounds in yearelie rent was assigned as it were the dower of the said ladie, to inioy to hir selfe during hir life after hir husbands deceasse, if hir hap were to suruiue him.

In consideration whereof, king Philip covenanted to content and pay vnto king John in name of the marriage mone, the summe of 40000 crownes, or (as other write) 25000 pounds Turinois. The charter containing the articles, covenants, and agreements of this marriage and league aboue mentioned, beareth date at Paris, the 23 day of October, in the yeare of our Lord 1295. And the letters procuratorie made by king John to the said bishop of saint Andrews, & the other his associates, bare date at Striueling, the third nones of Iulie the same yeare. Hostlie heretupon, king John was aduertised that king Edward purposed to come and besiege Berwik; wherefore by aduise of his nobles he sent the most part of all the lords and gentlemen of Fife and Louthian vnto Berwik, to defend the towne against the enimie, if he came to besiege it. The Englishmen came not onelie with a mightie power by land, but also with a great naue by sea towards the said towne of Berwik. Of whose coming the Scots being aduertised, came forth against those that approached by sea, took 17 of their ships, and chased awaie the residue.

King Edward rather prouoked than feared with this misadventure, came with a farre greater puissance than before, to renew the siege: but when he perceiued his purpose took not so speedie effect as he hoped it should haue done, he deuised how to take this towne by some slightfall policie. Whereupon he feined as though he would haue broken by his siege, and so raising his campe, withdrew a little from the towne, and then hauing provided banners and ensignes, resembling altogether such as diuerse noble men in Scotland used, he suddenly returned toward the towne, euerie one of his souldiers wearing a a crosse of saint Andrews aboue on their harnesse, after the manner of the Scottishmen. There were also sent before vnto the towne, certeine Scots that serued the king of England, which gaue knowledge to the captaine within the towne, that their lord king

Ex chron. A. 1
bindon, as I
take it.

Heclor Boe-
rius.
Abindon.

1295.

The gentles-
men of Fife,
and Louthian
sent to Ber-
wik to de-
fend it against
the English-
men.

English ships
taken at Ber-
wik.

Berwik be-
sieged.

The policie of
king Edward
to win Ber-
wik.

Edward
misch to
Berwik.

for purpose
ing Ed-
ward, as the
cousin
Balioll
said.

he answer
Robert
Bruce.

he Balioll
misch to
homage to
ing Edward

he saving of
e earle of
locheil (as
e Scots
rite, but not
e to be
ie.)
ing Ed-
ward was no
an to be
ait with,

ohn Balioll
droned king
Scotland,
1292.

ohn Balioll
th homage
king Ed-
ward,
so say the
scottish scrip-
s, but how
ulie, read
ore heretof
England.
Thin.
achana. li. 8.

John Balioll
king of
Scots an-
swered a state
counsel as
against him in
the parliament
of England
as an inferior
person should.

John Balioll
repenteth him

Fr. Thin.

Ambassadors
into England

The league
renewed be-
twixt France
and Scot-
land.

The Scots
deceived and
intrapped.

The crueltie
of the Eng-
lishmen.

Berwik is
wonne.

The 29 of
March being
good friday.
1295. H. B.
The abun-
dance of blood
spilled.
Streames
augmented
with blood.

The Scots
discomfited at
Dunbar.

The castell of
Dunbar ren-
dered to king
Edward.

Robert Bruce
occasion of the
overthrow of
Scots at
Dunbar.

Robert Bruce
submittech
himselfe to k.
Edward.

The answer
of king Ed-
ward to Ro-
bert Bruce.

The castles
of Edens-
burgh and
Strueling
wonne.
King John
pauen into

John was coming with his army to the for-
cast. The Scots that were within the towne, believ-
ing it had bene most true; & so opened the gates, and
came forth against the king (as they did before) to
haue received him with all joy and diligence.

But when they came nere vnto the Englishmen,
they perceived both by their language and habit what
they were: but this was not before the Englishmen
were hard at the gates; so that when the Scottishmen
would haue fled backe to haue gotten into the towne a-
gaine, the Englishmen pursued them so fast at the
heelles, that they entered the gates with them, and so
tooke the towne with great slaughter, as well of the
souldiers and men of warre; as also of women, chil-
dren, and aged persons, without all ruth or compas-
sion, so that they left not one creature alive of the
Scottish blood within all that towne. Thus was
Berwik wonne the 20 day of March, in the yere
1296. Such abundance of blood was spilled thro-
rough all parts of the towne (as the Scottish chroni-
cles testifye) that where at the falling tide the water
was not able to rine about the milles; some of the
same milles yet were now at a low water set on gate,
by reason the streames were so highly augmented
with blood. There were slaine aboue thens thousand
persons that day, with the greatest part of all the no-
bles and gentlemen of life and Louthian.

King John hearing of this slaughter of his people
at Berwik, in great desire to be auenged, gathered
his power, and sent the same forth against king Ed-
ward, with whom they met not farre from Dunbar,
and there encountering with him in battell, the Sco-
tish host was discomfited, the most part of the Scots
being either slaine or taken. The earles of March and
Menteth, with 70 knights, fled to the castell of Dun-
bar, but they were besieged so freidly by the Eng-
lish power, maintaining the castell on eche side, that in
the end they were constrained for lacke of vittels to
yeld themselves to king Edward; on condition to
haue their liues saued, which covenant was not ob-
serued; as the Scottish writers affirme: for king
Edward hauing got them into his hands, caused
them forthwith to be put to death. It was reported
that Robert Bruce vpon secret conference had with
king Edward before this battell at Dunbar, sollici-
ted all his friends in the Scottish armie, to flee vpon
the first ioining, which the residue perceiving, were so
discomfited, that incontinentlie they threw awaie
both armor and weapon, and so were vanquished
without resistance.

Truth it is, that after this victorie, Robert Bruce
submitted himselfe vnto king Edward, requiring
him to performe his promise touching the right which
he had to the crowne of Scotland; howbeit he recei-
ued no answer to his liking touching that request;
for k. Edward had no lesse desire to intop the king-
dome of Scotland, than Bruce, as the Scottish wri-
ters affirme. Therefore to cast off Robert Bruce
concerning his demand, he answered thus, as is
said; Belicuest thou that we haue nothing else to do
but to conquere realmes, and to deliuer them ouer
again vnto thee? Robert Bruce hereby perceiving
the subtle meaning of k. Edward, returned right
sorrowfull vnto his lands in England, hauing great
indignation in his mind, that he had obeyed king
Edwards requests: but yet considered with him-
selfe that he must suffer for the time, till occasion
serued to reuenge the injuries receiued, which he
minded to do, and that in most cruell manner, as af-
terwards it will appeare. King Edward after he
had thus wonne the castell of Dunbar, got likewise
both the castles of Edinburgh and Strueling, and
pursued king John, till he had constrained him to
take for his refuge the castell of Forfaire. Whereby

John Cunningham of Strabogie came to king Ed-
ward, and was sworn his liege man.

Should he after, by a politike practise of the same
John Cunningham, king John with his sonne Edward
came to Forfaire, where perceiving himselfe un-
willing to be fallen into the hands of king Edward,
through feare of death which he doubted by reason of
the menacing words of king Edward, he suffered
himselfe to be spoiled of all his kinglie abillments,
and with a white wand in his hand (as the manner is)
presented himselfe before king Edward, resigning
there vnto him all his right and title which he had to
the crowne of Scotland, utterlie renouncing the
same both for him and his heires for euer. Whereof
was a charter made in most sufficient wise, confir-
med with the hand and seale of king John, and other
the nobles of Scotland substantiallie as might
be deuised, bearing date the fourth yere of his
reigne. After this, king Edward assembled all the
lords and barons of Scotland at Berwik, where he
caused them to be sworn his liege men, and to do
homage vnto him as to their soueraigne lord and
supreme gouernor. Which William Dowglas (a
man of noble birth and famous for his deeds) re-
fused to do, and for his obstinacie was cast into prison,
where after a few yeres he ended his life. And for
the more fluencie of their allegiance, he constrained
them to surrender into his hands all the strengths &
holds of the realme, both as well those that stood on
the sea coasts, as also such other as were situat in the
inner parts of the countrie.

These things done, and order taken in each be-
halfe as was thought requisite for the quiet keeping
of the countrie, he sent king John and his sonne
Edward Baliol vnto London, where they were
kept in strong ward; till at length he suffered the
said king John to returne into Scotland: but lea-
uing still his sonne in pledge behind him, least he
should attempt anie new rebellion after his depar-
ture; which after was deliuered at the request of the
pope. King John vpon his returne into Scotland,
perceiving that he was in the hatred both of his
lords and commons, he withdrew againe of his
owne accord into England, forsaking wholie the
administration of the Scottish dominion, and final-
lie went ouer into Normandie to his ancient inhe-
ritance and lands there, where at length falling
blind, and wasting away by long age, he departed
out of this world in the castell Galliard, leauing
those lands which he possessed on that side the sea, vnto
his sonne Edward Baliol, who being released
out of captiuitie, was come ouer to his father be-
fore his deccasse.

In the meane time, king Edward hauing well in
remembrance the warres which he had intended to
make against France, had he not bin staied through
the businesse of Scotland, purposed now to pursue
the same with all diligence; & therefore garnishing
all the strengths & forts in Scotland to withstand
the Scots, if they attempted anie rebellion against
him in his absence, he appointed Hugh Cressing-
ham regent there, whilst he should be occupied in
France, which Cressingham before was treasurer.
Then hauing provided a great nauie of ships, he
passed ouer into France, trusting that the Scots
would not stir, sith they had of late sustained so ma-
nie overthrowes and sore losses one after an other by
the last wars: but tyrannie is of such a nature, that
by no kind of prouision it may anie long time be
suerlie defended. For those people that be oppressed
by anie tyrannicall seruitude, will not faile to take
to deliuer themselves from the yoke of that impos-
sible burden when soener opportunitie of time and
occasion serueth. Therefore the lords of Scotland
hauing

the castell of
Forfaire.

John Baliol
king of Scot-
land resigneth
all his right
to king Ed-
ward.

A charter.

Homage of the
barons of
Scotland to
king Edward

Fr. Thim.

The holds of
Scotland de-
liuered into
king Edward
his hands.

John Baliol
kept as
prisoner in
England.

He returneth
into Scot-
land.

He renoun-
ceth the admi-
nistration of
Scotland.

He returneth
into France,
and deccassech
in castell Gal-
liard.

King Ed-
ward his
purpose to in-
uade France.

Hugh Cressing-
ham re-
gent of Scot-
land.

King Ed-
ward batten-
ed by the
Scottish wri-
ters of tyrannic.

The
lords
of
Scot-
land.

John

John

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the castell of
oxfaire.

ohn Balliott
king of Scot-
land reighneth
his right
king Ed-
ward.

charter.

omage of the
cross of
Scotland to
king Edward

Thim.

he holds of
Scotland de-
ferred into
king Edward
s hands.

ohn Balli-
ott kept as
isoner in
England.

he returneth
to Scot-
land.

he renoun-
th the admi-
stration of
Scotland.

he returneth
to France,
and decreaseth
the castell of
Glasgow.

king Ed-
ward his
purpose to in-
vade France.

ugh Cref-
tingham re-
cent of Scot-
land.

king Ed-
ward bur-
ned by the
Scottish
kings of
England.

The Scottish
kings assemble
at Strueling.

Two noble go-
verners were
chosen in Scot-
land.

John Cummin.

William Wall-
ace beginneth
his fa-
mous.

Sir Andrew
Wallas-
burgh knight
father
to William
Wallace.

Abbeies of
Scotland in
Englishmens
hands.

Castles won
by William
Wallace.

Dunnoter won
by William
Wallace.

having knowledge that king Edward was passed
over the seas, they got them all together straight-
waies, and assembled in council at Strueling,
where by generall agreement, twelve noble men
were chosen to be governors of Scotland, everie
one in their limits appointed, that they might the
better provide to resist the enimie. Amongest these
governors, John Cummin earle of Buchquhan was
principall, a man of great wisdom and singular
knowledge in all affaires, as well of peace as of war.

This earle of Buchquhan raised a mightie armie,
and with the same entered into Northumberland,
where he wasted with fier and sword all that coun-
trie. After this, he laid siege to Carlisle, but he wan
nothing there, the towne was so well defended. In
that season also, the fame of William Wallace be-
gan to spring, a young gentleman of so huge stature
and notable strength of bodie, with such skill and
knowledge in warlike enterprises, and hereto of
such hardinesse of stomack in attempting all manner
of dangerous exploits, that his match was not anie
where lightlie to be found. He was sonne to one
sir Andrew Wallace of Cragie, knight, and from
his youth bare ever an inward hatred against the
English nation. Sundrie notable feats also he
wrought against the Englishmen in defense of the
Scots, and was of such incredible force at his com-
ming to perfect age, that of himselfe alone, without
all helpe, he would not feare to set upon three or
four Englishmen at once, and vanquish them.

When the fame therefore of his worthie acts was
notified thorough the realme, manie were put in
good hope, that by his means the realme should be
delivered from the servitude of the Englishmen
within short time after. And hereupon a great num-
ber of the Scottish nation as well of the nobilitie as
other, were readie to assist him in all his enterprises.
By reason whereof he might not easilie be intrapped
nor taken of the Englishmen, that went about to
haue got him into their hands. At length, when oc-
casion served to use the helpe of such a notable chief-
teine, he was chosen by generall consent of the Sco-
tishmen as gouernour under John Balliott, to deli-
uer his countrie from bondage of the English na-
tion. At the same time manie abbeies & spirituall be-
nefices in Scotland were in Englishmens hands.
Wherefore, this William Wallace by commis-
sion had of William Frazer bishop of saint An-
drews, avoided and put them forth of all parts
of Scotland, leaving neither temporall nor spiri-
tuall person of their blood within that realme. For
shortlie after, by publike authoritie, he received the
armie that John Cummin earle of Buchquhan had
led before, and constrained those Scots that favored
king Edward, to obey his commandements; in
renouncing all such faith and promise as they had
giuen or made unto him.

This done, he passed forth with great puissance
against the Englishmen, that held sundrie castles
within Scotland; and with great hardinesse & man-
hood he wan the castles of Forfar, Dundee, Brechin
and Spountros, sleaing all such souldiers as he found
within them. Wallace now full of this his prospe-
rous successe, and hearing that certeine of the chief-
est captains and officers of those Englishmen that
kept the castell of Dunnoter, were gone forth to con-
sult with other Englishmen of the Scots next to them
adjoining, came suddenly to the said castell, & toke it,
not leaving a man alive of all those whome he found
as therein within it. Then after he had furnished that
hold with his owne souldiers in most defensible wise,
he went to Aberdeen. The towne he found in manner
void of all the inhabitants, but the castell was so
stronglie garnished with men and munition, that

considering it might not be wonne without great
murther, he raised from thence, and returned into
Angus. King Edward as then being in France,
hearing of these exploits atchieved by this Wallace
his aduersarie, sent diuerse noble captains unto his
lieutenant Hugh Cressingham, with an armie into
Scotland to redresse the matter.

Wallace in the meane time had laid siege vnto
the castell of Couper, but now being aduertised of
the coming of this armie against him, he raised
his siege, & went to Strueling to defend the bridge
there, that Hugh Cressingham with his armie should
not passe the same, according as the report went
his intent was to do. Here encountering with the
enimies, the third Ides of September, he obtained a
verie worthie victorie, for he slue not onelie the force
said Cressingham with a great part of his armie be-
ing passed the river, but also forced the residue to flee,
in such sort, that a great number of them were brow-
ned, and few escaped awaie with life.

Thus hauing
gotten the upper hand of his enimies here at Stri-
ueling, he returned againe to the siege of Couper,
which shortlie after upon his returne thither, was
rendred vnto him by those that were within in gar-
rison. There were manie of the Scottish nobilitie the
same time, that sent vnto him, offering to leaue the
king of Englands part, and to aid him with monie
and vittels, if he would onelie receive them into fa-
uour, whereunto he granted. By which means, sun-
drie other castles were yielded vnto him, the which af-
ter he had garnished with men, munition, and vit-
tels (according as was thought requisite) he brake by
his campe, and went with sundrie of his most faith-
full friends vnto the castell of Strueling.

Afterwards perceiving that through scarcitie of
corne, great dearth arose on each side within the
realme of Scotland, he deuised which way he might
best relieue the peoples necessitie and lacke in that
behalfe, and hereupon he determined to passe with a
mightie armie into England, and to sojourn there
the most part of the winter, in sustaining the whole
number of his men of warre on such provision as
they might find within the bounds of their enimies
countrie. He commanded therefore that all the
Scots, appointed to go with him in that iournee,
should be readie at a certeine day and place pre-
sented. But diuers of the northerne Scots (as they of Aber-
deen and other) for that they disobeyed his comman-
dements set forth by letters and proclamations,
were hanged as rebels and traitors to their coun-
trie. By whose example, other bring put in feare, his
commandements were the better obeyed, so that he
gathering together an huge host of men, he entered
with the same into Northumberland, slaing and
spoiling the countrie euen vnto Newcastle. Thus
putting the enimies in great feare and terror of his
awfull name, he brought his armie backe againe in-
to Scotland, laden with spoile and glorie of their
prosperous atchieued iournee. They entred into Eng-
land (as lo. Maior writeth) about the feast of All
saints, and remained there till Candlemas after, li-
uing still vpon the spoile of the Englishmens goods.

Edward king of England, being informed of the
great slaughter of his people, and what damage the
Scots had done in Northumberland, returned in
great displeasure out of France into England, and
sent his ambassadors vnto Wallace, sore menacing
him, for that he had invaded his realme in such cru-
ell wise in his absence, which he durst (as he sent him
word) full little haue done, if he had bene at home
himselfe. Wallace herevnto answered, that he had
taken the aduantage for the atchiuing of his inter-
prise, touching the inuasion of England, in like sort
as king Edward had done for the conquest of Scot-
land.

Hugh Cref-
tingham sent
into Scotland

Hugh Cref-
tingham slaine
at Strueling
and his armie
discomfited by
William Wal-
lace.
The castell of
Couper rend-
red to Wal-
lace.

Dearth in
Scotland.
The policie
of Wallace to
relieve the
peoples lacke
in time of
dearth.

Disobedience
punished.

Wallace inua-
deth North-
umberland.

Fr. Thim.

Edwards
message vnto
Wallace.

The answer
of Wallace to
Edwards
message as
the Scots
do write.

land, at such time as he was chosen by the nobles of the realme as indifferent iudge in decision of the right and lawfull title of the parties that stroue and were at contention for the crowne. And further, to the end it might appeare vnto king Edward, that he inuaded England in defense of his owne native countrie, and that he was fullie bent to imploie his whole inuencions to deliuer the same from all maner of subiection to any forreine power, and to reuenge the iniuries done to them by the Englishmen in times past; he willed the English ambassadors to declare from him vnto king Edward, that he purposed to hold his Calster in England (if God afforded him life) and that in despite of king Edward, and all such as would beare armes against him.

Wallase entered England with an armie of 30000 men.

And vndoubtedlie according to his promise he kept his day: for assembling together an armie of 30000 men, he entred into England at the time before appointed, where king Edward was ready with an armie vpon Stanesmore, double in number to the Scots, to giue them battell: but when the time came that both parties were ready to haue fought, the Englishmen withdrew, hauing no lust (as should seeme) to fight with the Scots at that time) who perceiving them to giue backe, incontinentlie would haue rushed forth of their ranks to haue pursued in chase after them: but Wallase (doubting least the Englishmen had ment some policie, and sateng (as writeth Io. Ma. lib. 4. cap. 14.) that it was honoz enough for him that he had inforced to mightie a prince in his owne countrie to forsake the field) caused the Scots to keepe together in order of battell, and so preserving them from the deceitfull malice of their enemies, brought them backe into Scotland with lines and honors saued, besides the infinit spoiles and booties which they got in this iornie.

But as in the beginning all men were glad to support Wallase in all exploits and enterprises which he toke in hand, so afterward when his fame began to wax great, to the derogation of other mens renownes, such as were farre his superiours in birth and linage, that fauor which manie bare him at the first, was now turned into enuie, hauing no small indignation, that a man of so base parentage should so surmount them in all honoz and dignitie. Those that enuied him most, were of the Cummins blood, and Robert Bruce. King Edward being aduertised of this enuious grudge, and new sedition amongst the nobles of Scotland, had secret conference by his agents with the chiefe amongst those that thus enuied the high glorie of Wallase, and vpon trust of such practise as was concluded by reason of the same conference, he came with a mightie armie into Scotland, and at Falkirke met with this Wallase, who mistrusting no guile, had raised a power to resist him: but now being come in sight of the Englishmen, there rose a right odious contention betwixt the head captiues, who should haue the leading of the bantgard, which is reputed a most high honoz among the Scottishmen. And among other, John Stewart, and John Cummin, thought scoone, that Wallase a man of so low beginning, should be preferred before them in that honour: but on the other part, Wallase considering that the charge of the whole was giuen vnto him by agrément and consent of the three estates, thought it no reason that he should giue place to anie of them, though vnto his face, as saith Iohn Maior, the lord Stewart had before vppraised him with his pride, comparing him to an otter, which from his originall had begged a feather of euerie bird, and being now enriched with abundance of feathers, did aduance himselfe above all other birds.

In the meane time came the Englishmen vpon

them right fiercelie, before the Scottish chieftiues (hauing their breasts filled with more malice one against another, than with desire to defend their countrie against their enemies) could bring their men into anie perfect arais. Herewith at the coming to the point of ioining, the Cummins with their retinues fled out of the field, and left the residue of the Scots in all the danger. Robert Bruce seruing that day among the Englishmen, fetched a compasse about an hill, and came on the backs of the Scots, so that they were in maner compassed in, and beaten downe on each side: yet Wallase left nothing vndone that might pertaine to the dutie of a valiant captiue. But at length, all his inuencions notwithstanding, the Scots (ouerfet with multitude of enemies, as the Scottish writers affirme) were slaine in such huge numbers, that he was constrained to draw out of the field, which such small remnants as were left alive. The Englishmen pursued fiercelie after him, namely one valiant captiue named Frere Bryan Jaie, a templer, whome Wallase perceiving to be within his danger, stepped forth vnto him, and stue him there in sight (as it is said) of all the English armie. Which valiant act of Wallase caused the Englishmen somewhat to staie, for doubt of further perill by their vnwise pursue likelie to befall them. In this unfortunate battell, there slaine on the Scottish side, John Stewart of Bute, with his Byrondans (for so they name them that are taken vp to serue in the warres forth of the Stewards lands) Spakdusse earle of Fife, with sir John Craham, whose death was much lamented by Wallase, as one whome he highlie esteemed for his great experience in warlike knowledge. Many other noble and valiant men died in this conflict, whose names would be too long to rehearse. This battell was stricken on Marie Magdalens daie, in the yere of our Lord 1298, and therefore the Englishmen haue holden it ever since an happie day for to fight against the Scots.

* When William Wallase was passed the riuer Carran, where he might defend himselfe, and gather his disperfed people, Bruce desired to speake vnto him, which Wallase did not denie. Wherevpon each of them drawing alone by themselves without any arbiters to the bankes of the riuer, in such place as it was narrowest, and they might without anie compante best heare one another, Bruce began to say as followeth: I do much muse, thou most valiant of all men, what came into thy mind to be carried away by the vncertaine fauor of the common people, and to stand against the mightiest king of our age, supported with the greatest forces of the Scots: and daile to offer thy selfe to euerie danger, and that for no reward assured to thee for all thy labors. For if thou shouldst overcome king Edward, the Scots will neuer aduance thee to the kingdome, and if thou be overcome, there resteth no refuge for thee, but onelie the mercie of thine enemy. And dost thou not see the Cummins, and me, and the most of the nobilitie, to follow the English faction? Neither dost thou consider the malice of the princes conceiued against thee: Look vnto thy selfe, and thou hast but a few of the nobles thy partakers, and a small number of the commons (which are more vncertaine than the wind) to follow thee, whose fortune is now almost ouerthrowne. All these words Iohn Maior supposed that Robert Bruce did speake, to serch the mind of Wallase, whether he ment to aspire to the crowne or no: being in deed rather contented that Wallase had left the field, than otherwise to reduce him to the part of king Edward.

To whome Wallase answered in this sort. The end of all my trauell was not to attaine the kingdome;

The Cummins fled.

The Scots discomfited at Falkirke.

Frere Bryan Jaie slaine by the hands of William Wallase.

Nobles of Scotland slaine at the battell of Falkirke.

Marie Magdalens day prosperous for the hands of the Englishmen to fight against the Scots.

Fr. Thin. Iohn Maior lib. 4. cap. 14. Buchan. lib. 8. Lelless epist. Rosli. 6. p. 235. Conference betwene Wallase & Bruce.

Wallase is enuied.

K. Edward inuadeth Scotland.

Wallase raiseth a power to resist him.

Strife for the leading of the bantgard.

come; for my birth and fortune neither did or could
 deserue it, and my mind did neuer desire it: but the
 negligent slouth of thæ (to whome the right of that
 diademe doth apperteyne, and who doth graciously hunt
 thereafter) made my citizens (perceiuing themselves
 destitute of faithfull gouernours) to follow me, and
 caused me (when I saw them in that miserie, rather
 butcherlie to me, than in honest seruitude to be op-
 pressed) to seeke for libertie. Which suerlie I had ob-
 teined for them and you, if the nobilitie had not so
 euillie striued against me, restrained themselves for
 comming into the field, and had but sent their hinds
 (which till their land) forth to the battell, at which
 time I had scarce 10000 men, & those of comon sort.
 Trulle if the princes had not bene impediment
 thereto, I could haue brought forth to fight a hun-
 dred thousand bold and cherefull souldiers. But now
 in truth I perceiue the hatred of the nobles against
 me this day. Wherefore if thou pretend to possesse the
 kingdome, I giue thee faithfull warning, especiallie
 to beware of the Cumins: who if they had more re-
 garded the glorie of their countrie, than of secret ma-
 lice to others, would not so wickedlie haue forsaken
 the field, that hate soeuer they had conceived against
 me. If they haue giuen their faith to the king of
 England, they are not bound to keepe it: in a wic-
 ked promise no oth is to be performed. I am now
 wearie of my life, and rather desire to die, than to
 liue in this sort, to see the miserie of my beloued coun-
 trie. Wherefore embrace you this thraldome (which is
 so much esteemed of you) to whome all this seruitude
 with ease seemeth more pleasant, than honest libertie
 with danger: for I had rather chuse willing death
 with freedom (in which I meane to spend my blood)
 than to do as you haue done, because the loue of my
 countrie shall not depart from my hart, before the
 life of my bodie depart from his office. Which being
 said, Busse burst forth in teares, considering the no-
 bilitie of the mind of Wallace, although perhaps he
 nothing misliked the misfortune of the man, as doub-
 ting the end of all his pretense to be, to attaine to the
 crowne. This being thus done, they both depart to
 their companies. By which conference (saith Leslee
 bishop of Ross) this god was wrought to Scot-
 land (to recompense the ouerthrow of Falkirk) that
 Wallace partlie by the bitterness of his wounds, and
 partlie for the loue of his countrie, did now drave
 Busse from the English, to take part with the
 Scots.)

1298.

Wallace re-
nounceth his
office.Philip king
of France.

A truce.

Scottish am-
bassadors sent
to pope Boni-
face.

But notwithstanding all these valiant speeches of
 Wallace, when he considered the infortunat discom-
 fture by him so treacherously receiued, he came to
 Perth, and there uttering by complaint the inur-
 tuous enuie of the nobles against him, he renounced
 and discharged himselfe of all the authoritie which had
 bene committed to his hands, touching the gouer-
 nance of the realme, and went into France, as saith
 Leslee. But Iohannes Maior saith, that he neuer
 came there, although he will not flatlie denie it. The
 same time, Philip king of France, the fourth of that
 name, and surnamed le Beau, hauing great ruth in
 his hart for the miserable calamities thus chanced to
 his ancient confederat friends the Scots, and that
 chiefe for the quarrell of France, sent his ambassa-
 dors vnto Edward king of England, who had lately
 before married his daughter, requiring that there
 might be some peace or abstinence of warre granted.
 At his request therefore a truce was taken betwixt
 the Scots and Englishmen, to indure from the feast
 of All saints, till the feast of Pentecost next follow-
 ing.

The Scots in the meane time soze oppressed by rea-
 son of long warres, sent ambassadors to pope Boni-
 face, in presenting a verie gracious complaint vnto

him, for the great affliction done to them by king
 Edward, who was fullie bent by inuicious meanes
 (as they alledged) to conquer their realme, and there-
 fore they besought him to constrain king Edward
 by vertue of his prerogative, which he pretended to
 haue ouer the realme of England, to stand to his or-
 der in deciding the right concerning the liberties of
 Scotland, which might no other waies be determi-
 ned, but by intollerable damage falling to the people
 through blind desire and conetons ambition of the
 nobles, contending for the crowne. The pope (as is
 said) after he had by god and deliberat aduise heard
 the matter, gaue sentence with the Scots, that they
 had iust cause of warres in defense of the liberties of
 their countrie, against k. Edward and his fautors.
 ¶ But for this matter, loke in the English chroni-
 cles, where it shall well appere, that the pope by these
 letters of king Edward, was fullie satisfied of his
 superiortie ouer Scotland.

The opinion
of the pope.

The Scots somewhat recomforted herewith,
 hostile hereupon chose John Cummin to their gouer-
 nor, in purpose to trie with the Englishmen for their
 liberties. Whereof king Edward being aduertised,
 sent forthwith an armie into Scotland, which passed
 through the countrie to saint Johns towne, with
 great damage of those that were aduoged rebels to
 king Edwards empire. All the countrie in manner
 vnto Forth, at this season was subiect to the Eng-
 lishmen, sauing such few of the inhabitants, as liued
 within the wodes, hauing more regard to the ancient
 liberties of their countrie, than to anie desire of pre-
 seruing their gods or liues. John Cummin therefore,
 desirous to redresse this heauie miserie and lamenta-
 ble case of his countrie, admitted Simon Fraser
 fellow with him in the administration of the warres
 against the Englishmen, and therewith gathering
 an armie of eight thousand hardie men of warre, set-
 teth in hand to reuenge the inuious doings of the
 enemies, chasing out of the realme all such officers
 with their seruants, as king Edward had placed in
 anie romes within the bounds of Scotland; and such
 as resisted, he pursued in most cruell wise, not spa-
 ring to put them vnto the sword in all places, where
 he might find them.

John Cummin
the younger
elected gouer-
nor of Scot-
land.
An armie of
Englishmen
sent into
Scotland.King Ed-
wards offi-
cers chaced
out of Scot-
land.

King Edward soze kindled in displeasure with
 these attempts of such desperat persons, raised an
 armie of thirtie thousand men, and sent the same in-
 to Scotland, vnder the leading of a verie stout and
 valiant capteine, named Radulph or Rafe Constraie.

Scotland as
gane invaded

This Radulph at his comming into Scotland, toke
 small regard to the ordering of his field, but diuided
 his armie into thre parts, euerie part containing
 ten thousand men, and appointed them to passe forth
 to forrate the countrie, and to meet altogether at Ro-
 sin, in such sort and time as he prescribed. John Cu-
 min and Simon Fraser being aduertised hereof,
 gathered their powers togither, to the number of
 seven or eight thousand men, and determined to trie
 the chance of battell with one part of the English ar-
 mie first, trusting that if they happened to haue the
 vpper hand of one of the thre parts, the other two
 would be the more easie to deale with. The Scottish
 captains resolved thus vpon that point, exhorted
 their people to remember how they were to fight in
 defense of their wiues, their children, their gods, and
 liberties of their countrie, against such as sought to
 bring them into thraldome and vile seruitude.

Radulph Co-
straie.I remember
not that anie
of the Eng-
lish nobilitie
bare this sur-
name in those
daies, where-
fore I thinke
it was the
lord John
Sagraue.
John Cummin
and Simon
Fraser.

With which words the Scots were so imboldered,
 that minding either to die or to win the victorie, they
 gaue the onset so fiercelie on their enemies, that the
 first battell of the Englishmen was quicklie ouer-
 throwen and banquished. But scarce had they ga-
 thered the spoile, when an other part of the English
 men came vpon them with more fiercenesse than the

The first bat-
tell of the
Englishmen
ouerthrowen.

The second
battell ouer-
come.

other before: neuertheless, the Scots encouraged with their fresh wanne victorie, got themselves speedie into arraie, & receiued their enemies with such incredible manhood, that they had quickly got the upper hand of these also. But scarce had they made an end with this second battell, when the third part was at hand ready to charge them, being now sore infatigled, what thorough wearinesse and wounds receiued in the two former encounters, besides the want of such of their numbers as were slaine: yet by exhortation of their capitains, and the valiant presence of the officers of bands beside, they rushed forth on their enemies with such earnest forwardnesse to receiue them, that after a verie sharpe bickering, they put the whole number of them to flight. Few of the Englishmen had escaped the Scottishmens hands, had they not bene so wearied with continuall fight, that they were not able to follow any great waie in the chase.

The third
battell of the
Englishmen
vanquished at
Roslin.

1302.

The matter
is amplified
by the Scots
to the utter-
most.

This victorie fell to the Scots in manner as is before rehearsed, vpon saint Matthewes day; in the yere after the birth of our Saviour 1302. The glorie of this victorie was great, considering that thirtie thousand Englishmen well furnished, & throughly appointed for warre, should be thus in one day vanquished with an handful of Scottishmen. For as their histories make mention, they passed not eight thousand at the most: and therefore all men supposed that it came to passe by the singular fauour and grace of almightie God. But yet the Scots did not long enjoy the benefits of so notable a victorie. For king Edward hearing of this discomfiture of his people at Roslin, gathered a mightie armie of Englishmen, Gascoignes, Irishmen, and such Scots as toke his part, and hauing all his furniture and purueiance ready both by sea and land, he set forward with the same to invade the Scots on each side. The Scots perceiving they were not of puissance able to resist his inuasion, withdrew to their strengths: by means whereof the English armie passed through all Scotland, euen from the south parts to the north, & found few or none to make resistance, except Wallace, and such as followed his opinion, which were fled to the mounteins and woods, to eschue the malice of the Englishmen.

The great
preparation of
king Edward
to invade the
Scots.

The Scots
withdrew to
their holds.
The English
armie passeth
thorough Scot-
land from the
south parts to
the north.

Is. Edward
sendeth vnto
Wallace.

Wallace re-
fuseth the offers
of Is. Edward

It is said, that king Edward required by a messenger sent vnto this Wallace, that if he would come in and be sworne his liege man and true subiect, he should haue at his hands great lordships and possessions within England, to mainteine his port as was requisite to a man of verie honorable estate. But Wallace refused these offers, saieing that he preferred libertie with small revenues in Scotland, before any possession of lands in England, were the same neuer so great; considering he might not enjoy them, but vnder the yoke of bondage. The castell of Sterling at the same time was in the keeping of one sir William Uthred knight, who would not render it to king Edward by any summons or other meanes, till after thre moneths siege he was constrained to giue it ouer vnder these conditions: That all persons being within the castell, should depart by safe conduct with bagge and baggage at their pleasure. Neuertheless king Edward caused the said sir William Uthred to be conueted to London, where he remained as prisoner manie yeres after.

The castell of
Sterling ren-
dered.

This Uthred
the Scottish
bookes name
Wifes.

Sundrie other castles were taken by force the same time by king Edward, and all such as resisted, being found within any of them, slaine without mercie or ranfome. Amongest other, the castell of Arghard in Murray land was taken by force, and not one left alieue that was found in the same (one gentlewoman onlie excepted) who being great with

The castell of
Arghard ta-
ken by force.

child, was in that respect preferred. She was the wife of Alexander Boyis, lord of that house, though by reason she was got into poore apparell, the Englishmen toke hir but for some other woman of meaner estate. She therefore with hir life saued, being suffered to depart, got hir ouer into Ireland, where she was deliuered of a son, that was named at the font-stone Alexander, who when Scotland was receiued out of the Englishmens hands, came to king Robert le Bruce, requiring him to be restored vnto his fathers heritage, being as then in the occupation of other possessors. King Robert doubtfull what to do herein, for he thought it neither conuenient that a prince should take lands or possessions from noble men, which had bene giuen to them in reward of their manhood, thewed in defense of the realme; neither iudged he it reason to keepe him from his rightfull inheritance that had lost his father, his friends, and all his whole substance in the like cause and quarrell by iniurie of the common enemies.

Wherefore to qualifie the matter, he deuised this meane: he gaue vnto this Alexander Boyis certeine other lands in Mar, nothing lesse in value (considering the largenesse and fertilitie) than the other of Arghard were: and willed him to content himselfe with those, in recompence of such as belonged to his father: to the intent that all parties might be satisfi- ed, and no man should seeme to haue wrong in being deprived of his rightfull possessions. This Alexander Boyis had afterwards his name changed, and was called Forbesse, for that he due a beare in those parties, by great and singular manhood. And so the surname of the Forbesses had beginning, as descended from him. Scotland being subdued by the mightie puissance of king Edward, he went about to aboli- all the old statutes and ancient constitutions of the realme, trusting by that meanes, that Scots living together with Englishmen, vnder one vni forme manner of lawes, they should finallye fort themselves to be of one mind and opinion, as well touching the supreme gouernement of their publike weale, as also in all other things, touching the friendlie societie of life.

He burnt all the chronicles of the Scottish nation, with all manner of bookes, as well those contain- ing diuine seruice, as any other treatises of pro- fane matters, to the end that the memorie of the Scots should perish: and thereto appointed grie- uous punishments for them that should disobey his commandements herein, in keeping any of the said bookes vndeceit. And he ordeined also, that the Scots should occupie church bookes after the vse of Sarum, and none other. Moreover, he compelled all such Scottishmen as were of any singular know- ledge in learning or literature, to be resident in Ox- ford, doubting least the Scottish nobilitie increasing in politike prudence by their instructions, should seeke to throw off the yoke of bondage. Thus king Edward going about (as the Scottish writers do re- port) to extinguishe the name of Scots, together with their rule and empire, passed through the most part of all the bounds of Scotland. And vpon verie hate which he had to the Scottish antiquities, at his com- ming to Camelon, he commanded the round temple standing ouer against the same, to be throwne downe, which was builded (as before is shewed) in the hono- of Claudius the emperour, and the goddesse Victoria. But for that his commandement was not immedi- atlie put in execution, he changed his purpose, and appointed onelie that the monuments of Claudius, with the superscription of his name, should be taken a waie; and in place thereof, the armes of king Ar- thur, with his name to be set vp; commanding the place to be called Arthurs hoif (as ye would say) Ar- thurs

The begin-
ning of the
name of the
Forbesses.

Chronicles
and other
bookes burnt

Scottishmen
learned, com-
manded to be
resident in
Oxford.

The temple of
Victoria
was at Col-
chester, and
not in Scot-
land, whatfoe-
uer Hector
Boetius or o-
ther dreame
thereof.
Arthurs hoif.

The
chroni-
cles
Eng-
lish
men
The
of
the
Scotts

Wall
chue-
gers
Eng

And
the
Scotts
and
king

Cor-
bett
Cul-
bi

In
of
a
bet-
ter
ton
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It
do

C
lei
ip

It
is

thys court.

The marble
chire is con-
nate into
England, and
placed in west
minster.
The nobilitie
of Scotland
sworne to R.
Edward.

Wallace ef-
fectueth to as-
sone with the
Englishmen.

Adonard or
Dunard gover-
nor of Scot-
land under
king Edward

Conference
betwixt
Cumin and
Bruce.

Indentures
of agreement
betwixt Cu-
min & Bruce,
touching the
conspiracie.

les
r
went

men
come
to be
in

John Cumin
doubt.

Cumin disclo-
seth the con-
spiracie.

iple of
s
Col-
and
scot-
lattoes
or
72 es
time

hoff,

Robert Bruce
is examined.

When king Edward at his returning into
Engl. vid. took the chaire of marble with him, and
carrying it to be conveyed up to London, did place it
at Westminster, where it remaineth yet unto this
day. At departing before his departure out of Scot-
land, he appointed all the Scottish lords to assemble at
Dunbar, where he caused them to take a new oath, that
from thenceforth they should take him for their sove-
reign lord, and to oblie him in all things as loiall
subjects. All the nobilitie of Scotland was sworne
to him that day. Wallace onelie excepted, who ef-
fectueth to do with the Englishmen; touching a
new agreement to be made with them, agreeable to
their desires. For so much, to keepe the Scots from re-
bellion, king Edward ordained Adonard or Du-
nard to be governor there, as his generall lieute-
nant over the whole realme of Scotland. In his ab-
sence, and having thus set all things in good and qui-
et order (as he supposed) he returned into England
with great joy and triumph.

In the meane time, John Cumin furnished the
red, and Robert Bruce having conference together,
complained the one to the other of the miserable ser-
vitude wherein the realme of Scotland as then stood
by the oppression of king Edward. And at length by
our officers made betwixt them, it was agreed, that if
by any means they might deliver the realme out of
the Englishmens hands, the one of them should be
king; that is to say, the Bruce, and the other, that is to
say, the Cumin, should enjoy all the Bruces lands
and possessions, with many other preferments of ho-
nours and dignities, as next unto him in all authori-
tie touching the government of the realme. There
were indentures made betwixt them, subscribed
with their names, and sealed with their seales inter-
changeable, for the full ratifying of covenants agree-
ed in this confederacie betwixt them. Shortly after,
upon delivrie of those writings, Bruce went into
England, for he might not remaine long in Scot-
land, for doubt of suspicion which king Edward had
in him, because of the title which he had to the crowne
of Scotland (as before is specified) so that (as
was thought) king Edward would have put both
him and his brethren unto death long before, if he
might have once got them all into his hands.

John Cumin (after that he and Bruce were thus
agreed upon articles, and departed the one from the
other) began to doubt, least this conspiracie devised
betwixt them, would not sort to any luckie conclu-
sion for his purpose, either for that he feared the great
puissance of king Edward, either else for that his au-
thoritie and power (as he mistrusted) would not be
great, if the Bruce once attained the crowne: and
hereupon he sent one of his servants to king Ed-
ward, with his counterpane of the indenture, con-
taining the covenants of the conspiracie, signed and
sealed with Bruces owne hand and seale. The mes-
senger delivered this writing in secret wise to king
Edward, declaring unto him the whole matter, as it
was passed and concluded betwixt the Bruce and his
maister, according to instructions given him in that
behalf. But king Edward at the first gave light cre-
dit either to the writings or words of the Cumin,
supposing that the same proceeded onelie through en-
vie, which he bare towards the Bruce, ever dreading
lest he should beare no rule in Scotland, if the Bruce
once attained anye authoritie within the same. Yet
at length, king Edward pondering with himselfe the
whole circumstance, and being in some doubt of the
matter, he shewed the counterpane of the indenture
unto Bruce himselfe, questioning with him, if he
knew his owne hand: Bruce stoutly denied that he

was privie to anye such devise or writing, and there-
fore desired of king Edward to have the same for
one night, to peruse and scan over at leisure, & then
if he were not able to proue that it was forged, and
maliciously devised upon an envious purpose, to put
him in danger of life, he would forsake all his lands
and livings that he held either within the realme of
England, or else where. King Edward, because he
conjectured at the first how this accusation of Cu-
min was nothing like to be true, granted his re-
quest, wherein manie judged he did unwise: but
such was the ordinance of almightie God, that
Bruce should escape that danger, to accomplish that
whereunto he was appointed. The earle of Gloucester
immediatlie after that Robert Bruce was departed
from the kings presence, sent unto him twelve ser-
vants pence, with two sharpe spears; whereby he con-
jectured his meaning to be, that the best shift for him
was to avoid out of the waie in most speedie wise,
whereupon he causing a smith to shoe three horses
for him, contrarie to the callings forward, that it
should not be perceived which waie he had taken by
the tract of the horses, for that the ground at that
time (being in the winter season) was covered with
snow: he departed out of London about midnight,
accompanied onelie with two trustie servants.

It chanced also, that there fell on the same night
more snow aloft upon the other snow that was fallen
before, by reason whereof it could not easilie be jud-
ged in the morning which way he was gone. Though
king Edward upon knowledge had that he was
fled, sent out a great manie of horsemen after, to
have brought him againe, if they might anye where
have found him. But Bruce halted forth with such
speed in his iourne, that the twentieth day of his de-
parture from London, he came to Loughmaben in
Annandale, and there found David, or (as some bolis
have) Edward his brother, with Robert Fleming,
a worthy young gentleman, unto whom (they mu-
sing what he meant by his sudden coming) he de-
clared into what perill of life he had fallen by means
of Cumin, and how narrowlie he had escaped out of
king Edwards hands. His brother hearing the
matter, consented to go with him, and to be parta-
ker of all haps that might fortune to fall out in his
sight; and by the way they chanced to light upon
one of Cumins servants, that was going with let-
ters unto king Edward from his maister the said
Cumin, signifying by the same, that if Bruce were
not the soner put to death, there would insue short-
lie such trouble and ruffling in Scotland against R.
Edward, that it would be much ado to appeale it.

These letters being found about Cumins servant,
through means of young Fleming, the Bruce after
he had apposed the bearer throughlie in each behalfe,
and learned of him that his maister the said Cumin
was in the friers at Dunfrise, he first sent this fel-
low that was thus sent with the letters, & after in all
hast possible came to Dunfrise, by the guiding of
the same Fleming, where in the quier of the friers
church there he found Cumin. And reasoning the
matter there with him, for that he had used him to
evill, and withall shewing him the indenture which
king Edward had delivered to him, as before is
mentioned, in the end (after some multipling of
words together) Robert Bruce plucked forth his
sword, and stroke the fore said Cumin a sore blow in
the bellie, and thereupon fleeing out of the church,
met with two of his dearest friends, James Lindsay,
and Roger Kirkpatrick, who beholding his
countenance altered, and coming forth of the
church in such hast, demanded of him what was the
matter: I trow (said he) that Cumin is slain.

Why (said they againe) hast thou attempted to high

the de. meth his
saying.

Robert Bruce
doubt.

The cometh
to Loughma-
ben.

Robert Fle-
ming.

A servant of
Cumins tak-
en with let-
ters on him.

Cumin was
at the friers in
Dunfrise.

Cum in is
laine.

1305.

Wallase is ta-
ken.Wallase is
brought to
London.He is put to
death.John Fourdon.
John Maior.

Fr. Thin.

Absolution
from Rome.Robert
Wallase is
crowned king
of Scotland,
the first of that
name.John Maior.
King Robert
is discomfited
at Bessien.

an enterpryse, and left it doubtfull: And immedi-
atlie herewith they went to the place where Cum-
in lay wounded (as before is mentioned) and asked of
him whether he thought he had any death wound,
or hoped to recover if he might have a good surgian.
And for that he answered how he trusted to do well
inough if he might have a good surgian in time; they
gaue him three or foure other wounds so grievous
and deadlie, that forthwith vpon the same he yel-
ded vpon the ghost. This chanced in the yere of our
Lord 1305, the fourth Ides of Februarie. About
the same time was William Wallase taken at
Blaskow by the means of sir John Spentesh and o-
thers, in whome he had euer put a most speciall trust;
but they being corrupted with the offers of large re-
wards promised by king Edward to such as could
helpe to take him, wrought such fetches that he was
apprehended at length by Adam de Valence
earle of Penbrooke, who with a great power of men
brought him to London, where he was put to death,
and his quarters sent into Scotland, and set vp in
sundry great towne there for a spectacle, as it were
to giue example to other. This was the end of that
puissant champion William Wallase, praised a-
mongst the Scottisshmen aboue all other in that age,
for so much as he would neuer yeld or consent to ac-
knowledge any superiouritie in the Englishmen o-
uer his countrie, no not when all other had submit-
ted themselves to king Edward as his liege sub-
iects and most obedient vassals. It is said, that when
he was young and went to schole, he learned by heart
two verses of his scholemaster, which euer after he
bare in mind, and vsuallie would rehearse them,
(when a toy toke him in the head) as followeth.

*Dico tibi verum, libertas optima rerum,
Nunquam seruis, sub nexu visitis fli.
My lonne I say, freedome is best,
Then neuer yeeld to thralls arrest.*

Of this William Wallase one Henrie, who was
blind from his birth, in the time of my natiuitie
(saith John Maior) composed a whole booke in bul-
gar verse, in which he mittred all those things bul-
garlie spoken of this Wallase. But I do not in all
points saith the same author, giue credit to the wri-
tings of such as he was, who onelie get their food and
clothing (whereof this man was most worthy) by
reciting of histories before the nobilitie of Scot-
land.

But now touching Wallase; after he had slaine Cu-
min (as before is mentioned) he purchased an
absolution from Rome for that act: and to the end he
might then through authoritie obtaine some aid to
resist the puissance of his aduersarie king Edward,
he went by support of friends vnto Scone, & there
caused himselfe to be crowned king, on the 27 day
of March, though he had no great number that toke
his part in the beginning, as shortly after well ap-
peared. For when he should assemble an armie a-
gainst a power of Englishmen that were sent a-
gainst him by king Edward, immediatlie vpon
knowledge had of his attempts, he was not able to
get together any sufficient number to resist his ad-
uersaries, though with those few which came vnto
him, he thought to trie the chance of battell, and so
incountering with Adam de Valence lieutenant
of the English armie at Bessien the 19 day of June
1306, he was there put to flight; and though the
slaughter was not great, yet for that it was iudged
to be an euill signe to haue such infortunat lucke v-
pon his entering into the estate, the peoples fauor
thynke greatlie from him.

Adam de Valence after he had obtained this
victorie against king Robert, banished the wiues of
all those that supported the same Robert, by means

whereof, manie ladies and gentlewomen were con-
strained to flee into woods, and other desert places,
to escape the crueltie of their aduersaries. King
Robert also after this ouerthrow, fled into Atholl,
and from thence to Streill, where the third Ides of
August at a place called Dalreie, he fought againe
with the Cumins and other such Scots & English
men as were assembled in those parties readie to
pursue him, and had the like lucke here that had chan-
ced to him before at Bessien; for he was put to flight
after the same maner, though he lost here but few of
his men; neither in the fight nor chase. This place
Dalreie is as much to say, as the kings field: Bu-
chan lib. 8, which is also called Dalreie by I. Maior.
lib. 4. cap. 19, who supposeth that Wallase had so hard
a beginning for a punishment of the death of Cu-
min, slaine in the church by him and his friends.
Wherevpon finding fortune thus contrarie vnto
him in these two seuerall battels, he was left so de-
solat and vnprouided of all friendship, that he was
constrained for his refuge to withdraw into the
woods and mounteins, with a few other in his com-
panie, and there liued on herbs and roots oftentimes
for want of other food.

Whilest he remained in this estate of aduerser for-
tune, there were two that shewed themselves right
trustie and faithfull seruants vnto him aboue all the
rest, the earle of Leuenor, and Gilbert Haie: for
though either inforced by persecution of enemies, or
constrained through some other necessitie, they de-
parted sometimes from his presence; yet did they e-
uer acknowledge him for their soueraigne lord and
onelie king, readie at all seasons to serue and obey
him in each behalfe. The most part of all other his
friends yea and seruants, in that present miserie,
did cleaue for sake him; so that sometimes he was
left with onelie one or two in his companie, & glad
to keepe himselfe secret in desert places, where no
person lightlie vied to resort. His wife & quene fled
to saint Dutho, and chanced to be taken by William
Cumin earle of Ross, who deliuered hir to king
Edward, by whose commandement she was com-
mitted to safe keeping at London, where she remai-
ned till after the battell of Bannockburne. His
brother Nigel was also taken, and so afterwards
were his two other brethren, Thomas and Alexan-
der, with manie other nobles and gentlemen of
Scotland, of whome some were executed at Car-
leill, and some at Berwik. Nigel was taken at
the castell of Biddome whither he fled, and came to
Berwik. Thomas and Alexander were taken at
Locheis, and carried to Carleill, and so beheaded.
Io. Maior lib. 4. cap. 19. Finaltie the most part
of all such as had aided him before, and were now
shonke from him, were within one yere after, ei-
ther slaine or kept as prisoners in England.

Yet though he was thus left desolat of all aid and
succor, hauing his brethren and other of his friends
murdered and slaine to his vtter discomfort and ru-
ine (as was to be supposed) he neuertheless liued e-
uer in hope of some better fortune, whereby in time
to come he might recover the realme out of the eni-
mies hands, and restore the ancient libertie thereof
to the former estate. As for the paines which he toke
in liuing barelie for the most part by water & roots,
& lodging oftentimes on the bare earth, without house
or other harborough, he was so accustomed thereto
by haunting the warres in his youth, that the same
griued him little or nothing at all. But to conclude,
such was his valiancie and most excellent fortitude
of mind and courage, that no inuicious mischance
of froward aduersitie could abash his inuincible
heart and manlike stomach. At length, after he had
wandered from place to place in sundrie parts of
Scotland,

King Robert
escapes dis-
comfited in
Atholl.

Fr. Thin.

The misera-
ble state of R.
Robert in the
beginning of
his reigne.The earle of
Leuenor and
Gilbert Haie
faithfull ser-
uants to king
Robert.King Ro-
berts wife ta-
ken.Nigel Tho-
mas and Alexan-
der brethren
taken and put
to death.King Ro-
berts god
hope in time
of extreme ad-
uersitie.His inuinci-
ble hart and
vndunted
stomach.

Scotland, the better to avoid the sleights of them that laie in wait to apprehend him, he got over into one of the Isles, where comming unto one of his special friends, a man of high nobilitie and welbelovied of the people in those parts, he was most hartlie welcome, and glablie of him received, to his great ease and comfort.

Here when he had remained a certeine space, he got support of men, armor and weapons, by meanes whereof taking new courage, he passed over unto Carrike, & winning the castell there that belonged to his fathers inheritance, he slew all the Englishmen, which he found within it, and bestowed all the spoile of monie and goods gotten there amongst his souldiers and men of warre. His friends that laie hid in covert and secret corners, hearing of these his doings, began from each side to resort unto him, by whose assistance shortly after he won the castell of Inverness, and slew all them that were within it in garrison. With the like felicitie he got the most part of all the castles in the north, rasing & burning by the same till he came to Glennecke, where being advertised that John Cummin with sundrie Englishmen and Scots were gathered against him, because he was upon a strong ground, he determined there to alight them: but they being thereof informed, and wondering at his manlie courage, durst not approach to give him battell, but sent ambassadors unto him to have truce for a time, under colour of some communication for a peace, till they might increase their power more strongly against him: which being done, they pursued him more fiercelie than before. Nevertheless King Robert received them at all times in such warlike order, that they might never take him at anie advantage, but were still driven backe with slaughter and losse, though the same was of no great importance to make account of, but such like as happeneth oftentimes in skirmishes & light encounters, where the battels come not to joine puissance against puissance. The same whereof yet procured him the favour of sundrie great barons in Scotland.

* About this time, Simon Fraser, and Walter Logan (most valiant knights, and greatlie favouring their countrie) were taken (by such as followed the faction of Cummin) delivered to the English, sent to London, and there executed. Almost about which time, James Dowglas (who joined himselfe to the part of King Robert. This James being the sonne of William Dowglas, was a young gentleman very active and forward in all chiefe exercises and arts. Who when he gave himselfe to studie at Paris (hearing that his father was by the king of England cast in prison, in which he shortly after died, as is before noted) returned home to dispose the rest of his life after the advice of his friends. But being without living, & all his other friends by misfortune dispersed: he committed himselfe to the service of W. Lambert bishop of saint Andrews, of whome hee was gentlie received into his familie, and well entertained: untill King Edward comming to Sterling (after that he had almost pacified all the rest of Scotland) to besiege Strirling: at what time Lambert going to Sterling to salute the king, carried Dowglas to attend upon him, to the end to prefer him to his living and inheritance. Whereupon the bishop finding the king at convenient leisure, besought him to be favourable to this Dowglas: to restore him unto his fathers patrimonie: and that (receiving the young man into his fealtie and defense) it would please him to imploy him in his faithful and warlike service: adding further such commendations in the behalfe of James, as for that time he thought most convenient. But the king un-

derstanding his name and kindred, spake bitterlie of the disobedience and stubbernesse of his father William Dowglas: further answering, that he would neither use the same James, nor his travell in anie thing, neither that he could (if so he would) restore him to his patrimonie, because he had with the same gratified other that well deserved it. For which cause being by the king so repelled, he remained still in the bishops service, untill Buse came into Berne, at what time (least he might lose the opportunity to offend King Edward, whome he secretly in heart disdained) this Dowglas departed from Lambert his master, taking with him all the bishops gold, and certeine of his best horses, with the which, having in his companie divers other hardie young gentlemen, priue to his doings, he fled with all speed unto King Robert, offering him his service, and to spend his life in his quarrell and defense. The bishop was priue to his cousins going awaie, and counselled him thereunto, though he would by no means it should outwardlie so appeare, for doubt least if things had not come to passe as he wished, he might have run in danger for his cloaked dissimulation. The Dowglas was so soon received of King Robert, in whose service he faithfully continued both in peace and warre to his liues end.

Though the surname and familie of the Dowglas was in some estimation of nobilitie before those daies, yet the rising thereof to honor chanced through this James Dowglas: for by meanes of his advancement, other of the same lineage took occasion by their singular manhood and noble prowes, to grow to such height in authoritie & estimation, that their mightie puissance in maine lands, & great possessions, at length was (through suspicion conceived by the kings that succeeded by the cause in part of their ruinous decay) Edward King of England hearing of the doings of his adversarie King Robert, doubted (if some rebelle were not found in time) lest the Scots reioicing in the prosperous successe of his said adversarie, would revolt wholly from the English obedience: and hereupon purposing with all speed to subdue the whole realme of Scotland from end to end, he came (with a far greater armie than ever he had raised before) to the borders; but before his entring into Scotland, he fell sicke of a right sore and grievous maladie, whereof he died shortly after at Burgh upon sands, as in the English historie more plainly doth appeare, though Buchanan say he died at Lancaster.

The Scottish writers make mention, that a little before he departed out of this world, there were brought unto him 55 young striplings, which were taken in the castell of Biddumme, after it was won by the Englishmen, and being asked what should be done with them, he commanded they should be hanged incontinently, without respect to their young yeeres, or consideration of their innocencies that might have moved him to pittie. After his decesse, his sonne Edward of Carnarvan succeeded in the government of England, who following his fathers enterprise, called a councell at Dunfreis, summoning the lords of Scotland to appeare at the same, and caused a great number of them at their comming thither to do their homage unto him, as to their superiour lord and governour: but yet divers disobeyed his commandements, and would not come at his summoning, upon trust of some change of fortune by the death of his father, for that the son was much given (as was reported) to incline his eare to lewd counsell, not without the great griefe of his people, and namelie of the lords and chiefe nobles of his realme.

Shortly

A craftie dissimulation.

The rising of the Dowglas to honor.

The death of King Edward Longshanks.

The cruelty of King Edward as is noted by the Scottish writers.

Edward of Carnarvan, sonne to Edward Longshanks.

Homage to King Edward of Carnarvan.

Robert a bishop in

King Robert here getteth over into the Isles.

King Robert purchaseth againe the Isles.

John Cummin the castell of Carrike.

increase of his power in the king of France.

His power increaseth. Inverness castell taken.

King Robert cometh to Glennecke.

rise of the king and his power to King Robert.

Robert Fraser

Fr. Thim. Simon Fraser and Walter Logan executed.

1. The death of King Robert.

Edward of Carnarvan.

Edward of Carnarvan.

Shortlie after this, the said Edward of Carnar-
uan returned into England, and in the meane time
John Cummin erle of Buchquhane gathered a migh-
tie armie, both of Scots and Englishmen to resist a-
gainst king Robert, that he might thereby declare
his faithfull affection toward the new English king.
He trusted onelie with multitude of people to cause
his enemies to giue place: but king Robert though
he was holden with a sore sicknesse at that time, yet
he assembled a power, and caused himselfe in a hoise-
litter to be caried forth with the same against his
enimies, who abiding him at a streight, supposed it
had bin an easie matter for them to be put to flight:
but it chanced quite contrarie to their expectation,
for in the end the Cummin with his whole armie was
discomfited, and a great number of king Roberts
aduersaries slaine or taken. This victorie was got-
ten at a village called Ennerour, ten miles distant
from Aberdeen, on the Ascension daie, wherewith
king Robert was so much refreshed in contentation
of mind, that he was suddenlie therupon restored to
his former health, hauing at that time also taken the
castell of Aberdeen, which he bitterlie destroyed, and
caused to be leuelled with the ground, to the end his
enimies might haue no more refuge thereby.

John Cummin
discomfited by
king Robert
at Ennerour
1308.
Fr. Thin.

Donald of the
Fles discom-
fited by Ed-
ward Bruce.

Argile sub-
dued by king
Robert.
This was in
1309, as John
Ma. saith.

R. Edward
commeth into
Scotland,
Anno 1310 as
should seme
by Io. Maior.

A sore dearth.

1311.
Castels reco-
uered by king
Robert.

King Robert
inuaeth
England.

1312. Io. Ma.
The towne of
Berth reco-
uered, other-
wise called
S. Johns
towne.

Castels won.

In the same yere Donald of the Fles came with a
great armie of Englishmen and Scots against R.
Robert, and was on the feast day of the apostles
Peter and Payle discomfited by Edward Bruce the
kings brother, at the water of Deir. At this battell
was a right valiant knight named Rowland, slaine
of the English part, with a great number of other a-
bout him, and Donald himselfe was taken prisoner.
Thus king Robert through fauour of prosperous for-
tune, obtaining the victorie in sundrie conflicts, came
with an armie into Argile, and not onelie subdued
the countrie to his obedience, but also toke Alexan-
der lord of Argile out of a strong castell in that
countrie, and banished him with all his friends into
England, where shortlie after he deceased. In the
yere next following, king Edward came with an
armie into Scotland, where joining with an other
armie of Scots that were assembled readie to aid
him, he passed through the countrie unto Kankrew,
and at length without atchiuing anie notable enter-
prise worthie the mentioning, he returned againe
into England.

In the same yere, through continuall warres,
there rose such dearth & scarcitie of things in Scot-
land, that neither coine nor other vittels could be had
for monie: for the ground in manner generallie
through the countrie laye untilld, and beastes with
all kind of cattell were dyen awaie, as booties ta-
ken by the enimies. By reason wherof the famine so
increased on each side, that the people were con-
strained to eat horses, and other lothsome flesh & meats,
thereby to susteine their liues. In the yere following
which was after the incarnation 1311, king Robert
chaused the Englishmen out of all parts of Scotland,
winning manie castels out of their hands, diuerse of
the which he rased and consumed with fire. After this
entring at sundrie times into England with his
suerce armie, he brought from thence innumerable
booties of cattell and other riches, afflicting the Eng-
lishmen with like slaughter and calamities, as the
Scots had suffered in the yeres before, by the out-
ragious force and puissance of king Edward. On
the eight day of Januarie next ensuing, king Ro-
bert wan by fine force the strong towne of Berth,
slaying and hanging all the people both English and
Scottish, which were found in the same. He thereto al-
so the walles of that towne to the ground, and filled
the ditch with the rampire. The same yere the castels
of Dunfreis, Ayr, Lanarke, with manie other

strengths and castels were rendered unto him, and
cast to the ground.

The castell of Rokesburgh was taken by sir
James Dowglas on Feastings euen, in the yere
1313, when they of the garison were overcome with
immoderate surfetting by meats and drinks excel-
suielie taken, according as on that day the accuso-
med vse is. In that yere also Thomas Randall, af-
terwards created earle of Purrey, wan the castell
of Edinburgh. In which yere also, Bruce wan the
Ile of Man; John Maior lib. 5. cap. 11. And the same
yere Edward Bruce besieged the castell of Striue-
ling: but the strength of the house was such, that by
nature of the high crag whereon it stood, and what
by fortification of mans hand beside, all his trauell
and inforcement diligentlie imploied to win it, pro-
ued vaine for the time. Within this castell as cap-
taine thereof, was a right valiant knight named sir
Philip Mowbray, a Scottish man borne, but taking
part with the English men, who feared nothing the
siege, for he had sufficient store of men, vittels, mu-
nition, and all maner of purueance sufficient to de-
fend the hold for a long season: so that finally Ed-
ward Bruce, perceiving no meanes whereby to at-
chiue the enterprise, which he had rashlie taken in
hand, was abashed thereof: for by force he saw well
enough it could not be brought to passe, and by large
offers made to the capitaine, if he would render the
place, and become seruant to the king his brother, he
could not once moue him to giue anie care thereto,
inasmuch as at length he sought to trie him another
way forth, which in the end toke better effect than
was likelie it would haue done, considering the
lacke of circumspection used in the bargain ma-
king: as thus.

After long siege, and (as before is said) no god
done, there was a motion made betwixt him and
the capitaine within for a truce, which was accorded
on this wise: that if the fortresse were not succoured
within twelue moneths next ensuing, it should then
be rendered unto king Robert, and in the meane
time no force should be used against it. This com-
position was unwise made, as most men iudged:
for euerie man of anie wisdom might easilie con-
ecture, that king Edward hauing so long day to
make his prouision, would come in support of the
within the castell, and that so stronglie, as would be
hard for the Scots to resist him. King Robert him-
selfe also was sore offended with his brother for his
folle shewed in this behalfe: but yet he would not
go about to breake the covenant accorded, for doubt
to lose his brother, whose aid he might not well
want.

In the meane time king Edward sent forth mes-
sengers with letters, not onelie unto all his subiects,
but also unto all his confederats and allies, to haue
men of warre taken by and retained to serue him
in his warres against the Scots, which he intended
to solow to the bitter destruction of the whole nation.
There came therefore in hope of spoile, not onlie such
as were appointed by commissioners of the musters,
but also a great number of other that offered them-
selues of their owne accord to go in that iournie,
namelie such as had little to liue vpon at home, and
trusted to amend the matter by some god fortune in
the warres abroad. The countries out of the which it
is reported by the Scottish writers, that such aid
came to the English, were these: Holand, Zeland,
Brabant, Flanders, Picardie, Bolognois, Cal-
cogne, Normandie, Guian, and Burdelois. For all
these at that time were either subiect to the king of
England, or else in confederate league with him.
There were also manie Scots that were English by
deuotion, and aided king Edward at this time.

Rokesburgh
swane on
Shyrouet-
day.
1313.

The castell of
Edinburgh
swane.

Striueling ca-
stell besieged.

Sir Philip
Mowbray.

In this wise
composition.

King Robert
offended with
his brother.

R. Edward
taketh by
foolbiers.

Out of what
countries R.
Edward had
aid of men.

Wat

same
times
with

R. Ed-
ward

R. Ed-
ward
take
the
victory

Robe-
rt
com-
mit

John
in his
35th
king
was
his
battle

The
of
royal
Edw

The
made
Scott
next
Eng

But the number of naturall Englishmen exceeded anie one nation beside, insomuch that the whole armie that of one and other, contained (as the same writer) one hundred and fiftie thousand souldiers, and almost as manie horsemen, beside cariage-men, coistrels, women, and lackies, but the same herein belike (as often hapneth) did farre exceed the truth. For it is not to be thought (as John Maior himselfe wrote) that he should get such a number together, not for that England it selfe is not able to set forth such a power: for as the same Maior saith, as manie men as are to be found in England of lawfull age, so manie able personages may be found there to passe for able souldiers. But either kings are not of abilitie to find so great a multitude with vittels and sufficient provision, or else they will not straine them selves thereto. Neuerthelesse, the whole number by all likelihood was great, for many as well strangers as Englishmen, brought their wiues, their children, and whole household-maine with them, in hope after the countrie were once subdued, to haue dwelling places appointed them in the same, there to inhabit: for so had king Edward promised them. By reason thereof the disorder was such, that no warlike discipline might be obserued amongst them; for men, women, and children, were all mixt together, with such clamor and noise, through the huge number of people, and diuersitie of languages, that it was a thing right strange to behold a campe so confusedlie ordered.

King Edward himselfe most proud and insolent of such incredible number, took no heed at all to the gouerning of them, supposing victorie to be alreadie in his hands; insomuch that at his coming to the borders, he took aduise with his counsell to what kind of torment and death he might put king Robert, for he had no doubt of catching him at all. He also brought with him a religious man somewhat learned belike, of the order of the Carmelites, to describe the whole maner of his conquest and victorie ouer the Scots: so sure he thought himselfe that all things would come to passe as he could wish or deuise. This Carmelite, as may appeare in John Bales booke, intituled A summarie of the writers of great Britaine, was named Robert Balfon, and had the gouernance of an house in Scarburgh, of the Carmelites order, he being (as before is said) of that cote himselfe.

On the contrarie part, king Robert ordered all his doings by good & prudent aduise, and with men, right hardie and thoroughlie exercised in wars, came forth against his enemies, shewing no token of feare in the world, but boldlie pitched downe his tents in good order and warlike arate, vpon a plaine a little aboue Bannockburne. Whether he did this for the great confidence he had in the hardinesse of his people, or for that he would shew how little he doubted the puissance of his enemies, least they should haue him in contempt, it is uncerteine. Indeed there were diuerse expert warriours amongst the Englishmen, that said (when they heard how the Scots were thus assembled to fight) that the victorie would not be had, except it were dearelie bought: the wisdome and manhood of king Robert was knowne so well amongst them, that they were assured he would not leopord himselfe in such a case, but that he knew he had such fellows about him, as would sticke to their tackle.

Whereouer the Scots by appointment of their king, to the furtherance of his hardie enterprise, had cast deepe pits and ditches in the place where it was iudged the battels should ioine, and pitched sharpe stakes within the same, and after couered them ouer lightlie with greene turfes or sods, in such wise that

a few souldiers might passe ouer well enough; but if a nie great number should come pearing together, or that anie horsemen came there vpon, the sods would thinke and fall to the bottome of the trenches, with extreme perill of the men and horses, that were sure to fall vpon the stakes set there for that purpose; or else to be so inclosed, that they should not be able to get out of those pitts. By the place where king Robert was thus incamped, there runneth a great brooke or water called Bannockburne, so named of oten-cakes called bannocks, which were vsed to be made commonlie at the mills standing on the banks of the said water. It falleth into the Forth right famous afterwards by reason of this battell fought nere to the same.

When both the armies were approached within a mile together, king Edward sent eight hundred horsemen by a secret waie, vnto the castell of Striueling, to giue notice to sir Phillip Spotszaie the capitaine, that he was come with his armie to succour him. As Robert being aduertised of their gate, & beholding them which way they took, he sent Thomas Randall with five hundred Scottish horsemen to saue the countrie from spoile, who with singular manhood encountering with those Englishmen in sight of both the armies, there ensued a cruell fight betwixt them for so small a number, continuing a long space with vncerteine victorie. In the meane time sir James Douglas, breeding that his speciall friend the said Thomas Randall should be ouerset with multitude of the Englishmen, came to R. Robert, and falling on his knees before him, required licence to go forth to the support of them that were thus fighting with their enemies: which because the king would not grant at the first, he rushed forth of the campe without licence, hauing in his companie a small band of men, but yet chosen out for the purpose, that if it were but by shewing himselfe, hee might put the enemies in some feare.

Notwithstanding, when he was come nere to the place where they fought, and saw how the Scots had got the victorie with great murther of the Englishmen, he staid and went no further; least he should by his coming seeme to beraine them the glorie of the victorie, which had woone it with so great prowesse & singular valiancie. All those in the Scottish campe were relieued, in good hope of greater successe to follow in the whole enterprise by so happy a beginning. The Englishmen passed little thereof, but yet for that the Scots should not waxe proud, and take ouer-much courage thereby, they determined to giue them battell the next morow. King Robert with great diligence caused his people to prepare themselves ready to receiue the enemies, though he was nothing able to match them in number, deuising which waie he might traine them into the ditches before prepared. He commanded through the armie that euery man should on the next morow receiue the sacrament of the Lords bodie, through the which they might haue the better hope of victorie against the vniust inuaders of their realme and countrie.

On the other side, the Englishmen trusted that all things would prosper with them, euen as they could best deuise: for by one small daies labour they hoped to be lords of all Scotland, and to dispose of the lands and goods of their enemies, as should seeme to them good, and most for their owne auail. But king Robert all the night before the battell took little rest, hauing great care in his mind for the successe of his armie, one while reuoluing in his consideration this chance, and an other while that; yea and sometimes he fell to deuout contemplation, making his prayer to God and saint Phillip, whose arme as it was set and inclosed in a silver case, he supposed had bene

Bannockburne.

The fight of Ch. Randall with 500 Scottishmen in his companie against 800 Englishmen.

The Englishmen determined to giue battell. King Robert receiue the enemies by battell.

Saint Phillip.

burgh on actues.

13.

all of burgh.

eking ca sieged.

Phillip, bzap.

same officers with the truth.

Edward's promise.

Edward himselfe thought himselfe sure of victorie.

newise dition.

Robert Balfon a Carmelite.

Robert and his other.

John Ma. hath in his booke 35 thousand. King Robert his coming toward the battell.

Edward by ers.

The opinion of expert warriours of king Edwards.

of what ries R. and had men.

Trenches made by Scots to ouerthrow the Englishmen.

beene the same time within his tent, trusting the better fortune to follow by presence thereof. In the meane time, as he was thus making his prayers, the case suddenly opened, and clapped to againe. The kings chapleine being present, astonished therewith, went to the altar where the case stood, and finding the arme within it, he cried to the king & other that were present, how there was a great miracle wrought, confessing that he brought the empty case to the field, and left the arme at home, least that relike should haue bene lost in the field, if anie thing chanced to the arme otherwise than well.

The king verie toifull of this miracle, passed the remnant of the night in prayer and thanksgiving. On the morow he caused all his folks to heare diuine service, and to receiue the sacrament, as ouer night he had appointed. The abbat of Inchchaffraie did celebrate before the king that day, and ministered vnto him and other of the nobles, the communion, other priests being appointed to minister the same vnto the residue of the armie. After this, when seruice was ended, the king called the people to his standard, and first declared vnto them from point to point, how necessarie it was for them to shew their wanted manhood, considering that such an huge multitude of people was brought thither against them by king Edward, not of one nation or dominion, but of sundrie languages and parties, as well subiects as allies to the Englishmen, with full purpose of utterlie to extinguishe the Scotish name and memorie, and to plant themselves in their seates and homes, as in possessions utterlie voided of all the ancient and former inhabitants. To increase the fierce stomachs of the Scotchmen against the enemies, he recounted vnto them what he heard by credible report touching the menacing words and insolent brags of the same enemies, able to moue verie quiet minds vnto full indignation. Againe, to auoid feare out of their hearts, which they might conceiue by reason of the multitude of their aduersaries, he rehearsed what a number of rascals were amongst them, without anie skill of warlike affaires, not taken by by choice and election in appointed musters, but resorting without difference together, in hope of spoile and booties, hauing not else wherevpon to liue at home in their countries.

Moreover, if nothing else might raise their hearts in hope of victorie, their iust cause sith they came in defense of their countrie against iniurious invaders, was matter sufficient to aduance their manlie stomachs, in trust of Gods aid in that quarell, hauing partly assured them thereof, by notable miracles shewed in the night last passed. Hereto he added, that the greater multitude there was of the enemies, the more spoile and riches was to be got, if they attained the victorie. Finally, the more to stirre their hearts to doe valiantlie, he required them of one thing, which he trusted (their manhood being such) they would not thinke hard for them to achieve, and this was, that euerie of them would but dispatch one of the enemies, which if they performed, he promised them assured victorie. As for ten thousand, he knew to be amongst them of such approved souldiers, and old men of war, as he durst safely undertake for them that they would slea two of the enemies a peece, at the least. Such manner of persuasions king Robert vsed to encourage his people.

But Iohannes Maior, lib. 5. cap. 2. putteth speech much different from this, in the mouth of Buse, further saying, that when this oration was ended, that the king came downe the hill, on which he stood, when he uttered these words, and bareheaded embraced all the nobilitie in his armes, and after turning himselfe to the whole armie, he reached to euerie man his

hand, in signe of amitie: but I suppose he was over-tired before he had taken 35000 men by the hands.) On the other part, king Edward caused the colonels of eche nation within his campe, to cry out their retinues to remember, that if they fought valiantlie for one houre or two, they should purchase infinite riches with the whole realme of Scotland, in reward of their labour: for he desired nothing for himselfe, but the superiortie. Againe, he willed they should haue in remembrance what irrecoverable shame would follow (sith they had departed out of their countries in hope of gaine) to returne home with empty hands, and void of victorie, not without some reproch and note of cowardise.

Besides which (as seemeth by Iohannes Maior) king Edward clothed in his kingly robes, is said to haue vsed these speeches to the armie. If I did not behold the open victorie, I would this day (most valiant men) make an other beginning of speech vnto you. We are in preparation & number of souldiers farre beyond these miserable Scots. Besides which, we haue abundance of brasse peeces, catapultes, bowes, and other such engines of warre, which on the contrarie part the Scots doe want. They are onelie couered with leather pilches made of bucks skins, and with clokes like vnto the wild mountaine people, for which cause our archers, before the strength of the maine battell shall loine, will some subdue them, sparrell not that they haue before time subdued some of my subiects, because they did it by their accustomed deceits, and not by strength of battell. And though by chance they haue overcome (in fight) some weake companie of equall number vnto them, yet are they not able to resist vs; being farre more excellent in number, preparation, and order of battell. The Scot hath a weake nation fighting on his owne charge, not hauing anie chosen souldier. God hath in this field inclosed that for Buse (nourished by my god father) to the end that he might receiue worthy punishment for his wickednesse. His three brethren were consumed by my father: therefore it now remaineth that we apprehend (alike) these other two wicked and wauering men, to lead them to London, there to receiue their due punishment. You had great reuenues (noble princes) giuen to you by my father, in that kingdome. Therefore now shew your selues valiant persons, that you may againe recover the same, at this day possessed by the vniust and vnrighfull owners. Besides which, I will further by line geometricallie measure forth all the land of Scotland, to be diuided vnto those that deserue the same, according to the merits of the men. Thus much Maior.)

But yet when they should march forward in arate of battell towards the Scots, they might scarce be seuered from their wiues and children, which they had there in campe with them: neuertheless, at length by the sharpe calling vpon of their capteins, they were brought into order of battell, not without much adoe, by reason of the vnrulie multitude. The archers were placed in wings, mingled amongst the horsemen on the sides of the wards and battels, which stood inclosed in the midst of the same wings. King Robert appointing all his battels on foot, diuided the same into three parts: the fore ward he committed to Thomas Randolph, & James Douglas, capteins of verie approved valiantie, vnder whome went seuen thousand of the borderers, and three thousand of the Irish Scots, otherwise called Waterans or Redbanks. These no lesse fierce and forward, than the other practised and skilfull. The second ward was gouerned by Edward the kings brother, where in were ten thousand men: but for that he was suspected of too much rashnesse, there was ioined with him

The exhortation of king Edward.

The first

The abbe Incheba bearing a croffe. Fr. Thin.

Lettes e Roll. li. 7. 144. lastly was the man of gular pte and purtite, such the thep find in the cleargie.

The first

Chitit and E hostem nethpo in treue

Fr. Thin

Noty mired i gloie o nation, balore mndal all men mast in Er vire hofe lan

king i battle Engli

Incombrance in an armie.

The order of the English battels.

The appointing of the Scotch battels. The first battell.

The second.

A subtill chapleine.

A matter devised betwixt the king and his chapleine, as is to be thought.

The exhortation of king Robert to his people.

Fr. Thin.

The exhortation of king Edward.

Epithud.

him certeine ancient gentlemen of great sobrietie and circumspection, to qualifie his habits and hot nature. The third battell, in the which were (as Iohn Maior recordeth) fiftie thousand fighting men, the king himselfe led, shewing a verie cherefull countenance amongst them, so farre forth, that euerie one that beheld him, conceiued in his minde an assured hope of victorie to succede.

The abbat of Inchebafracie bearing a cross.

The abbat of Inchebafracie aforesaid (who as before is mentioned, did celebrate that morning afore the king) came forth before the battells with the crucifix in his hands, bearing it aloft like a standard, admonishing them valiantlie to take in hand the defense of their countrie, and the libertie of their posteritie: for (saith he) you must not euerie man fight as it were for his owne priuat defense, his owne house and children, but euerie man for all men, and all men for euerie man must fight for the libertie, life, patrie, monie, children, and ioues of all the realme: for such and so great is the dignitie of our countrie, as they which beate or spoile it, are to be punished with perpetual fier, and they which do preserve it, are to be recompensed with an eternall crowne of glorie. And here withall this abbat instructed them of manie things touching the loue of their countrie, which nature hath so planted in all men, that for the preservation and libertie thereof, none should refuse any danger, no not the losse of life, yea though (if it were possible) that it might be manie times lost therefore. Which done, he feared not to admonish them to worship the image of Christ, which he shewed them on the crosse. Incontinentlie whereupon, the Scottish armie fell on knees before it, deuoutlie commending themselves to almighty God.

The English armie beholding the Scots fall on knees, thought verelie they had yielded without stroke stricken. But when they saw them rise againe, and to come forward, they began to be somewhat doubtful. And hereupon rushing together, at the first joining a great number of people on either side were beaten downe & slaine. The archers which were arrayed on the bitter skirts of the English wings, soe annoied the Scots, till finally Edward Bute came on their backs with a thousand speares, and brake them assunder, in such wise that they did but little more hurt that day. Albeit incontinentlie herewith a battell of horsemen to the number of thirtie thousand, came rushing together all at once in thicke, to haue borne downe and overriden the Scots; but being so in their full race galloping with most violence towards them, they tumbled into the fosses and pits before mentioned, in such wise one upon another, that the most part of them was slaine, without all recoverie. Nevertheless the Scots in maner oppressed through the huge multitude of the enemies, were nere at the point to haue bene vanquished. [During which conflict saith Buch, this happened (which though it be a small thing to put in writing, yet was such as oftentimes it chanceth in battell, and as brought no small benefit to the perfection of their business) that king Robert (who continually rode before the battell appointed to his gouernement) holding a mace of waite in his hand (and keeping the first order in the array) was espied of an Englishman that knew him verie well: and forthwith rode full against Bute with his speare. But the king beating the stroke aside, came to his English aduersarie, overthrow him by the force of his horse, in the end killed him with his mace & so left him dead. Whereupon, the common people beholding the valure of their king and capteine, did with great force by the instigation of their fierce and fierie minds (and not by the kings perswasion) fall upon their enemies in such sort, that they seemed to

haue had the victorie of the aduersie battell of their enemies: had it not bene for the English archers, which were placed in the wings of the battell; whom Bute (sending out certeine light horsemen) did some represse: whereby the Scots encouraged, made their partie good; rather by hidden policie, than prepared force. For a stratagem by the Scots devised, and ordered by the English therof concerted, did far more hurt to the enemy, than the power assembled in the field. For that deuile in the end was the cause that the English lost the victorie, being at this lost.)

The Scots which were appointed to attend the carriage, as carsters, wainemen, lackies, and the women, beholding in what danger their masters, friends, & countymen stood, put on shirts, smocks, and other linne also upon their vsuall garments, and herewith binding towels and napkins to their speares, and to other such staves as they got in their hands, placed themselves as well as they could in array of battell, and so making a great noise and shew anew, came downe the hill side in the face of their enemies, with such a terrible noise and hideous clamor, that the Englishmen fighting as then with most furie against the Scots with certaine victorie, and beholding this new reinforcement comming downe the hill upon their faces, supposing verelie it had bene some new armie, their hearts began to faint, the more in deed, for that they saw themselves vnto able to susteine the violent encounter of the Scots then present. And hereupon they began to turne their backs, and fell to running away as people charelie vanquished: on whom the Scots followed with insatiable ire, and drew them down on all sides where they might overtake them. Sir James Douglas with foure hundred chosen horsemen, was commanded by king Robert to pursue the king of England with all speed, to trie if he might overtake him.

Douglas (according to his charge) folloined him in chase to Dunbar, & casting betwixt that and the borders, late in wait to haue taken him, if he had returned by land; but he being receiued into the castle of Dunbar by Patrike Dunbar erle of March, with fiftie earles in his companie, was by the same erle of March conueied into certeine bestels, lying there at anchor, with the which he passed alongst by the shore into England, to shew an example of the unstable state of princes: for though this Edward was that day in the morning right proud of the great puissance and number of people which he had about him, not unlike sometime to the great armie of king Ferres, yet he was constrained before the evening of the same day, to save his life in a poore fishers boat. In this battell were slaine fiftie thousand Englishmen (as the Scottish writers asseme) amongst whome was the erle of Gloucester, with two hundred knights. On the Scottish part were slaine about foure thousand, and amongst other two valiant knights, Sir William Walslopont, and Sir Walter Hesse. The spoile was so great of gold, silver, and other iewels gotten in the field, that the whole number of the Scottish armie was made rich thereby: and besides this, they got little lesse manie and riches by ransoming of prisoners taken at this battell, than of spoile gotten in the fight, campe, and field. But the death of Sir Giles Argentine, that died amongst other in this mostall battell, was so displeasing to king Robert, for the familiaritie which he had sometimes with him in England, that he reioiced little of all the gaine got by so famous a victorie. He caused his bodie to be buried right honorable in saint Patriks church, beside Edinburgh. The queene king Roberts wife, who had bene kept

The English mens hearts begin to faint.

The English men put to flight.

King Edward escaped.

The trustable state of worldly possessions.

The number of Scots slaine.

Sir Giles Argentine slaine.

Fr. Tho. Iohannes Maior maketh k. Edward to speake (by his pen) what he list himself.

lo. Maior says got that thing were not yet invented.

Leflow episc. saith, it was the abbat a man of singular pietie and pacitie of his, such were they can find in their charge.

The first joining.

Thirtie thousand English horsemen overthrewen in trenches.

Fr. Thio.

Nothing omitted for the glorie of their nation, since nature is commendable in all men, but most in a king.

King Robert killed an Englishman.

The order of the English battels.

The appointing of the Scottish battels.

The second.

Incombrance in an armie.

The queene
king Roberts
wife restored
to his husband

in captiuitie the space of 8 yeares, was in England
now deliuered by exchange for one of the nobles
of England, which was taken at this battell. The rich
clothes of silke, velvet, and gold, which were found
in the English campe, were distributed to the ab-
beies and monasteries of the realme, to make there
of vestments, copes, and frontals for altars. The
Carmelite frier, of whome ye heard before, brought
thither by king Edward to deserue the victorie of
the Englishmen; was taken prisoner amongst o-
thers, and commanded by king Robert to write con-
trarie the victorie of the Scots, according as he had
seene: who thereupon gathered his rustie wits toge-
ther, & made certeyne rude verses beginning thus.

Verses made
by Robert
Baston the
Carmelite.

De planctu eius mortui cum Carmine iudo.
Respon. respo. cum tali themate iudo.
With barren yerle this time I make,
Bewailing whilest such theame I take.

Miracles if
ye list to be-
leeue them.

There be some that haue iudged, how this victorie
was attained by the singular fauor of almighty
God, by reason of miracles which they heare to
happen at the same time. The night before the day
of the battell, there came to the abbete of Dun-
burie two men in compleat armour, desiring to
lodge there all night: the abbate, keeping an house of
great hospitalitie, receiued them with gladnesse, and
making them good cheare, demanded what they
were, and whither they were goinge: who answered
that they were the seruants of God, and gone to
helpe the Scots at Bannorthburn. On the morrow
the chamberlaine found them departed before open-
ing of the gates were opened, & the doore faire made, and
not stirred otherwise than as they left them ouer
night. The same day that the battell was foughten,
a knight clad in faire bright armour, declared to the
people at Aberdeen, how the Scots had gotten a
famous victorie against the Englishmen, and was
seene shortly after to passe ouer Riualand-firth on
horsebacke. It was supposed by the people that this
was saint Whagnus, sometime prince of Orkentie,
and for that cause king Robert endowed the church
of Orkentie with five poundes sterling of the re-
venues of Aberdeen, to furnish the same church with
bread, wine, and wax.

Robert Fle-
ming rewar-
ded for his
faithfull ser-
uice.

Manie noble men for their approued manhood
shewed in this conflict, were highly rewarded at
the hands of king Robert. One Robert Fleming,
by whose means he reuenged the treason wrought a-
gainst him by John Cummin, with slaughter of the
same John, had the lands of Cummerald giuen
him, which were of the inheritance belonging to the
said Cummin. It is reported by writers, that two
knights of Babant that serued amongst the Eng-
lishmen, chanced to heare manie reprochfull words
spoken in the English campe against king Robert,
who being somewhat moued therewith, and mis-
king such dismeasured talke, wished in words that
the victorie might chance vnto him. For the which
with R. Edward informed thereof, caused them by
a trumpet to be conueied vnto the Scottish campe,
with commandement to aid king Robert to the vi-
ctualmost of their powers, purposing to punish them
according to his mind, if he attained the victorie, as
he had no doubt but he should. Whereupon, before
the joining of the battels, he caused proclamation
to be made, that whosoever brought their heads vnto
him, should haue an hundred marks in reward.

A proclama-
tion.

The Scottish
house in An-
tuerpe build-
ed.

King Robert hearing in what danger they had
run for his sake, rewarded them with great riches
of the spoile got in the field, with the which they re-
turning into Babant, built a goodlie house in An-
tuerpe, naming the same Scotland; and causing
the Scottish armes, and the picture of Babel to be
set vp in the same, appointed it for a lodging to re-

ceiue them of the Scottish nation that should resort
vnto that towne, as may appeare even vnto this
day. And this was done for a memoriall, to shew
what loue and hartie beneuolence these two knights
bare towards king Robert and his people, for the
great liberalitie receiued at his hands. This glori-
ous victorie chanced to the Scots on the day of the
natiuitie of saint John Baptist, in the yeare 1314.

About this time for the varietie of fortune (in so
small a course of yeares) happened a thing not
worthy the reporting. For John Spentith, which
before betrayed his deere friend Wallace to the Eng-
lish, being therefore (as of right he ought) extreme-
ly hated of the Scots, was (in recompense thereof
beside manie other rewards) benefitted with the gar-
dianthip of the castle of Dunbryton: which fort (after
all the other castles before said were recovered to the
Scots) was almost the onlie thing (except some few
others) that remained in the hands of the English;
and because this fort was by nature inerpugnable,
king Robert dealt with the captaine (by such as
were friends and of kindred vnto him) to betraye the
castle into his hands, promising great recompense
therefore. Wherevnto this Spentith by no means
would agree, vnles R. Robert would giue to him the
earldome of Lennox for his reward. Wherevpon
the king being greatlie in doubt what to say therein,
(though in deed he vehementlie longed for the said
castle) because he did not thinke the obtaining there-
of to be of such good vnto him, as that he would
therefore offend or lose the earle of Lennox, who had
in all his calamities bene the most certeyne, and al-
most the onlie friend of the king: which doubt, when
the earle vnderstood; he forthwith came vnto him,
willing him in no wise to refuse the condition; wher-
vpon the bargaine was concluded betwene John
Spentith and the king, and that in such sort, as it was
most solemnelie confirmed.

Now, when the king should come to receiue this
castle (according to compositions) as he was in the
wood Colchon, a mile distant from the same, a cer-
teine carpenter called Kicoland came thither secre-
lie vnto him, & desired licence that he might speake
to the king, for he would discouer a great matter
touching a treason that was deuised and prepared a-
gainst him, by the captaine of Dunbryton. Which
pardon obtained, he opened vnto Babel, that be-
low in the wine-cellar of the castle, were a number
of English inclosed, which at dinner should either
take or kill the king (being then safe) after that he
had obtained the castle. Wherevpon the king no-
thing abashed, but keeping on his former determi-
nation, & being (according to appointment) receiued
by the said John Spentith in the castle of Dunbry-
ton: after that he had searched all other places, and
was courteously invited to sit doونه to dinner;
answered that he would not eate, vntill he had lo-
ked into the cellar below. Wherevnto for excuse,
and to defer the time, the captaine answered that the
smith was absent and caried the key alway with him.
But the king not waiting for the coming of the
smith, did incontinently breake open the cellar
dore, whereby all the deceit appeared. After which,
the armed men were brought forth before the king,
who being severally examined, confessed the whole
matter; and further, that there was a ship readie in
the haven to haue caried the R. prisoner into Eng-
land, if they had taken him alieue. Wherevpon the
rest being punished, John Spentith was onlie cast
into prison, & reserved from further paine: because
the king would not offend his friends & kindred in so
dangerous a time as that was. For this Spentith
had manie beautifull daughters married to men of
great power & riches. After which imprisonment of
this

Englishmen
inclosed in a
cellar to kill
king Robert
after his en-
terance into
Dunbryton
castle.

1314.
Fr. Thin.

Buchanan.

John Spen-
tith made cap-
taine of Dun-
bryton castle.

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this p^rintish was by mediation of such as greatlie fauored him, restored to the fauor of Bruce, under whome he did after serue most faithfullie.

Immediatlie after, king Robert called a parlement at Ayr, where, by consent of the three states he was confirmed king, and the crowne intailed to the heires male of his bodie lawfullie begotten, and for want of such heires, to remaine vnto his brother Edward Bruce, and to the heires male of his bodie; and if he chanced to die without such heires, then should the crowne descend to Margerie the daughter of king Robert, and to the heires general of hir bodie by lawfull succession. In which parlement it was further decreed, that if the king were in his minority, he should then be gouerned by Thomas Randolph, and if anie misfortune chanced vnto the said Randolph, that then the gouernement of the kings person and kingdome should be committed to James Douglas.

This Margerie was gotten by king Robert on the earle of Mar his sister, his first wife, and was married by the aduise of his nobles vnto Walter great Steward of Scotland. Also king Robert, for that his first wife aforesaid was deceased, married shortly after Elizabeth the daughter of the earle of Ulster, on whome he got a sonne named David, and two daughters, the one named Margaret, and the other Maude. The first was married to the earle of Sutherland, and bare him a sonne named John: the second departed this world in hir infancie. After the marriage solemnized betwixt his daughter Margerie, and the foresaid Walter Steward, king Robert went through all the bounds of his realme, and did not onelie confirme the ancient liberties and priuileges of the burrowes and townes in all places where he came, but also augmented the same, and granted vnto diuerse, as well townes as baronies, sundrie new prerogatives and franchises, as may appeare by his charters made vnto them of the same, speciallie to the townes of Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen.

In the yeare following, which was in the yeare 1315, the princes of Ireland oppressed (as they toke it) with long and insufferable tyrannie of the Englishmen, and trusting by support of Scots to recover their libertie, now after so notable an overthrow of the whole English puissance, sent ambassadors vnto king Robert, requiring that it might please him to send his brother Edward Bruce, to receiue the crowne and gouernement of their countrie of Ireland. This request being granted, Edward prepared to take that tournis in hand, and so with a small power of Scottishmen transporting ouer into Ireland, and joining with an armie of such as were readie to assist him there, he toke the towne of Ulster, and slew a great number of Englishmen which were found in the same. Then afterwards, by the generall consent of all the estates of Ireland, Edward Bruce was proclaimed king of that realme, and certeine of the Irish nobilitie sent ambassadors vnto the pope, to sue for a ratification of their act and proceedings, for the surtie and weale of their countrie, sith they were not able longer to susteine the greivous yoke of the English thraldome. These ambassadors, through their earnest diligence, got such fauor in their sute, that the pope sundrie times charged the Englishmen to auoid out of Ireland: howbeit, they seemed to passe little of his commandments in that behalfe, for they daile sought how to make themselves strong in that part, least they should lose the possession of that countrie, which their enemies were about to get forth of their hands.

King Robert being informed how through the reenforcement of the English armie, being daile re-

freshed with new succors, his brother was like to run in danger to be cast away, he left sir James Douglasse gouerno: in Scotland, with a competent number of men to defend the borders, and he himselfe with a great power of other souldiers and men of war went ouer into Ireland, to support his brother: but suffering great distresse at his first comming thither, for want of vittells & other provisions, he lost almost the one halfe of his folks through verie famine & hunger, & the residue were constrained to cate horses and other such lothsome meates, therewith to susteine their languishing liues. At length being approached within a daies iourne of his brother, in purpose to haue supported him with those people which he had left, his brother not abiding his comming, fought brutisellie with the Englishmen at a place called Dundach, and receiuing the overthrow, was slaine himselfe with a great number of other. It is uncerteine whether he had anie knowledge of the comming of his brother king Robert, or that through desire of fame he feared least if he staid till his brother came, a great part of the praise (if they got the victorie) should remaine to him: and therefore he made such hast to fight. But howsoeuer it was, thus he was slaine on the fourteenth of October, in the yeare 1317.

Edward king of England, hearing that king Robert was passed ouer into Ireland, thought the time to serue well for his purpose, effloned to invade Scotland: and hereupon comming with a great power to the borders, he purposed to haue done some great feat. But sir James Douglas the gouerno, having likewise gathered an armie, gaue him battell, and put both him & his people to flight. In this battell were slaine three notable captains on the English side: as sir Edmund Lilaw a Gascoigne captaine of Berwike, with sir James Penill, and the third sir James Douglasse slue with his owne hands. King Edward perceiuing it was not like that he should do anie good at that time against the Scots by land, thought it best to assaile them by sea, which way forth the Englishmen commonly were euer too good for the Scots. He rigged therefore a fleet of ships, and sent the same into the Forth, which burned the countrie on each side, and toke manie rich booties from the inhabitants nere to the Hore.

Duncane earle of Fife, hearing of these cruelties done by the Englishmen, came forth with five hundred hardie souldiers, to defend the countrie from such inuasions: but when he perceiued that the enemies were of greater number than he was able well to encounter, having but an handful of men in comparison to them, he gaue somewhat backe, and in the meane time met with William Sinclair bishop of Dunkeld, hauing about three score armed men in his companie, who blaming the earle for his faintnesse of courage, caused him to set forth againe towards the enemies, & finding them busie in spoiling & harrieng the countrie, they gaue an onset vpon them so fiercelie, that there was slaine at the first encounter to the number of five hundred of the Englishmen, and the residue chased to their botes lieng at Dunbriell, which they entred in such haste, that one of the botes being pestered with ouer great number, sank with them before they could get to their ships. Sir Robert euer after custombable called this Wil. Sinclair his owne bishop, for the noble prowes which he shewed in this enterprise.

In the same yeare Robert Steward the sonne of Walter Steward and Margerie Bruce was borne, which Robert after the death of Sir David le Bruce was preferred to the crowne. After this, Thomas Randall earle of Marrey, the second day of April

L.ij.

reconquered

See more hereof in Ireland.

King Robert passed ouer into Ireland.

Edward Bruce is slaine in Ireland.

See more of this matter in Ireland.

Edward sendeth a nauie into Scotland.

Englishmen discomfited.

William Sinclair called Sir Robert's bishop.

Robert Steward borne.

1318.

1314.
The crowne of Scotland intailed.
Margerie the daughter of king Robert by his first wife.

14.
n.
nan.

When-
ade cap-
it Dun-
castile.

The second
marriage of
king Robert.

The issue of
king Robert
by his second
wife.

Liberties by
king Robert.

Englishmen
led in a
to kill
Robert
his en-
ce into
baiton

1315.

The lords of
Ireland re-
quire aid of
king Robert.

Ulster.

Edward
Bruce pro-
claimed king
of Ireland.

The English
men posse-
sion little
on the popes
commande-
ments.

Berwike re-
covered.

recovered the towne of Berwike out of the Eng-
lish mens hands, which they had held for the space of
twentie yeres before. It was taken now by prac-
tise, through meanes of one Spaldein an English
man, who for his labour had certein lands given
him in Angus, which his posteritie inioieth to these
daies.

Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

*Trulie it were a wonderfull processe to declare
that mischiefs came through hunger and other mis-
fortunes, by the space of 11 yeres in Northumber-
land; for the Scots became so proud after they had
gotten Berwike, that they nothing esteemed the
English nation. But (amongst other things by the
Scots attempted) much about this time, Adam de
Cardonne came with 160 men, to dye alwaie
the castell passing by Forham, which the people of
the towne perceiving, ran forth and incountered
with the Scots, who had gotten the victorie of them,
had got Thomas Grey capteine of the castell, seeing
them in some leoparde, issued forth with 60 of his
souldiers, & slaine most part of the Scots, and their
horses. The which Grey had bene twice before besse-
ged in the castell of Forham, once almost by the
space of a whole yere, and another time by the terme
of seven moneths, in which he behaved himselfe like
a worthy gentleman, in that his enemies got none
advantage of him, although that during the siege,
they had erected manie fortresses before the castell,
to annoie such as were within: of which forts they
made one at Wistlington, and one in the church of
Forham, the castell whereof had bene twice sein-
ted and in danger of losse, had not the lord Perrie
and Penill (being great succourers of the marches)
refused the same. For at one time the viter ward of
Forham castell was taken in the time of this Grey
on saint Bartharins æven, which the Scots kept not
but thre daies, and their purpose in winning the
same did utterly faile them.)

Ri. Southwell.

The Scots
enter further
into England
tha they were
accustomed,
even unto
Weatherbie (as
Foord, saith.)

After that the earle of Murray had recovered
Berwike, he and the lord James Douglas in the
moneth of Aprill invaded England with a puissant
armie, passing further into the countrie than the
Scots had bene accustomed to do before time, bur-
ning as they went forward the townes of Northal-
erton and Barrowbydige, and coming to Rippon,
they spoiled the towne of all the goods found therein;
but compounding with them that kept the church a-
gainst them for a thousand marks, they forbore to
burne anie of the buildings. After they had taried
here thre daies, they departed thence, and went to
Banerburgh, which towne they burnt, and beating
the woods (into the which the people were with-
drawne with their goods and cattell) they got a great
botle, and returning homewards by Scipton in
Craven, they first spoiled the towne, and after burnt
it, and so marching thorough the countrie, came
backe into Scotland with their spoiles and pris-
oners without anie resistance. [This castell of Ba-
nerburgh was taken by John Lilleborne, which after
rendered himselfe to the king upon certein con-
ditions.]

Fr. Thin.

1319.
Berwike be-
sieged.

Ri. Southwell.

William Mel-
ton archbishop
of yorke.

In the yere following, king Edward came and
last siege unto Berwike but the towne was so well
defended, that he was constrained with small hono-
r to re:urne home, and leaue it as he found it. For in
the meane time, while king Edward lay at the siege
before Berwike, Thomas Randall earle of Mur-
ray, and the lord James Douglas assembled their
forces together, but perceiving themselves too weake
to remove the siege by force, they passed by, and en-
tring into England, walked and spoiled all before
them, keeping on their way unto Barrowbydige:
whereof when the citizens of Yorke were advertised;
with their capteins William Melton, their arch-
bishop,

shop, and the bishop of Ely, not making them of the
countrie once priue to their purpose, but having in
their compaignie a great number of priests and men
of religion, they gaue battell to the Scots one day
in the after none, not farre from the towne of Wist-
ton upon Swale, twelve miles distant from Yorke
northwards.

The battell at
Wistton upon
Swale.

But forsomuch as the most part of the English
men were not expert in the feates of warre, and
came not in anie orderlie arraie of battell, they
were easlie vanquished & put to flight by the Scots,
who were readie to receiue them in good order, close
together in one entier squadzone, and after their ac-
customed maner, at their first joining they gaue a
great sholot, wherewith the Englishmen out of
hand began to giue backe: which when the Scots
perceiued, they got them to their horses, and follo-
wed the chase most egerlie, beating downe and sea-
ting the Englishmen, neither sparing religious per-
son nor other, so that their died to the number of
four thousand Englishmen that day, and amongst
the rest was the maior of Yorke one. In the water
of Swale (as was said) there were drowned to the
number of a thousand. So be short, if night had not
come the sooner upon, it was thought scarce there
should anie of the English part haue escaped.

The English
men discor-
fied.

The maior of
Yorke slaine.

When king Edward lieng as yet at the siege of
Berwike, vnderstood that mischiefe the Scots did
within his realme, he raised his siege, in purpose to
haue incountered with his enemies: but the Scots
aduertised of his purpose, returned with all their pri-
soners and spoile by Stanemore, and so through
Gilland, and the west marches, withdraw home
into their countrie. About the feast of All saints,
when the inhabitants of the north parts had got in
their harvest, so that their barnes were now stuffed
with corne, of the which provision they were to liue
all the yere after, the Scots vnder the conduct of the
said two capteins, the earle of Murray, and the lord
Douglas, entered into England, and burnt the
countrie of Gilland, taking away both such people
as they tooke prisoners, and also all the cattell which
they might meet with, and so kept vpon their iourne
till they came to Burgh vnder Stanemore, destrui-
eng all afore them, & then returning through West-
merland, practised the like mischiefe there, in bur-
ning by houses and corne in all places where they
came, as they had done before in Gilland. And fi-
nallie passing through Cumberland with the like ha-
uocke, at length they drew home into their owne
countrie, with no small number of prisoners, and
plentie of great riches which they had got in that
iourne. [And the souldiers going backe againe to-
ward Scotland, fought with the commons of Flet-
castell at the bydge end, for certein displeasures
done vnto them, in which conflict sir John Perith
knight was slaine, and manie other squires belong-
ing to the constable and marshall. About which time
also, king Edward (lieng at Litch to go vnto Eder-
burgh) was constrained to returne for lacke of vit-
tels.]

The Scots
invade Eng-
land.

Burgh vnder
Stanemore.

Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

About the same time died Margerie Wyse king
Roberts daughter. Shortlie after also was a truce
taken betwixt the two realmes of England & Scot-
land for a certein time. Then king Robert hauing
no trouble, neither within his realme nor without,
caused a parlement to be holden at Perth, where he
required the lords to shew their deeds and charters
wherby they held their lands. The lords after long
aduise ment taken herein, at length pulled out their
scrolls all at once, declaring that they had none o-
ther evidence nor charter to shew for the tenure of
their lands. King Robert was somewhat amazed at
this sight, and spoke no small indignation threewith,
but

Margerie
Wyse deceas-
eth.

A parlement
at Perth.

The evidence
and charters
wherby the
lords of Scot-
land held
their lands.

but yet he dissembled for the time, and commended them for their noble hearts and valiant stomachs: neuertheless, he purposed to be reuenged of their proud presumptions, when more opportunitie of time serued thereto. Sundrie of the nobles perceiuing that the king bare an inward grudge towards them for this matter, deuised amongst themselves how to deliuer him into king Edwards hands, so to auoid all danger that might follow of his displeasure conceiued thus against them. For the accomplishment of this their treasonable practise, they made a bond in writing, confirmed with their hands and seales betwixt them, & minded to send the same into England vnto king Edward. But king Robert hauing some inkling of this their purpose, caused diligent watch to be laid by the way for such as should passe into England from them with the said bond, inasmuch that in the end a palmer or pilgrime was apprehended which had the bond, and other writings inclosed with in his pilgrims staffe.

A palmer taken with writings on him.

King Robert vnderstanding by these writings all the manner of the treason, and what they were that had consented to the same, hastily sent for the whole number of them, as though there had bene some matter in hand wherein he wished to haue their aduise. They were no sooner come, but straightwaies calling them before him, he questioned with them whether they knew their owne hands and seales, and immediatlie therewith shewed the writings, which were found in the palmers staffe: and because they could not denie their owne act, they were committed to ward within sundrie castles, till he had taken further aduise in the matter. Incontinentlie after, he went to Bertolke, and there arrested the capteine of the towne, named Sir William Soules, and caused him to be conueied to Perth (committing the said William Soules (as saith Io. Maior) with the countesse of Straberne, to perpetuall prison) where shortly after he called an assemble of all the estates of the realme. This was called the blacke parliament, kept in the yere after the incarnation of our Saviour 1320. In this parliament, at the beginning thereof, was David Abernethie, the sisters sonne of king Robert, accused as partie to the treason aforesaid, though being laboured vnto by the rest of the conspirators to soine with them therein, he refused so to do, but yet for that he did not vtter the thing, but concealed it with them, he was condemned & lost his head, the people sore lamenting his mishap, for the great valiancie which was knowne to be in him, hauing serued honorable manie yeres before against the Saracens, and other miscreants in the parties of beyond the seas, where he was called the flower of chivalrie.

David Abernethie lost his head.

In deed the king himselfe would gladlie haue saued his life, but for that he minded to do iustice on the residue, and finding no man to make sute for him, he permitted the execution to proceed against him. On the morrow after, he caused all the residue of the traitors to be brought forth to iudgement, and sentence being giuen against them, he commanded without debate that they should be executed. Then came diuerse and sundrie persons in most humble sorte to make sute for pardon to the king for their friends and kinsmen: but he made them plaine answer, that there was none to be found that would make intercession for the sauing of his kinsmans life the day before, when he was led to execution, that had offended nothing so grievouslie, in comparison of them for whom they now made sute, and therefore he had them be contented, for they should assuredlie haue according to that which they had deserued. And therewith were the officers commanded to make hast with the execution, which was done incontinent-

Execution without respite.

lie without anie further respite.

There were some that were accused to be partakers in this treason, but yet for that no evident proofes could be produced against them, they were dismissed, as Walter Marwell, with Walter Berclaire thirrie of Aberdene, Patrike Graim, Hameline Peiointon, and Eustace Kathie, knights; besides eight others. But yet the countesse of Straberne & William de Soules were condemned to perpetuall prison. The earle of Buchananes lands, who suffered at that present, were diuided into two parts, the one being giuen to William Haie that was made constable of the realme in place of John Quincie, who likewise suffered at the same time; and the other part was giuen vnto William Keth, together with the office of the stewardship of the realme. About the same time the king of England by complaint made to the pope, purchased that a legat was sent from the see apostolike into Scotland, to admonish king Robert to cease from further disquieting the realme of England, by such cruell inuasions, as were surmised that he wrongfullie exercised against the same realme. But answer was made herevnto by the king, and other the nobles of the realme of Scotland, that all the world might well vnderstand that the whole occasion of all the trouble which had chanced betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, did onelic proceed of the couetous desire in the Englishmen, seeking to conquer that realme without anie iust claime or title: and therefore they thought it reason first to suppress the loslie stomachs of the Englishmen; and then if there were anie thing worthy to be reformed on their behalves, they would be contented to stand vnto the order of the popes authoritie therein. Thus was the legat dispatched home, without other effect of his errand [saying (as saith Buchanan) he cursed and interdicted the Scots and Scotland.]

A legat sent from Rome to the Scots.

The answer made to the legat.

Fr. Thind.

Shortly after, king Robert entered with an armie into England, and wasted the countrie before him, till he came to the recrosse, which standeth vpon Stanemore. Howbeit it should seme by that which Richard Southwell writeth hereof, that king Robert was not present himselfe in person in this iourne, but that he appointed the earle of Murray to be his lieutenant, who with an armie, after the feast of the Epiphanie entered into England, and coming to Warrington, staid there for a season, whilst the lord James Dolwylasse, and the lord Stewart of Scotland went abroad to harrie and spoile the countrie on each side, the one of them passing forth towards Harlipole and Clueland, and the other towards Richmond. The inhabitants of Richmondshire, hauing no capteine amongst them to defend their countrie from that grievous inuasion of the enimie, gaue a great summe of monie in like manner, as at other times they had done, to haue their countrie spared from fier and spoile.

King Robert with an armie in Scotland.

Ri. Southwell. 1321.

The bishopricke of Durham burnt by the Scots.

Richmondshire redeemed from spoile with a summe of monie.

The Scots taried at this time about 15 daies within England, and in the end returned without battell. For when the knights of the north countries repaired vnto the duke of Lancaster then lieng at Pomfret, and offered to go into the field with him against the Scots, he would not once stirre his foot, by reason of the discord that was depending betwixt him and king Edward: but howsoever the matter went, king Edward sore grieved in his mind with such inuasion made by his enimies the Scots, he gaue order to leaue an armie of an hundred thousand men, that on horsebacke and on foot (as the report went) appointing them to be ready to enter into Scotland at Lammas next: whereof king Robert being aduertised, ment to prevent him, and therupon in the aduaues of the feast of saint John Baptist,

The duke of Lancasters disloialtie.

King Robert inuaded England.

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idence arers y the Scot id nds.

Confracture of the lordes against king Robert.

The lordes that had conspired, are committed to ward.

The blacke parliament. 1320.

Among other were these, Gilbert de Galet, John Cogit knights and Richard Bion a notable warriour. John Maior.

The abbey of Holme burnt. Baptiste, he entered into England with an armie nere to Carleill, and burnt a many place that some time belonged to him at Rolle, and Alderdale, and spoiled the monastrie of Holme, notwithstanding his fathers corps was there interred.

Founeis abbey. From thence he marched forward, destroying and spoiling the countrie of Copland, and so keeping vp on his iourne, passed Doden sands, towards the abbey of Founeis: but the abbat meeting him on the waie, redeemed his lands from spoile, and brought king Robert to his house, and made to him great chere: but yet the Scots could not hold their hands from burning and spoiling diuerse places; and marching forward vnto Cartmelle beyond Leuin sands, burnt and spoiled all the countrie about, except a priorie of blacke canons which stood there. Passing from thence they came to Lancaster, which towne they also burnt, saue onelie the priorie of blacke monks, and a house of preaching friers. Here came to them the earle of Murray, and the lord James Douglas with an other armie, whereupon marching further southwards, they came to Preston in Anderneis, and burnt that towne also, the house of friers minors onelie excepted.

Leuin sands. And thus being foure score miles within England from their owne borders, they returned homewards with all their prisoners, cattell, and other besties which they had got in that iourne, comming to Carleill on the eue of saint Margaret, and lodging about that towne the space of five daies, they wasted and destroyed the coyne, & all other things that came within their reach. Which done, on saint James euen they entered into Scotland againe, hauing bene within England at this time thre weekes and thre daies. Immediatlie hereupon, to wit, about the feast of Lammas, king Edward with his armie came to Newcastle, and desirous to be reuenged of such iniuries done to his subjects, entered into Scotland, and passing forth till he came to Edinburgh, though want of vittells and other necessarie prouision, he was constrained to returne home within the space of 15 daies. For king Robert advertised of his comming, had caused all the coyne and cattell in the countrie to be conueied out of the waie into certeine forts, whereunto the Englishmen might not come to get it into their hands, & so to relieue themselves therewith. But in their returning homeward, somewhat to reuenge their displeasures, they spoiled and burnt the abbeies of Melrose, and Dunburgh, with diuerse other religious houses and places, not sparing anie kind of crueltie against all those of the inhabitants that fell into their hands.

Edwards raiseth an armie. In reuenge hereof, king Robert shortly after entered with a puissant armie into England, spoiling & wasting the countrie, till he came almost to Yorke. At length, hearing that king Edward was comming towards him with an armie, he chose a plot of ground betwixt the abbey of Wiland and saint Saulour, there to abide battell; which king Edward refused not to giue, though in the end he was put to fight with his whole power, and chased with great slaughter both of Englishmen and Normans, which were there in his aid. Diuerse also of the nobilitie were taken prisoners, as John de Britaine earle of Richmond, and Henrie Sowle, with others. This battell was fought in the yere of our Sauour 1323, 15 daies after the feast of saint Michael the archangel. King Edward lieng the same time at the abbey of Knales, advertised of this overthrow, fled and got him into Yorke, leaving his plate and much other stuffe behinde him for want of cariage in that his sudden departure, which the Scots comming thither found and took away with them. And from thence they passed forth into Yorke shire, spoiling and wa-

The abbeyes of Melrose & Dunburgh burned. King Robert invaded the north parts of England, approaching almost to Yorke.

Edwards is put to flight. King Edward is put to flight.

The earle of Richmond is taken. The earle of Richmond is taken.

1323. Ri. Southwell. Knales abbey.

Yorke shire wasted by Scots. Yorke shire wasted by Scots.

king the countriemen vnto Beuerleie, which towne for a summe of monie they were contented to spare, and so then they returned homewards, entering againe into Scotland on All soules day, which is the second of Nouember, after they had remained within England at that time the space of a moneth and foure daies.

Shortlie after, king Robert sent an ambassadoe to the French king [to pacifie him offended with them for the English] and to renew the ancient bond of amitie betwixt the two realmes of Scotland and France, which was accomplished with this new condition added to the former articles, that if it chanced that succession failed touching the inheritance of the crowne of either realme, so that a doubt should rise, who ought by right to inioy the same, the claime and title thereof should be tried and decided by the nobles of both the realmes; and further, that they should not onelie remove and exclude all such as went about wrongfullie to usurpe the crowne, but also to defend and mainteine the true inheritoe to the bittermost of their powers. In confirmation of this couenant, both the kings received the sacrament. And for further ratifieng of it, they made a prouiso, that whereas (then) they had the popes consent hereto, neither he, nor anie of his successors hereafter should dispense with them for the breaking of that bond; and if they did, euerie such dispensation should be reputed void and of none effect.

In this yere 1323 (as Richard Southwell reporteth) about the Ascension day, came commissioners from the two kings of England and Scotland, vnto Newcastle, there to treat of some agrement of peace. For the king of England came Amerie de Valence earle of Penbroke, the lord Hugh Spenser the younger, and foure other persons sufficientlie authorized. And for the king of Scots came the bishop of saint Andrews, Thomas Randall earle of Murray, and foure other persons likewise of god calling. After much talke, in the end they agreed vpon a truce to indure for 13 yeres, which was proclaimed in both realmes about the feast of saint Barnabas next ensuing. About this time also, or not long before, an Englishman descended of noble linage, called Hamton, chanced for speaking certeine words in commendation of king Robert, to fall at variance with one of king Edwards priue chamber, named John Spenser; in somuch that fighting together about the same words, Hamtons hap was to slea this Spenser, & thereupon knowing there was no waie but death, if he should hap to be caught, he fled with all speed into Scotland, where he was received of the king in most friendlie wise, and had giuen to him for the maintenance of his estate like a gentleman, the lands of Cadzow [which (as saith Buchanan) he called by the name of Hamilton.]

The posteritie of this Hamton remaineth in Scotland vnto this day, increased so in kinred and honor, by reason it was in processe of time mingled with the kings blood, that few linages in that realme are of like estimation. They are now called Hamiltons, somewhat changed from the name of their first beginner. [Donald earle of Marre, was made by king Edward the second gardian or capitaine of the castell of Bristow in England, the which he kept vntill the comming of queene Isabell against hir husband Edward the second, at what time he declined the same into the hands of the said queene, and returned into Scotland.]

In the meane time, Edward king of England being ruled altogether by two of the Spensers, as Hugh the father and Hugh the sonne, ran so farre into the hatred of his people, as well the nobles as commons, that in the end he was deposed of all kinglie

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

The bond of amitie betwixt Scotland and France renewed with new articles

A prouiso.

Ri. Southwell.

James Glasie. Fr. Thin.

Hamton an Englishman, of whom the Hamiltons are descended

Fr. Thin.

The Hamiltons mingled with the kings blood.

Fr. Thin. 1323. Scala chron.

Edwards deposed.

Dis for ward ti crobini 13 Ri. Sou The co Popha

James Glasie. Fr. Thin.

The tion Bat king

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kinglie authoritie, committed to prison, and in fine secretlie murdered, as in the English historie more plainelie appereth.

His sonne Edward the third was placed in his crowne, and crowned the 26 day of Januarie, in the yere 1326. In the night of the same day in which he received the crowne, the Scots went to have stolne the castell of Roxham by scaling, and they went so cunninglie about their purpose, that they were to the number of 16 of them got aloft on the walls: but the capteine of this castle Robert Baners being warned aforehand of their coming by one of his soldiers that was a Scottishman borne, suddenlie assailed them, slue nine or ten of them, and took five prisoners alive, but sore wounded, so as this misfortune falling to them in the beginning of king Edward the third his reigne, might have borne a forwarning of their losses to follow in the daies of his gouernement.

Whilist these things were a doing in England, king Robert though he might seme to haue title iust enough to the crowne of Scotland, which he had possessed now not onlie by rightfull conquest, but also by lawfull interest of inheritance for a certeine number of yeres, by consent of all the estates of the realme; yet to the end to put awaie all doubts, and to conclude the succession of the Ballioll from all claime, which hereafter they might pretend to the crowne of Scotland, he sent sir James Dowglas into France vnto the lord John Ballioll, to require him to transpore and resigne all the challenge of right and interest which he might seme to haue to the crowne of Scotland, as well for himselfe as his heires & successors for ever, to king Robert le Bruce, and his heires. In consideration of which resignation, he offered fauour lands and rents to him to be appointed forth in Scotland.

The Ballioll being now sore woone with age, and thereto blind of bodilie sight, lightlie consented vnto this motion, considering (as he said) he took it to be the ordinaunce of almighty God, that king Robert should inioy the gouernement of the Scottish kingdom, as most worthie and able thereto, hauing deliuered the same, and defended it most valiantlie from the hands of most cruell enemies. He called therefore his friends and kinsmen together, in the presence of whome he wholie resigned vnto king Robert and his heires, all the right and title which he or anie other for him either had, or hereafter might haue to the crowne of Scotland, concerning anie interest or claime which might be moued for anie cause or consideration, from the beginning of the world vnto that present day. After the returne of sir James Dowglas forth of France, with so good expedition and dispatch of that businesse wherabout he was sent, king Robert verie iollull thereof, assembled a parliament of the nobles and other estates of the realme at Cambuskenneth, where he procured a new act to be established touching the succession of the crowne, which was, that if his sonne David deceased without heires of his bodie lawfullie begotten, that then Robert Stewart begotten on Margerie Bruce his daughter, should succeed in possession of the crowne. All the lords at the same time were sworn to mainteine this ordinance.

In the meane while, king Edward the third sent vnto king Robert for peace, but for much as it was perceiued to be but a coloured pretence, no conclusion thereof ensued, but preparation made on either part for wars. King Robert hostile after fell sicke, by reason thereof, being not able to ride abroad, nor to trauell himselfe, he committed the administration of all things touching the common-wealth, and other the affaires of the realme vnto Thomas Randall,

and to the lord James Dowglas, two capteins, for their high prowesse and noble balliance in those daies greatlie renowned. These two hardie chieftains assembling an armie of twentie thousand men, or (as some writers haue) 25 thousand, entered with the same into Northumberland, waiking & spoiling the countrie on each side. [And in countering with an assemble of the English at Warlington, there slue manie of them, and put the rest to flight.] Against them came king Edward with an armie of an hundred thousand men: of the which number there were (as Froissard saith) eight thousand horsemen, and 24 thousand archers. At their coming into Northumberland, they might well perceiue by the smoke of the fiers, which the Scots made in burning of villages, houses, and towncs, where the enemies were: but yet because they taried not long in a place, but passed on without staying here or there, the Englishmen might not come nere to fight with them.

King Edward therefore was counselled to drave towards Scotland, that lieng betwixt them and home, he might haue them at some aduantage as they should returne, which was thought should be hostile, as well for lacke of vittels, as also to defend their owne borders, when they heard once that the English armie drew that waies forth. But coming to the riuer of Tyne, through abundance of raine (latelie fallen) the streame was so risen, that neither horse nor man might passe, so that the armie was constrained to incampe there for the space of thre daies, in great scarcitie of vittels, till they were faine to send vnto Newcastle (which was distant from thence 26 miles) and to Carlisle (which was about 22. miles thence) for provision, which was sent them from those places in great plentie. In the meane time were thus certeine light horsemen sent abroad into the countrie, to vnderstand where the Scots were, and to view their doings. [Upon proclamation before made by the king (that who so could bring him word where the Scots were harbored, should haue a hundred pounds of pence reuenues in recompense for the same; Thomas Kokesbeie after diligent search, brought word to the king thereof:)] for those which were sent, finding where the Scots were incamped, vpon the top of a mountaine, not past fife miles from the English campe, returned backe to king Edward, and declared that they had seene and learned of the enemies doings.

King Edward right iollull of the newes, causeth his armie to be diuided into thre battels, and forthwith marcheth on towards the place where his enemies laie. And coming about noone daies within sight of the Scots, he perceiued at length that the place which they kept was so strong, that with the height of the ground, & thereto defended on the one side with the course of a riuer, that by no means they might be assailed without great and manifest danger. The Englishmen in the end thought it best to chuse forth a place to incampe in for that night, and so doing, sent an herald at armes vnto the Scots, requiring them to come downe vnto some even ground where battell might be giuen; but the Scots refused so to do, alleging that fith the Englishmen were thre to one in number, it was no reason to will them to forsake their ground of aduantage which they had taken and chosen forth for their owne defense.

Thus were they incamped nere together either in sight of other for the space of thre nights, euerie day shewing themselves in order of battell, without breaking their arrate, except certeine of the horsemen, which on either part now and then came forth

Randall and to James Dowglas.

They invade Northumberland.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

1327.

King Edward the third cometh with an armie against them.

Fr. Thin.

The Scots are incamped on a hill.

The English men sent to the Scots.

The answer of the Scots.

King Edward the third crowned.

Southwell. The castell of Roxham.

Thin. hanan, e bond of tie betwixt outland and ance resed with articles.

roule.

Southwell.

James Dowglas sent into France to the Ballioll.

miton an ighlishman, whome the miltons descended.

The resignation of the Ballioll to king Robert.

Thin.

Parliament at Cambuskenneth. An act for the succession of the crowne.

e than is mingled h the as blond. Thin. 1325. la chron.

Edward sed.

The rule of things committed to Thomas

The Scots
dislodge.

The English
armie raised.

An enterprize
exploited by
sir James
Dowglas.

The Scots
secretlie re-
turn home to
their countrie.

and fell in skirmish, so that sometimes an man might have seen good emptying of saddles betwixt them. On the fourth day in the morning, when the Englishmen beheld the hill where the Scots had lien the night before, they perceived how they were gone, and thereupon sending forth light horsemen to trie out which way they had taken, word was brought how they were but removed to an other hill a little off, lying fast by the same river, and there lay incamped more strongly than before. Incontinentlie hereupon, king Edward raised his campe, and remoueth to an other hill lying our against that hill where the Scots with their powder were now lodged. At length, after that both the armies had lien thus a good space the one duer against the other, James Dowglas took aduise with himselfe to exploit a right hardie enterprize.

He chose forth two hundred of perfect good horsemen, mounted upon verie swift and readie geldings, with the which in the night he passed allie by the English watch, that he was not once descried by anie of them, till he was entered into their campe, where, by the noise of the moving of the horse set, some chanced to awake that lay asleepe. But yet per the alarme were raised to anie purpose, the Scots thus led by Dowglas had persed through, euen unto the kings tent, and cut two cords of the same in sunder, so that the king was in no small danger to haue bene slaine, had not the Scots withdrawn the sooner for doubt of being inclosed with their enemies as now raised on each side to come to his succors, but Dowglas yet returned in safetie with his number backe againe to the Scottish campe, hauing slaine (as some books report) three hundred Englishmen at this bunt. The Englishmen warned hereby, took better heed after to their watch.

These armies lay thus one against an other for the space of eightene daies, till at length the Scots priuile in the night conuied themselves away, and returned home in most speedie wise, supposing they had done sufficientlie enough for that time. It chanced that in the evening, before the Scots went thus their waies, there was a Scot taken by the English watch, who being brought before the king, confessed that there was commandement given through the Scottish campe, that euerie man should be readie with his armor and weapon to follow the standard of Dowglas at a certeine houre the same night, but whether they intended to go, it was unknowne, saue onelie amongst the captiues. Hereupon the English doubting least the Scots minded to giue them a camifado that night, placed themselves in order of battell, and so stood till the next morning readie to haue receiued them, if they had come. The Scots also made great fires within their campe, that they might see about them. In the breake of the day, there were two Scottish trumpeters taken by the English scouts, the which being brought before the king, declared that the Scottish armie was broken up and returned, and further shewed how they were appointed thus to declare unto him, hauing suffered themselves to be taken for the same intent. As soone as the Englishmen were aduertised that the Scots were thus departed, they halsted to the place where they had lien incamped, in hope to haue found some riches, which for hast they had left behind them: but at their coming thither, they found nothing, but 200000 paires of hieland shoes, which are made of the greene hides of beasts untanned. Also they found three hundred hides of sauage beasts set upon stakes in stead of caldrons, therein to seeth their meat. Moreover, they had left behind them five hundred dead carcasses of beasts & sheepe,

which for that they could not drue them away, they killed, to the end the Englishmen should haue no gaine by them. There were like wise found five Englishmen with their legs broken, & bound naked unto trees, which were quicklie loosed and committed to the cure of surgeons. The enemies being thus departed, king Edward by aduise of his counsell brake up his campe, and returned to London, supposing that lost labour to trauell his people anie further at that time.

In this yeare died Walter Stewart, father to Robert Stewart, that was after king of Scotland. And in this yeare following or rather the same yeare, M. Elizabeth mother to Dauid Bruce the prince deceased, and was buried in Dunfermling the yeare after the birth of our Sauour 1328. In the same yeare, king Robert wan the castell of Roxburgh, and shortly after besieged the castell of Alnwick, where were slaine William de Mountalte knight, John Clapauen, and Malisus de Dunbar, with diuerse other of the Scottish nobilitie. In the end of the same yeare, there were ambassadors sent from king Edward into Scotland for the conclusion of a peace, which was accorded in this wise: that king Edward should renounce all his right & claime which he had or might haue to the crowne of Scotland, in declaring it free as it was in time of king Alexander the third, vnder these conditions, that Northumberland should be admitted for the marches of Scotland on the east part, and Cumberland on the west. For the which renuntiation thus to be made, and for the damages done to England by the Scots, it was couenanted that king Robert should pay to king Edward thirtie thousand marks sterling. And for the more suertie and ratification of this small agreement and peace betwixt the two nations, it was concluded that Jane the sister of king Edward should be coupled in marriage with Dauid Bruce the prince of Scotland.

All which articles were put in writing, whereunto all the seals of the great lords within both the realms were set in most substantiall wise. The solemnization of the marriage before remembred was kept at Berwick within a while after, on the eighteenth day of Julie, in the presence of a great number of the nobilitie, both of England and Scotland. King Robert liued not past twelue moneths after this marriage, departing out of this life at Carbury the seventh day of Julie, in the yeare of our Lord 1329. In the latter end of his daies, he was grievously vexed with a leprosie, which thus finally made an end of him, in the twentieth fourth yeare of his reigne, being one of the most valiant princes knownen in anie part of the whole world in those his daies, hauing felt in his time the force of either fortune: for in the beginning of his reigne, such storms of aduersitie surrounded him on each side, that if his constant manhood had not bene the greater, it might haue brought him in despaire of all recovery: for beside sundrie discomfitures, which he receiued at the hands of the enemies, with losse of all his brethren (his brother Edward onlie excepted) the most part of all the lords of Scotland were against him, and aided his aduersaries to the uttermost of his power: yet he nothing discouraged herewith, ceased not to imploy all industrious means to deliuer his countrie from the yoke of seruile bondage (which he beleued would succeed by the government of the English kings) till at length (as it were in despite of all former chances) he attained the effect of his whole induors, so much the more to his praise, as he had found the hinderance and difficultie great in bringing the same fullie to passe.

This same therefore did spread hugelie, not onelie amongst

King Edward
ward breas-
eth by his
campe.

1326, as 10.
Major saith,
but that can-
not be, if he
died the same
yeare that the
Scots were
besieged in
Stanhop
parke.
Roxham cas-
tell was.
Ambassadors
sent from R.
Edward for
a peace.
A peace con-
cluded with
England in
the yeare
1328, after the
account of
them that be-
gin the yeare
at Chy-
mille.
Jane, or ra-
ther Jane, the
sister of king
Edward, ma-
ried to Dauid
Bruce prince
of Scotland.

The death of
king Robert.

1329.

King Robert
tasted both
prosperous
and aduerse
fortune.

The name of
king Robert.

his praise as
amongst the
names.

A question
proposed to
an English
herald by king
Edward the
third.

The heralds
answer to the
question.

The herald
is answered.

The heralds
reply.

The heralds
opinion.

The opinion
of the herald
concerning
king Roberts
valiance.

amongst his owne people, but also amongst stran-
gers, insomuch that his due praise was not want-
ing, no not euen amongst and in the midst of his
verie enemies. For (as it is said) on a time it chan-
ced that king Edward the third, sitting at a banquet
amongst his nobles, fell in talke with them of war-
like enterprises, and of such notable captaines as had
excelled in knowledge in that behalfe. At length af-
ter much reasoning to and fro, he proposed this
question to the king of heralds, that as then stood by,
commanding him to declare which were the three
most worthy & valiant captaines that he had knowen
in all his daies. The herald advising with himselfe of
this matter, staied a space, in which meane while all
the companie were quiet, longing to heare his an-
swere therein, both for that they knew his skill was
such as was able best to giue sentence in such a mat-
ter; and againe, for that manie of them thought he
would haue numbred some of those that were there
present amongst those three. But the herald did not
onely know all the noble men within the realme of
England, but also all such strangers as had in anie
wise excelled in Martiall prowesse, hauing all their
acts and valiant doings in fresh memorie, and there-
upon boldlie uttered his mind as followeth.

The first, most worthy and valiant chieftaine (said
he) that hath liued in these our daies, was Henrie
the eighth: for he subdued three kings and three
realmes, and maintained his imperiall estate and
prosperous felicitie to his liues end. The second, was
sir Giles of Argentine, who in three sundrie battels
against the Saracens got the victorie, & slue two of
their principall captaines with his owne hands. The
third (if vnder your graces correction I may praise
the enimie) I must iudge to be Robert Bruce king
of Scotland: whom the herald had no sooner named,
but all those that were present, with scornfull laugh-
ter began to laugh at the heralds presumption, for
that he durst so malapertlie in the kings presence
honor the enimie with so high praise. At length, at
the heralds request, the king commanded them to be
still. The herald then began againe thus: I beseech
your highnesse (said he) if I haue ought offended,
to take my words in good part: for I haue bene euer
of this opinion, that the truth should in euerie case
be uttered, receiued, and allowed in your presence;
namelie, where your highnesse commandeth anie
man to declare the same. This one thing therefore I
shall desire you to consider, that if a man must
needs be vanquished, it is lesse dishonor to be van-
quished of him that is knowen for a right valiant
personage, than of him that is but a coward. More-
ouer, to shew plainelie vnto your grace, how much
I esteeme the valiance of king Robert (whome I
perceiue some here may not abide to haue numbred
with the two former most valiant captaines) if truth
might appeare, I durst be bold to preferre him with
good cause before them both: for the valiant acts at-
tribued by Henrie the emperor may be ascribed
rather to the wisdom of his counsellors, than to
his owne valiantnesse and prudence: but contrari-
lie, king Robert being confined out of his countrie,
and destitute of friends and all conuenient aid, re-
couered the realme of Scotland, by his singular
manhood, out of the hands of your noble father, and
established it with such tranquillitie, that he appea-
red more terrible to his enemies of England, than
euer they had bene afore to his subiects of Scot-
land. These or the like words uttered by the he-
rald, were well allowed of the king, and stopped the
mouths of them that toke the matter so strange-
lie at the first.

But now to returne to the purpose. King Robert
a little before the time of his death, called together

into the chamber where he laye, the chiefe partes of
his realme, and there in presence of them all, com-
mitted vnto them the gouernment of his sonne Da-
uid, a child as then not past seuen yeres of age. He
also aduised them of sundrie things touching the rule
of the realme after his decease, which he perceived
was at hand. And first he counselled them, that in no
wise they should at anie time make an absolute lord
ouer the Isles, because the people of the same are of
nature vnsubiect, and some seduced and brought to
moue rebellion against the king, into the which be-
ing once fallen, they are not easilie reduced to their
due obedience againe, by reason their countries are
of such strength, that they cannot be approached but by
sea, as inuironed with the same. Secondarilie, he ad-
uised them neuer to appoint anie set battell with the
Englishmen, nor to leopord the realme vpon the
chance of one field: but rather to resist and keepe
them off from indamaging their countrie, by often
skirmishing, & cutting them off at straits & places
of aduantage, to the intent that if the Scots be dis-
comfited, they may haue some power yet reserved to
make new resistance. Thirde, he forbade them in a-
nie wise to make any long peace with England, for
naturallie men war dull and slouthfull by long rest
and quietnes, so that after long peace, though lacke
of vse and exercise of armes, men are not able to
sustaine anie great paines or trauell.

Moreouer, he alledged, how the Englishmen would
continue in peace no longer than they wanted o-
portunitie and conuenient occasion for them to at-
tempt the warres: and therefore he iudged it best,
that the Scots should neuer conclude anie perpetu-
all peace with them, nor take anie truce longer than
for three or foure yeres at the most. He willed them
further, to consider one thing, that when their appea-
red least occasion of warres with England, then
they ought to be most circumspect, least peraduen-
ture their enemies should come at vnwares, and find
them vnprovided for timelie resistance. Herevnto
he desired them, that after his decease, they would
chose some one of the most worthy captaines within
the whole realme, to beare his heart vnto Jerusa-
lem, and there to see it buried within the temple, be-
fore the holie sepulchre of our Lord. For if he had
not bene for a long space hindered by vrgent busi-
nesse of warres at home, and lastlie preuented by
death, he had binde to haue passed with an armie
into the holie land, in defense of the christian faith, &
against the Turkes and Saracens.

Herevpon when he was dead, the lords by one as-
sent, appointed sir James Douglas to take this
enterprise in hand, who willinglie obeyed their order,
as he that had euer during the life of king Robert,
serued most faithfully the bodie wherein the same
heart was inclosed, & for this cause the Douglas
beare the bloudie heart in their armes. The com-
mendations of which king Robert, Buchanan setteth
forth (to comprehend manie things in few words) to
be: that he was euerie way a most worthy person,
and that there were few to be found (from the for-
mer hericall daies) equall vnto him in all kinds of
vertue. For as he was in battell most valiant, so
was he in peace most temperate & iust. And though
his vniuersall good successe and perpetuall course of
victories (after that fortune was once satisfied or ra-
ther wearied with his misfortunes) were verie great,
yet he seemed to Buchanan to be farre more wor-
derfull in his aduerser fortune: whose nature of mind
was such, that it could not be broken (no not so much
as weakened) by so manie evils as happened vnto
him at one time: whose singular constancie appea-
red by the captiuitie of his wife, and the death of his
valiant brethren. And besides that, his friends were at

The advice
giuen by king
Robert vnto
his nobles be-
fore his de-
cease.

This desire to
haue his heart
borne to the
holie sepulchre

The cause
why the Dow-
glas beare
the bloudie
heart.

Fr. Thin.

There is no
bodie but hath
his shadow, &
no rose but
hath his
pricks.

ig Ed-
rd bre-
h by his
ipe.

6, as lo.
ior faith,
t hat can-
be, if the
d the same
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ngland in
7 care
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ount of
m that be-
the yeare
Chyil-
lle.
me, or ra-
r Jone, the
er of king
dward, ma-
d to Dauid
ruse prince
Scotland.

he death of
ing Robert.

329.

ing Robert
led both
sperous
d aduerse
tune.

at one time bered with all kind of calamities, and they which escaped death, were banished with the losse of their sustenance: he himselfe was not onelie spoiled of all his patrimonie, but of the kingdome also, by the mightiest king of that age Edward the first, king of England, a man most readie in counsell, and of dispatch of his affaires as well in warre as peace. Yea, so farre was this Busse oppressed at one time with all these kinds of evils, that he was giuen into extreame pouertie. In all which misfortunes he neuer doubted of the recouerie of the kingdome, neither did he say anie thing vnbecoming the noble mind of a king, for he offered no violent hands to himselfe, as did the late Cato and Marcus Brutus, neither with Sparius did he pursue his enemies with continuall hatred. For when he had recovered his former estate, he so liued with them that most occasioned his labour and trouble, that he rather remembered himselfe to be a king ouer them, and not an enemy vnto them. To conclude, he did not so forsake himselfe towards his end (when a grievous disease added troubles to age) but that he confirmed and established the present estate of the kingdome, and provided for the quiet of posteritie, whereby his subjects did not so much lament his death, as that they were deprived of so iust a king and goodlie father.)

Sir James Dowglas then chosen as most worthy to passe with king Roberts heart vnto the holie land, closed the same in a case of gold, imbalmed with sweet spices, & right pretious ointments. And herewith hauing in his companie a number of nobles, and gentlemen, amongst whom sir William Sinclair and sir Robert Logan were chiefe, he passed south till he came to the citie of Ierusalem, where he buried the heart aforesaid, with all reuerence and solemnitie that he might deuise. This done, he resorted with such number as he had brought thither with him, vnto such other christian princes as at the same time were gathered with great puissance, from sundrie parts of christendome to war with the Turkes, and there in companie with them, he did so noble seruice against the common enemies of our religion, that by his often victories he wan great hono: to the christian name. At length, hauing accomplished his charge in those parties, with no lesse fame and glorie than princelie magnificence, he toke the seas to haue returned home into Scotland: but by force of contrarie winds he was giuen on the coast of Spaine, landing there vpon the borders of Granada, where at the same time he found the king of Aragon, readie to make warres against the Saracens that inhabited in those parties.

The Dowglas, to make his manhood and prowess the more knowne in all parts where he came, offered the king of Aragon to serue vnder him in those warres against the infidels, and so fought at sundrie times in his support against the enemies, with prosperous successe, till at length hauing too much confidence in fortunes fauour (which hath brought to manie noble men to their deaths) he waxed negligent, and toke small regard of dangers that might insue, so that in the end he was inclosed by an ambush laid for him by the enemies, and there slaine amongst them, with all such as he had about him. This was the end of that noble Dowglas, one of the most valiant knights that liued in his daies. He had gotten the victorie 57 sundrie times in fight against the Englishmen, and 13 times against the Turkes, at it is written at length (saith Bellenden) in Scotichronicon. He might haue bene right necessarie for the defense of Scotland, if his chance had bene to haue returned home in safetie. He ended his life in maner (as is before mentioned) on the 26 day of August, in the yere of Grace 1330.

But now to proceed in order with the historie, we shall note, that after the decease of king Robert, his sonne David, a child scarce seuen yeres of age, was proclaimed king, and afterwards crowned at Scone, the 23 day of Nouember, in the yere of our Lord 1331. During the time of his minority, earle Thomas Randall was ordeined gouernor of the realme, who for the space of foure yeres in the latter end of king Roberts reigne, had the whole administration of things committed to his charge by the same king, for that by reason of sicknesse he was not able to attend the same himselfe. This earle Thomas then being elected gouernor by the generall consent of all the nobles of the realme, considered with himselfe, how necessarie it was for the people to continue in peace, till they had somewhat recovered their hindrance & losses chanced to them by the former wars. He addressed therefore certaine ambassadors thither after the death of king Robert, vnto the king of England, to require a new confirmation of the peace betwixt both the realmes for a season. These ambassadors found the king of England easie enough to be intreated for the grant of their sute, so that a generall truce was taken for the space of three yeres.

In that meane time, earle Thomas applied his whole studie for the maintenance of iustice and equitie through the whole realme, not omitting yet to appoint order, that men should be provided of armor and weapon for defense of the countrie, if neede shold be required. [Wherefore when he was going to Winton (a towne in Galloway) word was brought to him, that there was a strong assemblie of theues in that countrie, besetting the high waies, and spoiling the passengers: ther vpon sending south a companie of his follovers, he apprehended and hanged them all, not fauouring anie vnder pretext of deuotion or religion. For one of them latelie come from Rome (and safe as he supposed by the charter of the popes pardon) was also apprehended and executed by appointment of this Randall, sauing that the pardon of the fault belonged to the pope, but the punishment thereof belonged to the king.]

Moreover, for the better prose of exercising iustice amongst them that coueted to liue by truth, and to haue more readie occasion to punish others that ment the contrarie, he commanded the saddles and bridles, with all other such instruments and stuffe as pertained to husbandrie, should be left abroad both day and night without the doores: and if it chanced that anie of them were stolen or taken awaie, the thiriffe of the shire should either cause the same to be restored againe, or else to paie for it on his owne purse. Finally, such punishment was exercised against theues in all places, that both theft and pilforing were quite suppressed, and the realme brought to more tranquillitie than euer it was in anie kings daies before. Many insolent and misrailed persons were tamed by his seuerer chastisement and iustice. Also that vertue might be cherished within the realme, he commanded that no vagabund nor idle person should be receiued into anie towne or place, except they had some craft or science wherewith to get their living. By this meane he purged the realme of Scotland of manie idle & slothfull rogues and vagabunds.

It is said, that during the time whilste such strict punishment was exercised against offenders, by the ministers of the lawes thereto by him authorized and assigned: it fortunied that a carle of the countrie, because he durst not steale other mens goods, stole his owne plow irons, that he might haue the value of them recompensed to him by the thiriffe: neuertheless, such earnest diligence was vsed in the search

David.

1331.

Earle Thomas Randall gouernor of Scotland.

Ambassadors sent into England.

A truce for three yeres.

Fr. Thin, Buchanan.

I meane to haue iustice executed.

Punishment of theues.

A lawfull ordinance against vagabund persons.

Hyperbolical commendations.

The valiance of James Dowglas shewd against the Turkes.

James Dowglas commeth on land in Spaine.

James Dowglas slaine by the Saracens in Spaine.

How often James Dowglas had got the victorie.

and triall, who had the ploto irois, that finallie the truth came to light, whereupon for his craftie falshe- hood the partie gillie was hanged, as he had well de- served. The gouernour himselfe, for that he saw how hard it was to reduce them that had bene brought vp in slouthfull loitering, vnto honest exercise, held euer about him a gard of warlike persons, that he might the more easilie oppresse all stubbozne offend- 10 doers, which would not submit themselves to his com- mandements. Those that appeared before him, vpon summons giuen, had fauourable iustice, tempe- red with much mercie ministred vnto them.

Others that refused to obeie, were pursued with his gard, and hanged euer as they were taken: as it happened on a time at Haddington, where threelcore enill and naughtie disposed persons being gathered together, robbed and spoiled the people on each side: and for that they regarded not, but rather misused a purseuant, whom he sent vnto them, they were all ta- ken incontinentlie by his foresaid gard, which follo- 20 wed the said purseuant at the heeles, and without re- spit hanged them vpon gibbets to giue example to others. Thorough such rigorous iustice, no rebel- lion was heard of within the realme of Scotland manie yerres after, so that such tranquillitie folowed, that not onelie theues and loitering lubbers were daunted, but the realme also aduanced in wealth and riches, to the great terror of all the foes and enemies thereof. King Edward aduertised of this great fe- licitie chanced to the Scots by this meanes, began 30 to enuie the same, and imagined with himselfe, that if earle Thomas, the author of the same felicitie were dispatched out of the way, it should not onelie impeach the proceeding of so great wealth to the Scots, but also make for the suertie of the realme of England: for the singular manhood and high pro- wesse of this earle was by him and other his nobles soze suspected.

He thought good therefore to attempt the thing by sleight, which might not be done by force, that after- wards the realme of Scotland might be the more 40 infæbled, and as it were made open to receiue dis- pleasure at his hands. For king David was young, and manie of his nobles bare small god will ei- ther towards him, or his house, for the slaughter of their fathers and friends in the blacke parlement. Whereupon he deuised, which way he might best de- stroie earle Thomas, the onlie confounder of all his imagined hope, as to achieve anie luckie enterprise against the Scots. At length he deuised to dispatch 50 him by poison: and after he had long debated by whome he might worke that feat: finallie he found none so fit for his purpose, as a monke of the order and facultie of those, that wandering from place to place, can with dissembling visage say that thing with mouth, which they neuer thought in heart: for oftentimes men of that order, put no difference be- twixt shame and honestie, cloking their execrable wickednesse vnder the feined shadow of their hypo- criticall cowles.

This monke, called instructed in that wherabout he was sent, came into Scotland, and seeming him- selfe to be a physician, got credit within a while a- mongst the people, to be a man of most excellent knowledge, for he had a companion with him, that being made prime to the matter, set forth his cur- ning and practise to the uttermost, declaring what notable and most desperate cures he had taken in hand, and made the patients perfectlie whole of the same, where all other had quite giuen them ouer: 10 naimelie he bzuted it abroad, that for healing of the Stone and grauell, his like was not to be found in all christendome, as euidentlie had appeared by cures which he had shewed vpon sundrie noble men, both

in England and France. This he spake, for that it was knowne, how the lord gouernour was soze vered with that disease, hoping by this meanes to haue him in cure, that he might thereby the more easilie worke his diuelish enterprise.

And euen according to his desire it came to passe: for being taken for such a man as he was named to be, he was sent for to the gouernour, and comming before him, he handeled the matter so with words, that the gouernour was contented he should take him in hand, which he did with such wicked intention, that perswading him to keepe such diet as he preferi- 10 bed, and herewith to take such sirrups & other things as he would giue him, at length he most traitorou- sly poisoned him in deed. The venem was of such mixture, as would not flea him out of hand, but by little and little waste his entrails, that the monke might haue leasure to escape home into England, yet it were perceiued what he had done. He there- fore after he had ministred his wicked poison, found meanes to conueie himselfe out of the waie, and re- turned most speedilie into England, informing king 20 Edward how he had delt. The gouernour feeling him- selfe tormented daillie worse and worse in his sto- mach and wombe, and hearing that the monke was gone, and minded not to returne to him againe, he began to doubt the matter, and shortly after learned by physicians that he was poisoned, and that the ve- nem had taken such hold within his bowels, that it was not possible to remoue it.

In the meane time was king Edward come with an armie to the borders, purposing to invade Scot- land, for that he thought how the gouernour was ei- 30 ther dead, or at the verie point of death, and therefore he was in hope, that comming in time of the trouble vpon his death into Scotland, he should find occasion to achieve some enterprise, highlie to his aduantage. But the gouernour aduertised hereof, raised a pow- er, and though he were not able either to ride or go, yet he caused himselfe to be caried forth in an hosier- litter. King Edward hearing that the gouernour was comming towards him with an armie, & that himselfe in person quite contrarie to his expectation, he sent an herald vnto him for meane of communi- cation of some peace, as was outwardlie pretended, though nothing else was ment but that he should es- 40 pie how all things in the Scottish campe stood. The gouernour hearing of this heralds comming, arrai- ed himselfe in his best apparell, that it might appere he was rather recouered of his infirmitie, than o- therwise weake and feeble thorough his disease, and then causing the herald to be brought before him, where he was set in a chaire, to heare what his mes- sage was, which consisting in certeine demands not greatlie agreeable to reason, the gouernour with bold countenance answered, that he trusted within short time to make it knowne, what right the English- men had to moue such vnreasonable requests, and thus dispatching the herald, he gaue him all such go- 50 geous and rich apparell as he wore at the same time when he thus talked with him.

King Edward at the returne of the herald, not perceiuing otherwise by his report, but that the gou- ernour was in health, he returned immediatlie with his armie into England, and licencing euerie man to depart to his home, laid hands on the monke, and as one that had dissembled with his prince (for so he took it) caused him to be burnt for his vntut. Thus was the wretch righteously recompensed, as he had most iustlie deserved. In the meane time, the gou- ernour returning homeward, through force of the ve- nem still increasing, deceased at Dunsleburgh, and was buried at Dunfermling, in the yere of our re- demption 1331. He left behind him two sonnes, 60 Thomas

The gouernour is poisoned.

The monke fleeth.

K. Edward his purpose to invade Scot- land.

The gouer- nour in an hosierlitter is caried forth to incommen- the English- men. An herald sent to the go- uernour.

The gouer- nous answer to the herald.

The monke is burnt.

Fr. Thin: Buchanan.

1331.

uid.

Slight for-
lice.

32.

Tho-
Randall
not of
land.

Justice tem-
pered with
mercie.

Stubbozne
rebels sharpe-
ly punished.

Edward
into
and.

refor-
med.

K. Edward
enriched the
felicitie of the
Scots.

in,
man.

K. Edwards
purpose to de-
stroy earle
Thomas (as
the Scots doe
write.) But
this is a kind
of practise a-
mongst men
to forge dan-
gerous re-
ports to bring
princes in
contempt.

me to
advice
ed.

himent
ues.

able
rice &
baga-
rions.

A monke sent
into Scotland
to poison the
gouernour.
The fittest in-
strument to
bring such a
thing to pass.

Thomas and John, worthy such a father, they being persons of great valure, and friends to their native countrie.]

Two gouernours chosen to rule Scotland.

After his deceasse, by common consent of the three estates of the realme in counsell assembled, Patrike earle of March, and Dauid earle of Arar were chosen gouernours, the first (that is to say, the earle of March) had the charge of that part of the realme which lieth on the south side of the Forth, and the other (that is to say, the earle of Arar) was appointed to gouerne all that on the north side. Shortly after rose great trouble in Scotland by meanes of Edward Balioll, the son of John Balioll before remembred, as thus:

Twynam Lorison,

It chanced there was one Twynam Lorison, a gentleman borne, but spotted with vile conditions, as adulterie, and diuerse other, for the which being put vnder censures of the church by the official of Glasgow: he toke at length the same official as he was going towards the towne of Airc, and held him in captiuitie, till he had paid two hundred pounds for his deliuerance. But this iniurie remained not long unpunished: for sir James Dowglass, before his passage to the hollie land, would not suffer him to rest, till he had constrained him to flee into England for his more safegard.

Scottish lords banished into England.

At his comming into England, he met with Dauid Cumyn earle of Atholl, and manie other Scottishmen, which were banished in times past by king Robert, for that they assisted the king of England against him. These persons being driuen out of the realme, and confederat altogether in one band, remained in England long time after, euer trusting to see some occasion offered, whereby they might one day returne againe into their owne native countrie. And now, hearing that earle Thomas Randall the gouernour was deceased, this Twynam Lorison in name of them all was sent ouer into France to perswade Edward Balioll to attempt the recouerie of the crowne and realme of Scotland, as the rightfull heritage of his father, and descended vnto him as lawfull and rightfull heire. Though the Balioll had no regard to make anie claime at all to the crowne of Scotland before this time, yet through the pittie persuasions of the earnest messenger, declaring how easie a matter it were for him to atchieue, considering the aid which he should haue in England, both at the kings hands, and also by the Scottishmen which remained there in exile, by whose meanes he might assure himselfe of support inough within Scotland if selfe, after he was once entered: finally he concluded to passe ouer into England, to proue what purchase he might make there.

Twynam Lorison sent vnto Edward Balioll.

Edward Balioll cometh into England

At his comming thither, he made sute to the king, to aid him in his righteous quarell towards the attaining of the crowne of Scotland, which if he might bring to passe with prosperous successe, he promised to hold the same of him and his successors as superior lords thereof. King Edward gladlie vpon that condition, condescended to his request, notwithstanding the alliance contracted with king Dauid, by the marriage of him with his sister. Here with he appointed forth sir thousand men well appareled and armed for the warre, to passe by sea with the Balioll, and other the confederats into Scotland, trusting that vpon their arrivall there, they should find no small number of friends to assist them. For beside the Balioll; there was the lord Henrie Beaumont a Frenchman, who had married the earle of Buchquharnes daughter and heire: also the earles of Atholl & Angus [the lords Perth and Wake, Richard Talbot, Henrie Ferrers, John Powbroke] & other Scottish lords such as were banished Scotland, when king Robert le Bruce recovered it out of the English mens hands. These were appointed to go with the

The promise of the Balioll to king Edward. Both agree to aid the Balioll. The English writers speake but of two thousand, or 2500 at the most. Ric. Southwell.

Fr. Thin.

Balioll to assist him in that enterpryse: and likewise the lord Stafford, and diuerse other English capitains, whereupon when all their prouision was once readie, with the number appointed them by king Edward, and a few others, they got them a shipboard, and sailing forth by the coast till they entered into the Forth, at length they came on land nere the towne of Kingorne, and shortly after, incountring with Alexander Setton, they slew him, and put his folkes to flight.

Edward Balioll landeth in Scotland.

Alexander Setton is slaine. The earles of March and Arar gather their people.

Balioll verie iofull of this happie successe, came with his people to Perth, otherwise called S. Johns towne, thereof the earles of March and Arar being aduertised, they raised two mightie armies, and hastened toward the enimies, not as though they should haue to doe with men of warre, but to chastise a number of thieues and robbers that were come out of England. Yet at length they concluded to ioinie both together in Stratherne, that they might iointlie set vpon their enimies both at once. The Balioll seeing the matter brought so far forth, that no feare of death nor starting-hole by flight might auaille him, boldlie came forward, and pitched downe his tents at Dupplin nere to the water of Erne, trusting that if his armie would stand to it, and fight with manlike constancie, he should weild his enimies well inough, notwithstanding their huge number. The same night came the earle of March with his power, and incamped with the same within sight of the English armie, but the earle of Arar lodged about fife miles from thence, at Dhirardour.

Edward Balioll at Dupplin.

The Scots that were with the earle of March, hauing knowledge of the small number of their enimies, made no accounts of them, so that they neither toke heed to their watch, nor to anie other order for defense of themselves, but fell to singing, dancing, reueling, and drincking, in most dissolute manner. The Balioll taking occasion hereof, determined to assault them the same night in their campe; and thereupon causing his people to make them readie to accomplish that enterpryse, in the dead of the night he issued forth of his campe, and comming vnto the water of Erne, passed the same by the ford, where one Andrew Murray of Tullibard had pight a stake of set purpose, in midst of the streame, to thew them the wate. Thus hauing got all his armie ouer the water, without anie noise or din, so secretlie as might be deuised, he entered the campe of his enimies, and brake through till he came to the tent of the earle of March, the Scots generall, before he was once descried. Here at the first was the earle himselfe slaine, lieng fast asleep in his bed, & after with huge noise they set vpon the whole campe, murdering the Scots as then buried in sleepe without all defense. And thereupon followed so cruell slaughter, that nothing was heard but grunting and growning of people, as they lay on heapes readie to die, weltering together in their owne blood. And if it had not bene that Edward Balioll had caused ech of his men to weare a white cloth about his arme, no man might haue knowne (by reason of the darknesse of the night) his friend from his fo.

The negligence of the Scots.

The earle of March is slaine in his bed.

See more hereof in England.

The Englishmen were so earnestlie bent to the slaughter of Scots, that they might not be filled with the blood and murder of them, so that they slew none whome they might ouertake. There were slaine of nobles and gentlemen, to the number of three thousand, beside innumerable of the commons. A certaine number of the Scots that escaped out of the place, closed themselves together, and in pryncesse they be reuenged on the Englishmen for the death of their fellows, returned vpon them againe, and were slaine themselves more mothers sonne. The chiefest nobles that were slaine at this battell, were these,

The great slaughter of Scots. Strickne thousand saith Ric. Southwell.

The earle of March was not slaine in the night as before ye haue heard, but

Edward Bal-
liolli in
Scotland.

Robert
Bruce
was
the
earliest
war and
arch ge-
neral there
people.

Edward Bal-
liolli at Du-
plin.

he neglect-
ed the
coun-
try.

he earle of
mar is slain
his bed.

at more
reof in
ngland.

he great
sight of
coun-
try in
c. South-
all.

he earle of
mar was not
in the
glt as be-
ye ye have
ard, but

was in the
moun-
tains as
far South-
well. Noble
was slain at
Duplin.

Ed. Thin.

The earle of
Fife taken.

1532. H. B.

Perth towne
by the Bal-
liolli

Perth besie-
ged by the
earle of Mar

Perth besie-
ged by his
singe.

Edward
Balliol
crowned king
of Scotland,
not the 24 of
September,
but the fourth
of October, as
R. Southwell
saith.

King David
is cometh
over into
France.

R. Southwell.

Saint Johns
towne besie-
ged.

these, the earle of Mar generall of the armie, Ro-
bert Bruce earle of Carrick, Alexander Fraser
knight, William Haie constable of Scotland, with
all his linage to whome that had not his wife as then
being great belied, bene afterwards delivred of a
sonne, all his surname had bene utterlie extingui-
shed. [Whereupon saith Buchan, Thomas Randolph,
Robert Bruce, William Seintclere bishop of Dun-
keld, and Doncan Spaldiffe despairing of god suc-
cesse, swore fealtie to Balliol.] There were slaine
also Robert Keith marshall of the realme, with ma-
nie of his surname, David Lindesie of Glendevie,
Alexander Seiton, George Dunbar, Robert Stra-
thgoun, Thomas Haliburton, and John Schrim-
geour knights, with manie other overlong to re-
hearse. The earle of Fife & seve other were taken.
This battell was fought on the thirtieth day of
August, in the yeare 1332. After that Edward Ba-
liol had achieved this victorie thus at Duplin, he
went straightwaies unto Perth (otherwise called
Saint Johns towne) and giving assaill thereto, quick-
lie entered it by force, without anie great resistance.
The earle of March that lodged (as is said) the same
night that the battell was fought, not past five miles
off, hearing what had chanced both in the battell and
to the towne, came with his people arrayed in god and per-
fect order unto Perth aforesaid, to besiege the Eng-
lishmen with Edward Balliol and other as then
within it. But having lien there a certeine space,
and filled the ditches in the meane time to such ad-
vantage, that it was thought if he had given the as-
sault, he must needs have entered, he suddenlie rai-
sed from thence, and departed, to the unspeakable
damage (as was thought) of the whole Scottish na-
tion. The siege being thus raised, there came daile
great numbers of nobles and commons to the Ba-
liol, offering him their aid and service as his loiall
subjects, towards the attaining of his right to the
crown.

Whereupon, perceiving his power sufficientlie in-
creased, and receiving the othes of the earle of
Fife, and William de Seintclere bishop of Dun-
keld, he went accompanied with them and a great
number of other, unto Seone, where he was crow-
ned the 24 day of September, in the yeare last be-
fore remembred, and received there the same time
the homages and fealties of a great companie of no-
bles & gentlemen, at that solemne feast there assem-
bled. King David being not past nine yeares of age,
to avoid all dangers in that troublesome time, was
conveied over into France with quene Jane his
wife, sister to Edward king of England, and was
most friendlie received by Philip king of France
the first of that name, so that they remained there
with him for the space of nine yeares. And in the
meane time divers noble men that yet remained at
the denotion of king David, understanding that
Edward le Balliol sojourned within the towne
of Perth, otherwise called Saint Johns towne, which
standeth almost in the middle part of the realme,
and was at that present not closed with anie wall,
or rampire, they raised their powers, and besieged
him within the same towne, he having as then no
great companie about him.

Whereof when they of Galloway had advertise-
ment, because the king was their speciall lord and
chiefe gouvernor, they assembled together under the
conduct of the lord Cussace of Spakewell, and inva-
ded the lands of those Scottishmen that had thus be-
sieged their lord king Edward Balliol, and by that
means constrained the adversaries to levie their
siege. Whereupon earle Patrike and the new earle
of Mar, with the lord Andzeu de Murrey, and

the lord Archembald Dowlaglas, with an armie as-
sembled in all speed, entered into Galloway, doing
all the mischief they could devise, with fire & sword,
taking & bringing away from thence a great num-
ber of cattell and other goods; but they slew no great
number of people, for they found them not at home,
being withdrawn out of the way for feare of this
terrible invasion. Thus did the Scots in that part
of the realme spoile & harrie each others countries.

In the meane time, king Edward le Balliol for-
tified the towne of Perth, appointing the earle of
Fife to the keeping thereof, whilst he with an ar-
mie passed into the countrie; but before he returned,
his adversaries (that is to say) the sonnes of them
that had bene slaine at the battell of Duplin, Ro-
bert Keith, Alexander Lindesie, James and Simon
Fraser, van S. Johns towne in the third month,
after they had laid siege thereto, as Hector Boetius
saith. But whether that is to be intended after the first
besieging thereof, or now after their last comming
thither, I can not affirm; but as the same Boetius
writeth, now when the towne was wonne, the earle
of Fife, and Andzeu Murrey of Lulbar, were
taken, with other of their complices. The earle with
his wife and children were sent to the castell of Bal-
dumnie, there to remaine under safe keeping; but
Andzeu Murrey for his treason afores committed,
was beheaded. The towne being thus wonne, was
delivred to the keeping of John Lindesie. But
Buchan, out of an other author, supposeth that it was
not committed to the custodie of anie; but that the
walls were pulled downe to the ground. The gat-
ting of this towne put the Scots in hope of more
prosperitie to succeed.

And thereupon John Randall the earle of Mur-
rey, sonne to earle Thomas late of famous memo-
rie, and Archembald Dowlaglas lord of Galloway,
the brother of James Dowlaglas latelie slaine (as
before is mentioned) in Spaine with Simon Fra-
ser and others, gathered a great armie, and came
with the same [and William Dowlaglas lord of Lid-
desdale to Haufet] against the Balliol, who being ad-
vertised thereof, met them in Annandale, where in-
countering together, after cruell fight & great slaugh-
ter on both parts, at length Balliols part was put
to the worst, so that he himselfe was glad to flee, ha-
ving got an horse without a bzide, and rested not
till he came to Roxburgh, or rather to Carleill, as
Richard Southwell saith. In this battell were slaine
sir Henrie Balliol, a man of great valiance, sir
John Spotbrazie, Walter Cumyn, and Richard
Kirkbie; but Alexander Bruce earle of Carrick, and
the lord of Galloway were taken prisoners, and sa-
ved by the helpe of the earle of Murrey, for that they
had submitted themselves to the Balliol but latelie
before. Shortly after the achieving of this victorie,
Andzeu Murrey a man of great puissance and pos-
sessions was chosen to be gouvernor, as colleague and
associat with the earle of Mar. These two gover-
nors, hearing that the king of England was mini-
stered to invade Scotland with a maine armie, sent
sir Alexander Seiton with manie other gentlemen
unto Berwik for defense of that towne and castell;
[Alexander (as saith Buchan) being capitaine of the
towne, and Patrike Dunbar capitaine of the castle
and borders adjoining.] Shortly after, the new go-
vernoir Andzeu Murrey was taken prisoner at
Roxburgh, by reason that having put his enemies
to flight in a skirmish which he made with them at
the bzidge without the castell, he pursued over rash-
lie in the chase, and was inclosed amongst them, and
so taken yet he might be rescued. [At which time also
William Dowlaglas lord of Liddesdale was sent
to Annandale, to defend the west marches.] There
was

Saint Johns
towne fortifi-
ed.

Saint Johns
towne wonne.

Fr. Thid.

The battell
discomfited
and put to
flight in An-
nandale.

Andzeu
Murrey cho-
sen fellow go-
vernoir with
the earle of
Mar.

Fr. Thin.
Andzeu
Murrey the
new gover-
nor is taken
prisoner.

Fr. Thin.

Ri. Southwell.
Crab, a pirat
taken.

was also taken beside the gouernoꝝ, a notable pirat named Crab, who before that time had done manie displeasures to the Englishmen both by sea and land: and now because his countriemen would not ransom him, but to his further grieve had slaine his sonne within Berwicke, he became the king of Englands man, and did the Scots more damage afterwards, than euer he had done to the Englishmen before. The gouernoꝝ at length was ransomed for a great summe of gold.

William
Dowglas of
Middledale
taken prisoner.

About the same time William Dowglas of Middledale, named for his singular manhood, the flower of chivalrie, fought with the Englishmen in Annandale, where himselfe was taken: and his people discomfited. Both these noble men thus taken prisoners, were detained in captiuitie more than a twelue moneths space, & then ransomed for a great summe of gold. This William Dowglas was sonne to sir James Dowglas, of whom so often mention is made heretofore. The realme of Scotland being thus diuided in two parts, the one assisting the Ballioll, and the other continuing in their allegiance to Mornie and promised to king David: Edward king of England iudged the time to serue well for his purpose to make conquest on the Scots, and hereupon gathering a mightie armie both of Englishmen and strangers, as well such as were subiects to him as other, whome he retained out of Normandie, Anjou, and Flanders, he came with the same to subdue (as he outwardlie pretended) onelie such Scots as would not yeld themselves to the Ballioll. The Scots perceluting themselves thus ouerset with enemies on each side, sent John Randall earle of Murray into France vnto king David, that by his means they might purchase some aid of the French king to defend the realme from the force of the enemies. In the meane time the king of England besieged Berwicke both by sea and land, notwithstanding such as were within it defended the towne so manfully that he got but small gaires by assaults; by reason whereof the siege continued for the space of foure moneths: during which time manie illnes and skirmishes were made betwixt the Scots and Englishmen, whereat manie proper feats of armes were atchieued with variable fortune.

Edward king
of England
purposeth to
subdue the
Scots.

The earle of
Murray is
sent into
France.

Berwicke is
besieged.

Buchanan.

Sir Alexander
Seiton
capteine of
Berwicke.

Archembald
Dowglas
chosen gouer-
noꝝ in place of
Andrew
Murray.

William Seiton bassard sonne to the capteine of the towne was taken prisoner, and his bassard brother, as he assailed the English ships one night ouerfiercelie, was drowned by mischance in the sea. At length, when they within the towne began to want vittels, the capteine sir Alexander Seiton sent vnto king Edward, promising that if he would grant a truce for the space of 6 daies, if no succour came in the meane time to resist his siege, the towne should be deliuered into his hands at the end of that terme; and for the assurance thereof, he was contented that his eldest sonne and heire Thomas Seiton should remaine with the said king in hostage. Whilest things passed thus at Berwicke, the nobles of Scotland by common consent chose Archembald Dowglas to be gouernoꝝ in place of Andrew Murray. This Archembald Dowglas raising a mightie armie of Scottishmen entered with the same into the borders of England, so to withstand king Edward from the siege of Berwicke to defend his owne lands from burning and spoiling. But king Edward aduertised hereof, deuised an other shift; for immediatlie sending a messenger to sir Alexander Seiton capteine of the towne, he certified him plainelie, that unless he rendered the towne forthwith into his hands, both his sonnes which he had with him, the one as hostage, and the other as prisoner, should be without further delay hanged on a gibbet there in sight afore his owne face.

Sir Alexander Seiton hereto answered, that as yet the terme of the truce was not expired, & therefore desired the king either to obserue the covenants, or else to deliuer the pledges, that he might be at his advantage; but king Edward (as saith the Scottish chronicle) immediatlie caused a paire of gallows to be raised before the towne, and both the sonnes of sir Alexander to be led thither, to suffer on the same without further respite. Sir Alexander Seiton beholding that pitifull sight, and weeing with himselfe, that he might saue the liues of those innocent creatures, if he would, was brought into great perplexitie of mind: the naturall affection and compassion which he bare towards his sonnes mouing him to haue rendered the towne on the one side, and the dutie with faith promised to his king and countrie restraining him from all such resolution on the other. But in the end, the tender regard he had to saue the liues of his sonnes, had ouercome him, and caused him to haue rendered the towne into his enemies hand, had not his wife and mother to his said sonnes, exhorted him: yea, payed lie to the contrarie, alleging that such reproch and dishonour should redound vnto them; and their posteritie, if through their fault the towne were traitorously deliuered into the enemies hand, that from thenceforth they should be infamed for euer: and as for the death of their sonnes, it was not to be counted a losse, for by this kind of death, they should win immortall name, & leaue to their parents the high honour and renowne of faithfull & loiall subiects. Againe they were yong enough to beget and bring forth new children, where they should be neuer able to recouer honour once lost; if by deliuering the towne into the enemies hands, they should seeme to betraye their countrie, & falsifie their faith to their naturall prince and soveraigne.

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With such & manie other the like words, his noble & worthie ladie persuaded hir husband to refraine his inward grieffe, and brought him with right sorrowfull and heauie chere vnto his chamber, that through commiseration had of his sonnes, he should commit nothing either against his honor or weale of the towne. In the meane time, his two sonnes were put to death, ending their liues (saith Hector Boetius) with most honor, for the righteous quarrell of their countrie: [at that time R. Edward remoued his campe to Halidon hill.] Archembald Dowglas the gouernoꝝ, being at that present entered into Northumberland with his armie, hearing that king Edward had thus cruellie put to death those two yong gentlemen, came the third day after with all his power, and pitched downe his tents not far from R. Edwards armie, fullie resolved to giue him battell, as well to reuenge the displeasure for the death of the said gentlemen, as to deliuer the towne of Berwicke from further danger of the enemies force.

Yet were there sundrie prudent counsellors in the Scottish armie, that for diuers respects aduised him in no wise to fight with the enemies at that present, considering the huge number of practised soldiers which they had amongst them, and the want of skillfull warriors on his side, hauing few with him saue yongmen, and such as lacked experience in the wars, so that they had bene but little trained therein. Notwithstanding, he himselfe was of contrarie opinion, iudging that the good willes and desire which his people had to fight with the Englishmen, should supplie their lacke of skill: and thereupon determining to trie the chance of battell with them, commanded his armie to refresh themselves with meat, drinke, and sleepe for that night, and to prouide themselves readie for battell on the next morning. In the breake of the day he arrayed his people in order of battell. The banntgard was gi-

Sir Alexander
Seiton in
doubt what to
do.

The manie
stomach of
Alexander
Seiton's
wife.

Sir Alexander
Seiton's
sonnes ex-
ecuted.
Fr. Thin.

Archembald
Dowglas
purposeth to
giue battell.

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The appoint-
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Scottish bat-
tles.

uen to Hugh, lord Rosse, having with him Kenneth earle of Southerland, Simon and John Fraiser, and John Purrey lieutenant to the earle of Murray, who as then was sore tormented with a grievous maladie or sickness. The second battell was committed to the governance of Alexander Lindsay, with whom were joined Alexander Gordon, Kenneth Graham, and Robert Kenneth. In the third battell was the governor himselfe, accompanied with James, John, and Alane Stewards, the sons of Walter great Steward of Scotland.

The policies of
the English
armie.

On the other part, the Englishmen were nothing slow to come forward to encounter the Scots, but at the first to take the vantage of the ground, they gave somewhat backe, withdrawing to the side of an hill, which they having once got, boldly turned themselves to the Scots that pursued them over rashly, in hope that the victorie had bene already theirs: but being here fiercely received by the Englishmen, and beaten downe in heaps on each side, though they enforced themselves with all their might to be revenged both for old and new injuries which they had received, and so save no small number of the enemies; yet in the end was the Scottish armie put to flight, and more slaughter made in the chase, than was afore in the battell: for one wing of the Englishmen making forwards to get before the Scots, so stopped their passage, that they were slaine miserably on each side, as they had bene inclosed within a toile or deere-stall. There were but few in number that were taken prisoners, those on the next day were beheaded by commandment of king Edward, except a small number which were kept secret by some of the Englishmen for profit of their ransom. There were slaine on that day of the battell, to the number of fourtene thousand men, amongst whom were these as principall: Archem-bald Douglas the gouverneur, John Steward, James Steward, and Alane Steward, the sonnes of Walter Steward; the earle of Rosse, the earle of Southerland, Alexander Buse earle of Carrick, Andrew, James, and Simon Fraiser. This battell was fought on Spagdale day, in the yeare of Grace, 1333.

The Scottish
armie put to
flight.

The great
slaughter of
Scots.

The number
of Scots
slaine at Hal-
lodon hill.

1333. H. B.
Buchanan.

Fr. Th.

That this number and the rest which manie mo do abound by one yeare, Wil. Harison doth gather together by the series, because Adam Meremouth saith, that Spagdale day fell on the monday this yeare, and that the morrow after being tuesday, Berwick was surrendered. But for so much as the same Meremouth maie be perhaps deceived, or mistaken herein: I haue here thought good (as in other places) to note in the margin the yeare, according to the account of Hector Boetius, speciallie in this place, the rather because he agreeth with Richard Southwell, Robert Auesburie, and other of our English writers, concerning this yeare in which this battell was fought: but where the same Boetius saith, that it was fought on Spagdale day, R. Southwell, Robert Auesburie, Thomas Wals. and divers other affirme, that it was fought the nineteenth of Julie being saint Margarets euen. But now to proceed. The place where this battell was stricken, is called Hallodon hill.

The towne of
Berwick
yielded to E.
Edward on
St. Margarets
day, as
R. Southwell
saith.

was not able to defend it against the English power comming toward him. R. Edward accomplishing his desire, returned backe into England, leaving behind him with the Balioll, manie great lords of England amongst whom for chiefe was Richard Talbot that using the advice and counsell of them he might rule the realme of Scotland as should be thought expedient. Edward Balioll here upon went thorough all the boundes of Scotland, placing garrisons of Englishmen in most part of all the strengths and castles of the realme, for he had them all at his commandement, save of them onelie excepted, which were kept by such Scottishmen, as would not renounce their allegiance promised to king David. For Dunbarton was kept by Malcolm Fleming of Cumirnalb, Lochleuin by Alane of Erpout, the castell of Widdrummye by Cristine Buse, and Argubart by Robert Lander, the pile of Loudopin, a strong thing of so small a compasse, was in the keeping of one John Thomson [who were supported with monie by Philip king of France la- F. Th. Th. These captives would by no means neither yield themselves nor their fortresses to Edward Balioll, but defend them to the uttermost for the behoofe of their soveraigne lord and master king David.

In the meane time, Philip king of France laboured to the pope, that he might by his authoritie cause the Englishmen to surcease from further bering the Scots, by their cruel invasions made into their countrie; but when the popes ambassadors came about this matter into England, they were so little regarded, that they could not get licence to declare that message, and so were they glad to returne without doing any thing in the matter whereabout they were sent. Shortly after was a parlement called at Perth, where Edward Balioll was confirmed king of Scotland, a great number of the nobles promising there by sollemn oths, never to remove any rebellion against him in times to come. In the meane time rose great alteration betwixt Henrie Beaumont, and Alexander Spotsbray for certein lands in Buchquhane [which Edward the first had given John Spotsbray, brother of this Alexander.] Henrie Beaumont claimed those lands by the right of his wife, that was daughter to the said Alexander, but the Spotsbray claimed them as heire to his brother.

After long contention, Spotsbray had the lands adjudged to him by sentence of the Balioll, by reason whereof, David Cumin earle of Atholl, and Richard Talbot, favouring the cause of Henrie Beaumont, began to practise such conspiracies against the Balioll, that to avoid further danger, he was glad to repeale the former sentence by him given on the behalfe of Alexander Spotsbray, and by new sentence adjudged the lands unto Henrie Beaumont, for that (as was alledged) he had married the inheritance thereof, which sentence he was constrained to change (saith Buchanan) by this means. The Balioll (favouring Alexander) and having adjudged the matter on his side, so offended the minds of the adversaries, that they feared not openly to complaine of the iniurie. But when they perceived that they nothing profited therein by their speeches, they all departed from the court to their owne possessions, of which faction Talbot, whilst he goeth into England, was taken and carried to Dunbarton: Beaumont doth strengthen Dungard a strong castell of Buchquhan, and not onelie maketh the land whereof the contention was, but also the whole countrie adjoining, to be subject to his government. Cumin (returning to the part of David Buse) goeth into Atholl (whereof he was earle) and seizing the places of strength thereabouts, armeth himselfe to withstand all force,

All the fort-
resses of
Scotland to
Baliolls
hands, save
onelie except-
ed.

Fr. Th.

The popes
ambassadors
not regarded.

A parlement
at Perth.

Strife betwixt
Spotsbray &
Beaumont.
Fr. Th.

1334.
Fr. Th.
John Major

Ch. iii.

if anie be prepared against him. Balioll fearing the conspiracie of these great men, changeth his iudgement, and awardeth the lands (whereof the contention grew) to Beaumont, and reconciled Cummin vnto him, by the gift of many rich possessions, that then belonged to Robert Steward, which shortly after was king of Scotland.

Thus through puissance of the parties, the truth in deciding the controuersie, might not onlie not haue place, but Balioll was also diuened to that extremitie, that he must haue one of them (with his faction) to be his enemies. For now Alexander, stricken with this iniurie (to haue the iudgement giuen before for him thus to be renoked) forsaking the Balioll, joined him selfe with Andrew Murray gouernour of Scotland (for David Bruce) hauing a little before ransomed himselfe, with a great masse of monie out of the Englishmens hands. These things (although done at seuerall times) we haue ioined together, least by often repeating of them in other places, the course of the historie might be broken: for (vpon this) Andrew Murray besieged Beaumont in the castell of

1234.
Scala chron.

Scala chron.
John Maior.

Scala chron.

The castles of
Rothsai and
Dunnone de-
liuered to the
Balioll.
Fr. Thin.

Robert Ste-
ward.

Fr. Thin.

Lochleuin
besieged.

Dohgard, the inheritance of his wife, where he surrendered the same, vpon condition that he might freely repaire into England: at what time also Richard Calbot (being beyond the mounteins, in the inheritance of his wife the daughter of John Cummin of Scotland (for now manie English nobles possessed great reuenues in Scotland by mariages) hearing of these newes, that Balioll was forsaken by the earle of Atholl and Beaumont, would haue gone into England, but was taken in Lownes. ¶ This yere the earle of March holding on the part of the king of England, came to him to Belocastell vpon Tine, who returning homeward, was grievously wounded of the people of Northumberland, for couetousnes, to haue robbed him of such monie as Edward had liberallie bestowed vpon him.)

Not long after this, Edward Balioll came to Rainfrew, and there receiuing the people into his obedience, had the keyes of the castell of Rothsaie and Dunnone, brought vnto him by sir Alane Alethrisse of Wote [at what time the king gaue to him the keeping of the castell of Rothsaie, hauing before made him thirrisse.] Thus did the Balioll increase in puissance, by such confluence of people as daily submitted themselves vnto him, & he enriched them liberallie with lands and goods still as they came to him, thereby to win there good wils. He sought by all meanes possible to haue gotten Robert Steward into his hands, as the person whome he kneto to haue most right, next vnto king David to the crowne of Scotland: but through the diligent foresight of his friends, this Robert Steward being about the age of sixtene yeres, was conueied [with hote and horse, by the helpe of William Harriot and John Gilbert] to the castell of Danbretton, where he was safely receiued by Malcolme Fleming the capitaine.

The Balioll being sore offended, that such castles as were kept by his enemies, were so great an impediment to his interprises, by succouring and relieuing his aduersaries to make warres against him, he got together an armie, and the next yere laid siege to the castell of Lochleuin: but perceiving that this castell might not be wone without long siege, he appointed sir John Striueling to continue the siege with a great powder of men, vntill the castell were yielded. There were left also with him, Michael Harriot, David Lemis, and Richard Paleuill, with diuerse other. These capitaines abouting the place and site of the castell, lodged themselves within the churchyard of saint Serse, beside Kinross, making bastiles and other defenses within the same, for their

more safegard. Within the castell were two valiant capitaines to defend it, the one named Alane Clepont and James Lambie, citizens of saint Andrews.

The enemies assayed all the meanes that might be deuised to haue wone this castell, but all was in vaine. At length, they deuised a subtil sleight, whereby to compasse their intent, on this wise. They went about to dam vp the mouth of the riuer where it issueth out of the Loch, with earth, trees, & stones, that the water being so kept in, might rise to such an height, that it should ouerflow the castell, and so drowne all the people within it. And to cause the Loch to swell more speedilie, they turned the course of diuerse riuers and brookes in the countrie thereabouts, and brought them into the same Loch. It chanced at the same time, that sir John Striueling capitaine of the siege, with a great part of the armie, went vnto Dunfermling for deuotion sake, to visit the shrine of saint Margaret, sometime queene of Scotland. Whereof Alane Clepont then capitaine of the castell, hauing vnderstanding, about midnight prepared three botes, and taking certeine soldiers with him, rowed forth to the head of the dam or water, and there, with such engines as he had deuised for the purpose, assayed to boare through and make a hole in the banke or rampire that kept vp the water, which when they had brought to passe, they returned quicklie againe to the castell.

The water hauing once gotten an issue, within a while ware the hole so large, that entering with more violence, it finally brake downe the banke, and rushed forth with such an huge streame, that it bare downe all afoze it, drowning vp the bastiles and tents of them that lay at siege there, and caried the same with men and all downe into the deepe sea, they were so suddenlie taken, yer they could make anie shift to escape. Alane Clepont, when the water was fallen to the old marke, issued forth of the castell, & setting vpon those that had escaped the danger of the water, aue part of them, and put the remnant to flight. John Striueling hearing the mischefe that had happened to his folks, returned to the siege, and made a bow neuer to depart from thence, till he had taken the castell, and slaine all them within it. But yet, after he had laine there a long time, and saw it was not possible to win that fortreffe, he was constrained to raise his siege, and to go his waies, after he had lost thereat no small number of his people. This siege of Lochleuin chanced in the Lent season, in the yere 1335.

In the yere following, king Edward prepared an armie both by sea and land, to enter into Scotland. He sent by sea 70 ships well and sufficientlie decked for the warres, to enter by the Forth: but by a sore tempest manie of those vessels perished betwixt Inchkeith and the Forth land. He himselfe hauing the Balioll in his companie, with sixtie thousand men, came by land vnto Glasgow, and perceiving there was little for him to do, for that no rebellion greatlie anie where appeared, he returned backe againe into England with the Balioll, and left David Cummin earle of Atholl gouernour in his roome, to subdue the residue of the rebels, and to win those strengths, which as yet were defended against him. David Cummin left thus to be gouernour in Scotland, toke vpon him the role in name both of the king of England, and also of the Balioll, and seized into his hands all those lands in Murray and Buchanane, which pertained to Robert Steward, confiscating all the goods of such the inhabitants, as would not be sworn vnto him. [Who notwithstanding that hee was of such great authoritie in Scotland, of credit with both kings, Edward of England, & Edward of Scotland, and of exceeding great possessions of his

Alane Clepont
and James
Lambie cap-
tains of Loch-
leuin.

A deuise to
drowne the
castell.

The bastiles
and tents of
them that lay
at siege
drowned.

1335.

Ed. Edward
inuaith
Scotland
both by sea
and land.

David Cum-
min earle of
Atholl gou-
ernor of the
Balioll in Scot-
land.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.

his owne, would yet neuer usurpe anie superiortie to him himselfe in title, but passed all the grants and writings in the name of Edward king of England, and of Balioll king of Scots. At what time none would publikelie professe him a subiect to David Bruce, but boies, who in their plaies & games would alwaies call their king, David Bruce.]

Incontinentlie hereupon, Robert Stewart assembled his friends by the helpe of Dungall Campbell of Lochquhrow, and suddenlie took the castell of Dumnone, sleaing all the Englishmen and other, which were found therein. Which Campbell (as saith Iohn Maior) came with 400 men, and by the testimony of Buch. was a man of great power in Argyle. The commons of Bute and Arrane, glad of this prosperous beginning, assembled together to the number of foure hundred persons, and set forward, that they might come to support Robert Stewart in such his late begun enterprizes: and being incouraged by the waie by Alane Lile thirrisse of Bute, they laid so lustilie about them, that they slew the thirrisse, [with Iohn Gilbert capitaine of the castell of Bute] there in the field, & discomfited all his people [which they did after this manner. These people of Bute, (called the seruants of Babodanus) seeing such strus to be made by Alane Lile, ran to a heape of stones not farre from them, and with great force pelting the thirrisse, they in the end killed him with stones, and put the rest to flight.] Diuerse of them taken prisoners, were brought awaie, and presented vnto Robert Stewart, who in recompense of this seruice, granted sundrie priuileges vnto the inhabitants of Bute and Arrane: as among other things, to be free from paying tribute for their corne and graine. Such felicities succeding one another, caused manie of the Scots to ioint themselves with Robert Stewart in hope to recover the realme out of the English mens hands. Amongst other, Thomas Bruce earle of Carrik, and William Canther [whome Iohn Maior calleth Caruther, & Buchanan Carader of Anrandale] with a number of the commons came vnto him.

About the same time, the earle of Murray returned forth of France, and landed at Donibriton, where he was most iustilie receiued by the said Robert Stewart. Shortly after the said Stewart, and the said earle, hauing with them a great power of their friends and allies [as Godfrie Kelle, and others] came into Clibdale, Kankrew, Kille, Cunningham, and Aire, which together with Ros and Murray, they reduced to the obedience of king David. [At which time (as saith Buchanan) did Kankrew come to his old lords the Stewards.] The earle of Murray also, to reuenge the wrongs done by the earle of Atholl, went vnto Aberdeen, and there learning where he lay, made thither with all speed: but the earle of Atholl, vnderstanding how all the countie took part with his aduersaries, fled into the mountains, where he sustained his life with heards and cots for a time, and durst not come forth to show his head. At length, when he saw no waie to escape, he came forth and in most humble wise submitted himselfe to the lord that defended the part of king David. They receiuing him vpon his submission, swate him to be true vnto king David, and exhorting him to be as diligent in reconciling the people vnto king David, as he had bene afore to subdue them to the obedience of the Balioll, they suffered him to depart.

About the same time, sir William Douglas of Wobesdale, and Andrew Murray, were ransomed home out of England, for a great summe of monie, after they had bene kept there by the space of thre yeeres in captiuitie. At their coming to Edinburgh, they found the lords assembled in council, at

the which Iohn Randolph earle of Murray, and Robert Stewart, with generall voices were elected gouernours. Manie Scottishmen at this time resolued from the king of England, submitting themselves to king David, as Alexander Ramsay, a vertie skillfull warrior, Laurence Briston, Iohn Herring, and Iohn Haliburton knights, with diuerse other.

* After this, Iohn Randolph, and Robert Stewart, were sent into the north parts with a strong armie, gathered of such as were wearied by the English gouernement, whereat David Cummin (being feared with the sudden assemblie) fled for his safetie, whome they egerlie pursued, and taking him (being then beset in a narrow streit, and oppressed with penurie of all things) they compelled him to yeld (without anie more circumstances) to their faction, who then swearing fealtie to David Bruce, was permitted to depart vpon his promise: wherevnto they gaue such faith, that they left him deputie for them. At what time he did not faulthe dissemble the fauouring & defending of the part of Bruce. In the meane time, Randolph returned into Southian, and ioined himselfe with his old friend William Douglas late returned out of England, & now with great slaughters of his enemies egerlie reuenged the long losshommes of his imprisonment: to whome also to make their partie the stronger, came Andrew Murray, which was taken at Wobesdale. Wherefore these gouernours sufficiently garded with the nobilitie, appointed a parliament at Perth, in the last of April. Whither when the nobles came, there could not be anie thing performed, by reason of the secret harboring harbored in the bosoms of William Douglas, and David Cummin earle of Atholl: the cause whereof was pretended to be, in that Douglas was taken vnto Cummin, that it was by his meanes, that he was not sooner deliuered out of prison from the English: amongst which nobilitie, Stewart fauored Cummin, and almost all the other took part with Douglas. Whence contention amongst the nobilitie, was occasioned for which they had of the Cummins committing to that place with so great a traine: for he brought thither such number of his friends and followers, that he was a terror to all the rest of the assemblie, to the therof of which suspicion, they further joined a conceit they had of Cummins great and changeable will, his aspiring mind, and certaine rumors spread abroad of the coming of the English, with whome no man durst doubt, but that the earle of Atholl would ioint for his defence.)

Edward king of England vnderstanding the rebellion of the Scots, determined to assaile them both by sea and land: and to providing a number of an hundred and foure score ships, sent the same well vittelled and manned to saile into the Forth, the which being there arrived, burnt and spoiled the towines on both sides that diuer, but retreating backe into England, they lost manie of their vessels by a tempest. King Edward himselfe, together with Edward the Balioll entered by land, with an armie of fiftie thousand men, leading the same to the towne of Perth, otherwise called saint Johns towne, and there lodged in campe, abiding for the coming of the earle of Atholl, who as then being solicited thereto by the king of Englands agents, was ready to turne againe incontinentlie to his side [who after accorde, with Godfrie of Kelle, & Alexander Spotsbraie, with other, came to the king of England.]

The same time, whist the king of England lay thus at Perth, the earle of Hamur (whom the Scottish writers wronglie name the duke of Gelderland) came into England with an armie, and purposing to passe the Humber into the place where king Edward lay in campe, to come to his aid, was discomfited

The earle of Murray and Robert Stewart elected gouernours.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

Hector Boet. saith it was holden at Darke.

Ye may read more of this matter in the historie of England. A name sent into Scotland, shipwrecke.

K. Edward invaded the Scots by land.

Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

Not the duke of Gelderland but the earle of Hamur, named Guy.

e. Wepot James die cap. of Loch.

usse to ne the li.

The castell of Dumnone taken. Fr. Thin.

The thirrisse of Bute slaine.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. Iohn Maior.

A releasement of tribute.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Murray returned forth of France.

Fr. Thin. Countries reduced to the obedience of king David. Fr. Thin.

335.

Edward with island by sea land.

The earle of Atholl fled into the mountains.

He submitted himselfe.

into the earle of oil gouern of the Scots.

him. anan.

John Fourdon.

William Dowglas cometh to the succour of the Scots.

David de Armand a Scottish knight.

Hyperbole.

A woman of manlike force and stature.

The earle of Atholl is taken prisoner.

The earle of Atholl resorting to the Balioll is establisshed governour. The king of England returneth home taking the Balioll with him.

collected on the Burrode more, beside Edinburgh, by the power of the gubourners, and others, which were there assembled against him. There died manie on both parts in the fight (as John Fourdon writeth) for the strangers fought verie ballantlie: insomuch that if William Dowglas, with diuerse other, had not come do home from Pictland hills to the aid of the Scots, whilst they were thus fighting, the strangers that day had wonne the victorie. But now discouraged with the sudden coming of this fresh aid to their aduersaries, they began to giue place, and drew towards Edinburgh: neuertheless keeping themselves in order of battell, they fought still: and at length coming to Edinburgh, they were driven by thorough the friers street, and so by another street, called saint Marie Wind, where one sir David de Armand, a verie ballant knight chanced to be wounded by one of the enemies, by reason whereof he was so kindled in wrathfull desire to be reuenged, that with an axe which he had in his hand, he gaue his aduersarie (that had hurt him) such a blow on the shoulder, that he claue him do home together with his horse, that the axe staid not till it light vpon the verie hard pavement, so as the print of that violent stroke remained to be seene a long time after in one of the stones of the same pavement.

The strangers still retiring, and manfully defending themselves, at length got to the hill where Edinburgh castle standeth, and there lue their horses, making as it were a rampier of their carcases, so to defend themselves from the force of their enemies: but being incited by the Scots on each side all that night, and hauing neither meate nor drinke there to susteine their languishing bodies, the which beside hunger and thirst, were sore tormented with cold also, and want of convenient lodging, they yielded themselves the next day, with condition to haue their liues saved. When the spoile of the field (where they first ioined) was gathered, amongst the dead bodies, there was found a woman of an huge stature, who in the beginning of the battell strept forth before his companie, and encountering in singular fight with an esquire of Scotland, named Richard Shatto, she ouerthrew him, and afterwards beating do home his enemies on each side, long it was yet he might be ouerthrought, which chanced not before she was inuolued about on each side with his enemies.

The earle of Murray, hauing yielded himselfe into the hands of the gubourners, was herie courteously vsed, the earle of Murray not onelie rendering vnto him all his goods, but also granting him licence to depart: and for his more security, he went himselfe in person with him to the borders, to see him safe deliuered out of all dangers. But by an ambush that lay in wait for the earle of Murray, he was taken prisoner, and brought to king Edward. David Cumin earle of Atholl, hearing that the earle of Murray one of the gubourners was thus taken, supposing king Edwards part to be much advanced thereby, came straightwaies vnto Perth, and gaue his faith effionces vnto Edward Balioll, and was againe established by him gubourner of the realme of Scotland, as he was before. The king of England, hauing in the meane time gotten the towne of Perth, returned into England, and took the Balioll with him, for doubt least when he had recovered the whole gouernement of the realme, he should thinke awaie from him. The earle of Atholl, hauing now regained his former authoritie, began to exercise great crueltie against all those that were enemies to the Balioll.

The nobles of the contrarie faction (as Patrick Dunbar earle of March, Andrew Murray, & William Dowglas, with other) took great delight there-

at, and raising an armie to restreine his insolent doings, came towards him, whereof he being aduertised (as then lieng at siege before the castle of Kilbummie) rose and met them in the fields within the forrest of Kilblaine, where he gaue them a sore battell, and had gone awaie with the victorie, had not John Crag capteine of Kilbummie sallied forth of the castle with three hundred fresh men, and coming to the succour of his friends, renewed the battell in such earnest wise, that the aduersaries thereby were discomfited, earle David their chiefeine being slaine in the field, with Walter Bide, Robert Cumin, and a great number of other, both gentlemen and commons. Sir Thomas Cumin was taken prisoner, & beheaded the next day, being Iehovaxeres day. For the battell before mentioned was fought the last day of December (as Fourdon noteth.) Who further saith, that the earle of Atholl had with him three thousand men against his aduersaries, which were not past eleuen hundred.

This David earle of Atholl was verie instant & grædis of gouernment, who if he had brought all the Scots to haue taken king Edwards part, would out of doubt, haue afterward contended with king Edward, and inuaded the kingdome of Scotland by violence; he did most grienouslie oppresse the gilllesse and poore people, and wickedlie ordered all things after his own fantasie, without reason. Cumin earle of Atholl was slaine on this wise: Andrew Murray was chosen gubourner in place of the earle of Murray, taken (as before is said) by the Englishmen. This Andrew Murray in the beginning of his new office, laid siege to the castle of Couper, with a mightie power of men, but hearing that the Cumins made foule worke in the north parts of the realme, against such as fauoured not the English part, he left that siege, and went against them, with some encountering in battell, he ouerthrew their armie, and put them all to flight.

At this bickering were slaine two of the Cumins, Robert and William, Thomas Calpar, and diuerse other ballant men, though enemies for the time vnto the gubourner. This victorie reduced all the north parts of Scotland, vnto the obedience of king David. Few Englishmen after the same abode within the north boundes of Scotland, except those that were within the castle of Duncard in Buchquhane. At length this castle was wonne, & all that kept it slaine, except Henry Beaumont the capteine, who being sworn neuer to returne againe into Scotland, was licenced by the gubourner to depart into England without any interruption. After this, the gubourner came to the castle of Lochindoris, and laid siege to it, where within was the countesse of Atholl, the wife of the late slaine earle David. His woman hauing knowledge aforehand, that his house should be besieged, had sent vnto the king of England, and so Edward Balioll for succour.

The king of England now doubting least all the strengths in Scotland, kept as such as were his friends, would be lost without recovery, if the same were not the sooner rescued, he raised an armie of forty thousand men, and entering therewith into Scotland, came to the castle of Lochindoris aforesaid. The Scots that lay there at siege, vpon knowledge had of his coming towards them, brake vp, and departed from thence. Wherevpon, when he had refreshed the hold with new men, munition, and bittels, he took the countesse forth with him, and passed with blowie sword thorough Murray, euen to Elghine, and returning by Mar, burnt the towne of Aberdeen. When he went to Strirling, where he dronglie repaired the castle: from whence he took his iourne to Rosbrouill, and there all in winter, he made the castle

The earle of Atholl is slaine.

Fourdon.

Fr. Thin. John Maior li. 5. cap. 14.

Andrew Murray chosen gubourner.

The Cumins put to flight.

The north parts of Scotland reduced to the obedience of king David. The castle of Duncard wonne.

The castle of Lochindoris besieged.

The king of England cometh to raise the siege of Lochindoris.

The towne of Aberdeen burnt by the Englishmen. Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

the stronger, in which he placed a valiant garrison: to this fort the lord Berkeley conveyed vittels from Edinburgh, and in one night discomfited William Douglas that lay in wait to intercept him. After which, king Edward did shortly lose all the said castles, which he had before with so great care fortified. His name being on the sea at the same time, entered into the Forth, and spoiling (as other had done aforetime) the church of saint Colme, felt reuenge thereof shortly after: for that ship (as they tell the tale) wherein saint Colmes goods (so they call them) were laden, sank to the bottom of the sea, without force of any tempest, or other apparant occasion.

The towne of Perth newlie built.

The king of England at his coming to Perth, south of the north parts of Scotland, and finding the towne fortified, caused the same to be newlie fenced with walls and bulwarks, at the charges and onerous expenses of these six abbies, Aberbrothoke, Couper, Lundoch, Balmerinock, Dunfermling, & saint Andrews. Henrie Beaumont also, who contrarie to his oath before taken, was now returned with king Edward into Scotland, was made capitaine of saint Andrews. Also Henrie Ferrar was made capitaine of the castle of Lucres, William Montacute of Striving, William Felton of Rockburgh, and the keeping of the towne of Perth was committed unto one Thomas Athred. Whilest king Edward ordered things in Scotland after this manner, his brother (surnamed by the Scottish writers Eltham) came unto him at Perth, who in the west parts of Scotland had exercised much crueltie, as well against the enemies of the Englishmen, as against those that were fauourers and friends unto them, insomuch that passing through Galloway, Carrike, Kile, and Cunningham, he put all to the fier and sword that came in his waies: He burned the church of saint Bute, and a thousand persons within it, which were fled thither for safegard of their liues. At his coming to Perth, he found the king his brother within the church there, who being sore offended with him for his misordered doings, verie sharpelie reprimed him for the same: and forsomuch as he answered him somewhat frowardlie, he plucked forth his sword, and there thrust him through the bodie, euen before the altar of saint John, wishing that all such might perish on the same wise, as put no difference betwixt friend and foe, place hallowed and unhallowed; as being no reason, that the church should be any more refuge for him, than he had made it for other.

King Edward slayeth his brother Eltham.

It may be, that king Edward slue some other man in this sort, as the Scots here doe write: but for the earle of Cornewall that was brother to king Edward, and surnamed John of Eltham, because he was borne at Eltham, it is nothing true that he was so made awaie, for he died of a naturall infirmite, as by our English writers it manifestlie appereth. But now to proceed with the historie, as we find it written. Such things accomplished in Scotland (as before ye haue heard) king Edward returned into England, & left the Balioll behind him with a great power of men at Perth. About the same time, Henrie Beaumont slue all such Scots as he might lay hands on, that had bene at the battell of Killbaine, where his cosine David Cumyn was slaine. Moreover now, after that king Edward was returned into England, Andrew Murray came south of the mountains, into the which he was before withdrawen to eschue the furie of the Englishmen, and by the assistance of sundrie of the nobles of Scotland, he won the castle of Kinclennin, and raised it to the earth. Shortly after he came into Spemes, and there toke the castle of Kilsnesse, and likewise raised the same.

He died of a naturall infirmite, as by the English writers it appereth.
King Edward returneth into England.

Andrew Murray cometh south of the mountains. He winneth the castle of Kinclennin.

Then passing forward, he burned Dunnoter.

On the other part, the Englishmen made no lesse spoile and destruction on each side where they came, so that the Spemes, Angus, Stermond, and Colviue through spoile, murder, & other disgraces, chancing by continuall warre, were left in manner waste and desolat. At length, this Andrew Murray assembling a great power, with support of them of Murray, Mar, and Buchan, fought with his enemies at Dammoze in Angus, where he obtained the victorie with huge slaughter of Englishmen, and other his aduerfaries. In this battell was slaine Henrie Mountfort, who latelie before had bene sent by king Edward into Scotland to support the Balioll, beside four thousand others, the most part gentlemen: so that this overthow was verie displeasing to the king of England, having his side sore weakened thereby. After the gaine of this victorie, Andrew Murray passed through Fife & Angus, overthrowing the castle of Lucres, with all the other strengthes of Fife, the castle of Couper onelie excepted.

The calamitie chancing to sundrie countreies of Scotland through continuall wars. The victorie of Andrew Murray gotten at Dammoze. Henrie Mountfort slaine.

The castle of Lucres overthrowne. Fr. Thun. Scala chron.

* Andrew Murray gardian of the Scots (and sir David Bruce) did much harme in the countreie of Carleill, from whence he went to besiege the castle of Edinburgh (as yet in the hands of the English) whose intent coming to the knowledge of the marchers of England, they hastened to repaire to raise the same siege of Edinburgh, and to rescue their countreimen within the towne. By means whereof, the Scots removed and came to Clerkington, and the English came to Brethtowne not farre distant; betwene whome there was a great fight, and manie slaine on both sides. But the victorie inclining without any great conquest to neither partie, both armies parted: for the English went ouer Tweed, and the Scots feining that they would go into England, lodged themselves at Galschell. So that king Edward hearing of such prosperous successe chancing to his aduerfaries, sent incontinentlie two captaines with two armies into Scotland, to the support of the Balioll.

Two armies sent into Scotland.

William Tailbois a man of notable prowes, having the conduct of the one of these armies, was encountered by William Keith, and after the discomfiture of his people, being taken prisoner, was kept in captivitie till he paid two thousand marks for his ransom. The other was led by Richard Mountfort with whom Laurence Preston and Robert Gordon met, and giving him battell, slue the same Richard with the most part of all his companie. About the same time sir William Montacute earle of Salisbury, together with the earle of Arundell came into Scotland with a great power of men, and besieged the castell of Dunbar, lying at the same for the space of 22 weeks. [At which battell also was king Edward, the earle of Gloucester, the lords Peterie and Beuill, being in the yeare 1337, as saith Scala chron.] Within the said castell was the countesse hir selfe, surnamed blacke Agnes of Dunbar, who shewed such manlie defense, that no gaine was to be got any waies forth at hir hands, so that in the end they were constrained to raise their siege, and to depart without spede of their purpose. It is said, that this countesse used manie pleasant words in teasing and taunting at the enemies doings, thereby the more to encourage hir souldiers.

William Tailbor, or rather Tailbois is taken prisoner.

Richard Mountfort & Montacute is slaine. The castell of Dunbar is besieged by the earles of Salisbury and Arundell. Fr. Thun.

1337. Blacke Agnes of Dunbar.

One day it chanced that the Englishmen had devised an engine called a sow, under the pentise or covert wherof they might approach safelie to the walls: the beholding this engine, merilie said, that unless the Englishmen kept their sow the better, they would make hir to cast hir pigs: and so the after destroyed it. In the yeare next after this siege, there was such a dearth through all the boundes of Scotland,

An engine called a sow.

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Scotland.

Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

The castell
of Couper
left void.

The castell of
Louthian in
the hands of
the English-
men.

The death of
Andrew Murray the
gouernor.
1338.

Cluidall re-
couered out of
the English
mens hands
by William
Dowglas.

Fr. Thin.
Io. Maior. lib. 5.
cap. 5.

land, with such mortallitie of people, as a greater had not lightlie bene sene nor heard of. The cause of which mortallitie proceeded (as was thought) for that the ground lay vntilled and not occupied, by reason of the continuall warres before passed. [The marchers of England (that were left behind the lordes that went into Scotland) were discomfited at Berken: where Robert Spencers was taken, with manie other prisoners, beside a multitude that were slaine, by reason of certeine displeasing words amongst them, which caused that they brake order, diuided themselves, and fought in an inconuenient place.] All the souldiers that kept the castell of Couper, for lacke of vittells left the house void, and coming to the sea side, hired a ship to haue passed into England, but through negligence of the maister mariner, they fell vpon a sand-bed, and so were cast away. About the same time the most part of all the strengths and fortresses in Louthian were kept by Englishmen.

The towne of Edinburgh was stuffed with a great number of souldiers, both Englishmen and Scots. Amongest whome there was a Scot of a right stout stomack named Robert Bendergest; he, for that it was perceiued he loued but little the English nation, was euill intreated and vsed amongst them, in so much that on a day, hauing his head broken by the marshall named Thomas Knatoun, he ceased not to seeke some meane to be reuenged, till he brought his purpose to passe, so that shortly after he slue the said marshall, and after ward to auoid the danger of death due for that fact, he got away, and came to William Dowglas, whome he perswaded with all diligence to passe vnto Edinburgh, where he might find his enemies at some great aduantage, by reason of the slothfull negligence as then growne amongst them. William Dowglas following this aduertisement, came secretly on a night vnto the foresaid towne, and slue foure hundred Englishmen sleeping in sleepe and drunkenness, before they were able to make anie resistance.

Not long after, Andrew Murray the gouernor of Scotland deceased, to the great damage of the common-wealth, and was buried in Rosmarkie, in the yeare after the birth of our Saviour 1338. It came well to passe for Scotland, that about the same time the king of England entering into wars against France, was constrained to cease his pursuit of the conquest which he minded to make in Scotland, the which must needs haue come to full effect, if he had followed his former purpose and intent. But to proceed, after the deceasse of Andrew Murray the gouernor, Robert Stewart took all the charge on him for the government of the realme, till king David returned home out of France, and began to rule all things himselfe. Cluidall also was recouered out of the Englishmens hands, with diuers other places, about this time, by the high prowes and manlie balliance of William Dowglas and other Scottish capteins; and therefore in the reward of the good seruice shewed by the same William in conquest of that countrie, he intioed the same afterward as his rightfull inheritance. [Henrie earle of Lancaster and Derby, hearing of the valure of these two worthy capteins, William Dowglas, and Alexander Ramsie, earnestlie desired to see them, and to trie their strengths in iusting. Whereupon, there was a day appointed therefore at Berwick by all the said parties, where they met with their complices provided accordingly. At what time a certeine Englishman asked Peter Crame, if he would not refuse to iust with him, to whome he answered, that he accepted the challenge, but willed him first to dine well, because he should that night sup in paradise. Which fell out accordingly, for in run-

ning together the Englishman was slain.] The king of England moued with high displeasure at these doings, sent a right baliant knight named Sir Thomas Berkeley with a great power of men into Scotland. Against whome came William Dowglas, and Robert Stewart the gouernor, and gaue him battell at Blackeborne, where the Scots were discomfited and so beaten downe, that few of them escaped, which were not either slaine or taken. Notwithstanding the two capteins saued themselves by flight.

Not long after, William Dowglas fought with his enemies at the Cragings, where hauing not past fortie men in his companie, he discomfited Sir John Struelling, who had with him more hand five hundred Englishmen and Scots, that took his part in the king of Englands quarrell. In the yeare following, the same William Dowglas won the castell of Hermitage, & slue all them that were found within it. In the yeare next after, he fought five times in one day with Sir Laurence Abernethie, principall capteine vnder the Ballioll, and being put to the worse at foure of those times, at the fift he vanquished his enemies, and took prisoner their capteine the said Sir Laurence, who was sent to the castell of Dunbretton, there to remaine in safe keeping for a time. For these and such worthy enterprises hardlie atchieued, this Will. Dowglas was much commended, and within a few daies after the taking of the said Sir Laurence Abernethie, he was sent by the gouernor the said Robert Stewart into France, as ambassadoe to king David, for the dispatch of certeine weightie matters touching the state of the realme.

In the meane time, Robert Stewart the gouernor raised a mightie armie, and came with the same vnto the towne of Perth, planting a strong siege round about it; for diuiding his host into foure parts, he lodged them with their capteins in foure severall places. The first consisting for the most part of westerne Scots, he gouerned himselfe; the second he committed to Patrike Dunbar earle of March, the third to William earle of Ross, and the fourth, to Maurice of Powbray lord of Clidisdale. These lay thus at siege of this towne for the space of ten weekes. And though sundrie times they gaue alarmes and assaults to it, yet was it so stoutlie defended by Englishmen and other within, that the Scots for a long time lost more than they won. At length when they were in maner past all hope to get the towne, & readie to haue departed from it, William Dowglas arrived in the Laie, bringing with him out of France in five ships, both men of war, and also munition of armour, artillerie, and weapons, which serued the Scottishmen in that season greatlie to purpose.

Amongest other, there were two knights of the familie of Castlegalliard, and two esquiers, Giles de la Hois, and John de Beisse; also a noble pirat, named Hugh Handpile, who had the charge ouer the foresaid five ships. [While Edward the third was at the siege of Turneie, the earls of March and Southerland made a rode into Scotland, and were discomfited by Thomas Greie the elder, Robert Spencers, & John Copeland, with the garrison of Koksborow, then in the hands of the English, but after wone by the Scots, on Easter day, at the berie houre of the resurrection; the gouernement whereof seemed to be fatall, because all the capteins of this towne died of euill deaths, amongst whome was Alexander Ramsie the capteine hereof that died with hunger, being put in prison for berie ennie that William Dowglas bare vnto him.] About the same time, one William Bullocke had taken edisones the

Sir Thomas
Berkeley.

The battell
of Blacke-
borne.

Sir John
Struelling
discomfited.

The castell of
Hermitage
wonne.

Sir Laurence
Abernethie
taken priso-
ner.

Sir William
Dowglas
sent into
France.

1339.

The towne
of Perth be-
sieged.

There was
also in that
armie beside
other noble
men William
Beith of Sal-
kilton.

William
Dowglas re-
turneth out of
France.

John Fourdon.

Fr. Thin.
1340.
Scala chron.

The towne of
Perth rende-
red to the go-
uernor.

1341.
John Fourdon,

Fr.Thin.

A hope dearth.

Children
taken.

The castell of
Strueling
rendered.

Alias Ruggie.

Fr.Thin.

Edward Bal-
low with-
draweth into
England.

The castell of
Edenburgh
whiche
Fr.Thin.

A policie.

the castell of Couper to the king of Englands use, but by perswasion of this William Dowglas, he rendered it up againe, and departed with bag and baggage. Those Scots that had serued under him likewise, were content to forsake the king of Englands wages, and to serue William Dowglas, who led them forthwith to the siege of Perth, the which towne shortly after his comming was reu-
dered into the gouernors hands, by Thomas Wither the capteine, in the third moneth after it was first
besieged, & in the yere after our redemption 1341.
Among other exploits attempted at this siege af-
ter the comming of the lord William Dowglas, the
Frenchman Hugh Hampile, taking vpon him on a
day to approach the towne with his ships, and to giue
an assault thereto, he lost the chiefest vessel he had,
although afterwards when the towne was now
rendered, the lord William Dowglas caused the
same ship to be to him againe restored, and with
great thanks and liberall rewards giuen as well to
him as to the other of the Frenchmen, he sent them
backe into France, greatlie to their pleasure and
contentation; although in their returne, as they pas-
sed out of Dumlie Firth, they escaped verie hardlie
from the shipe. [The winter after the siege of Tur-
neie, king Edward went to Melrose, but from
thence riding through part of the forest of Strike,
in a tempestuous time, he came backe againe to
Melrose, where Henrie earle of Lancaster iusted
with William Dowglas (by couenant) in the
kings sight. King Edward taking a truce, departed
from Melrose, halfe overcome with melancholie a-
gainst those that first moued him to this iournie, not
succeeding as they hoped and desired that it should
haue done.]

In the same yere (as some do write) or (acco-
ding vnto other) in the yere following, there was
such a miserable dearth, both through England and
Scotland, that the people were driuen to eat the flesh
of horses, dogs, cats, and such like vnused kinds of
meats, to susteine their languishing liues withall,
yea, in somuch that (as is said) there was a Scottish
man, an vplandish fellow named Trisicloke, spared
not to steale children, and to kill women, on whose
flesh he fed, as if he had bene a wolfe. Perth being
once deliuered (as before is said) to the gouernor, he
went with his armie to Strueling, and besieging
the castell, had it rendered vnto him the eight day af-
ter his comming thither, on these conditions, that
Thomas Foulkie the capteine, with his wife and
children might safelie passe into England, without
fraud or guile of anie impeachment [of which castell
(as saith Buchanan) Maurice the sonne of Andrew
Marey was made capteine.] Edward Balliol, by
such good and prosperous successe, as did thus daile
fall vnto his enemies, to auoid further danger, after
off removing from place to place, at length he was
constrained to flee into England, lest he should haue
fallen into his aduersaries hands.

Not long after, the castell of Edenburgh was
wonne by policie on this wise. William Dowglas
hauing acquaintance with one Walter Towlers;
[whom Buchanan called William Cur a merchant]
caused him to prouide a ship, and to arrive there
with in the forth, feining as though he were a
merchant, and to offer wines to sell vnto the garrison
that kept Edenburgh castell. This Towlers accor-
ding to instructions thus giuen him, prouided him of
all things necessarie for the purpose, & so comming
into the forth with his ship, came on land himselfe,
and brought with him into Edenburgh two pun-
chions of wine, which he offered to sell vnto the ste-
ward of household to the capteine of the castell, who
selling at a price with him, appointed that he should

bring them earlie in the morning vp to the castell,
that they might be receiued in. Towlers hiring a
cart ouer night, came with the punchions vp to the
castell gate, earlie vpon the bzeake of the day in the
next morning, and hauing the gates opened, entred
with his cart, and being come within the gates with
it, he plucked forth a wedge or pin deuised of pur-
pose, and immediatlie therewith the cart with the
punchions fell downe, so stopping the entrie of the
gates, that in no wise they might be shut or closed
againe.

The Dowglasse hauing in his companie Will-
iam Bullocke, Walter Fraiser, and John Sand-
lands, right valiant knights, with diuerse other bar-
die and bold personages, late in couert not far from
the castell, & hauing knowledge giuen him by found
of home, or otherwise, when to come forth, he hasted
therevpon with all diligence vnto the gates, and fin-
ding them thus open, first slue the porters, and after
into the castell, within a while had dispatched all
them within, and so became maisters of that fortres,
within the which for capteine they left one William
Dowglas, the bastard brother of the other William
Dowglas, by whose conduct chieflie, both this enter-
prise and diuers other were luckilie atchiued. Thus
was the realme of Scotland clearelie recovered out
of the enemies hands, the Englishmen, and all other
that took part with the Balliol, constrained to auoid
out of all the parts and bounds thereof. The castell
of Edenburgh was thus recovered by the Scots in
the yere last before remembred, to wit, 1341.

The same yere, or in the next ensuing, the second
of June, king David with his wife quene Jane, and
sundry nobles both French and Scottish, came safe-
lie through the seas, and arrived in Innerbernie,
from whence with no small triumph they were con-
ueied vnto Perth. About the same time, Alexander
Kamsey of Dalehouse, one of the most valiant cap-
teins knowne in those daies, gathering a great
power of men, entered into England, and hauing
knowledge that the Englishmen were assembled, in
purpose to giue him battell, laid an ambush for
them, and training them within danger thereof, by
such a fierce and new onset as he gaue vpon them,
he put them out of order, and chased them most ege-
lie, killing and slaying a great number of them at
his pleasure. Amongest the prisoners that were ta-
ken, the earle of Salisburie (as the Scottish historie
saith) was one, and the capteine of Kokesburgh
another.

Sir Alexander Kamsey, perceiuing that the most
part of the garrison of Kokesburgh were either
slaine, or taken in this last conflict, together with
their capteine, came hastily thither, and giuing a
right fierce assault thereto, by fine force took it.
Wherefore king David in recompense of his vali-
ancie thus declared in his seruice, gaue vnto him the
keeping of this castell, together with the shirifwie of
Eggsdale. Whereat William Dowglas took such
displeasure, that seeking to be reuenged, he found
meanes to apprehend this Alexander Kamsey with-
in the church of Halwike, and put him in prison with-
in the castell of Hermitage, where he remained in
great miserie and lacke of food till he died. [About
which time by the said kind of death (as saith Bucha-
nan) was William Bullocke slaine, by David
Berhelie. The death of which two did draw Scot-
land into manie factions, and filled it with seditions.]

King David was soe moued herewith, purpo-
sing to see such punishment done vpon William
Dowglas for that rebellious attempt, as might
serue for an example to all other how they went a-
bout anie the like offense. neuertheless, the Dow-
glasse kept him out of the way amongst the moun-
teins

1341. H.B.

1342. Jo. Ma.
King David
returneth into
Scotland.

Alexander
Kamsey ro-
beth into
England.

This Kam-
sey was so re-
nowned, that
euerie noble
man was
glad to haue
his sonne and
kinsman to
serue vnder
him.

The castell of
Kokesburgh
wonne by
Alexander
Kamsey.

Alexander
Kamsey taken
by William
Dowglas, &
imprisoned.
Fr.Thin.

telms and other desert places, till finally Robert Stewart and other nobles purchased his pardon, so that at length he came into favor againe, and had all his lands and livings restored unto him, as well in Auldale as elsewhere.

The earle of Salisbury exchanged for the earle of Murray.

Froifard.

1342.

A parliament at Perth.

The countess liberalitie of St. David. His Hugh was grandfather to Hector Boetius.

King David invaded Northumberland.

Fr. Thin.

King David the second time invaded the English borders.

Five Scottish knights taken prisoners

King David the third time invaded England. Foul weather.

Calis besieged.

Ambassadors sent to French king into Scotland.

Some after the earle of Salisbury was taken by Sir Alexander Ramsay (as is said) he was exchanged for the earle of Murray, that had bene holden manie yeres before as prisoner in England. But it should appeare by other writers, that the earle of Salisbury was not taken at that time in the borders of Scotland (as before is supposed) but in the borders of France, where he was in the wars which king Edward the same time made against the Frenchmen; & now was exchanged for the earle of Murray. But howsoever it was, king David after the realme of Scotland was once brought into a quiet estate from the former trouble of war, he called a parliament at the towne of Perth, where he rewarded verie liberalitie all such as had either done any notable service themselves, or had lost any of their friends or parents in defense & recoverie of the realme out of his adversaries hands. Among other, Hugh Boece had in recompense of his fathers slaughter at Duplin, the inheritance & lade of the baronie of Walbyd given him in marriage, which baronie is yet possessed by the heires of the said Hugh.

Shortly after upon the breaking up of this parliament, king David raised a mightie armie, and entered with the same into Northumberland; but committing the whole charge to John Randolphy erle of Murray as lieutenant generall, he would not that any of his owne banners should be spied and borne in all that boiage (although himselfe were there in person, serving secretly, and would not be knowne in this iourne.) The most part of all Northumberland was burnt and spoiled, for they remained there a moneth before they returned, conueying awaie with them great riches, which they got abroad in all places where they came. Shortly after, he came with a new armie into England, causing his own standard to be carried afore him at that tyme, as he that toke upon him the whole governance of that enterpryse himselfe. The Englishmen withdrawing all their goods into strength, minded not to giue the Scots any set batell, but to take them ever at some advantage, if they strated abroad any where unwarily to fetch in bottles. Neither were they altogether disappointed of their hoped prey, for Scottish knights, whose names were Stewart, Eglinton, Craggie, Bold, and Fullarton, pursuing their enemies on a time over fiercelie, were taken prisoners. At length, king David perceiving that he wasted but time, returned into Scotland. But not long after he went againe into England, in which iourne his people were so beaten with vehement stormes of raine and haile, that they had much ado to save themselves from perishing through the unmeasurable force of that so rigorous weather.

On the other side, the Englishmen that were gathered to resist against him, were in semblable manner nere hand destroyed with the like rage of tempest. Whereupon king David, to the end that his enterpryse should not seeme altogether to want effect, overthrowe sundrie strong houses on the English borders, and so returned home without other damage either done or received. About the same time did Edward king of England besiege the towne of Calis. The French king therefore desiring all waies possible whereby to save that towne, and to cause his adversarie to raise his siege, sent ambassadors into Scotland, to require king David, that with an armie he would enter into England, and do what da-

mage he might unto the Englishmen, to trie if by that meanes king Edward could be constrained to leave his siege, and to returne home for defense of his owne countrie and subjects. In the meane time also (as I find in the Scottish chronicles) king Edward addrest his orators into Scotland, offering unto king David, upon condition that peace might be had, to deliver into his hands not onelie the towne of Berwik, but also Edward Balliol his old adversarie, for whose cause the warre had so long continued betwixt them.

These offers being proponed in counsell, though some of the wisest sort gave advise that in no condition they ought to be refused; yet the king himselfe (for love that he had to the French king with whom he had bene brought up) and other of the nobles having young heads, upon desire to be revenged of the Englishmen by practise of warres (whereunto they were inclined) would needs condescend to the French kings chargeable request, & refuse the king of Englands beneficiall offers. Whereupon an armie was leuied, and solemne proclamation made, that all such as were able and fit to beare armour, should meet the king at a certaine day and place, which was to them in the same proclamation assigned. The earle of Ross therefore came with his people unto Perth, and there made his musters before the king: but in the night following he slew the lord of the Isles, with seven of his kinsmen as they were in their beds, and thereupon fled, and got him with all speed againe into Ross (whereby the armie was greatly diminished, when the friends of both parts fearing civil warres amongst the families departed home.)

King David, though he was sore displeased here, with, and desired most earnestlie to have punished that heinous act; yet because he would not hinder his iourne, he let passe the punishment thereof, till more convenient opportunitie might serve thereto. Notwithstanding that William Douglas of Liddale did earnestlie persuade him, at that time to leave the iourne, and first to punish these turmoils at home, whereby all things might be quieted in his absence. At his coming to the borders, and before he entered into England, he made manie knights, to stirre them the rather to do valiantlie; but first he created William Douglas an earle, which William was sonne to Archibald Douglas, slaine before at Halidon hill. There was undoubtedly a mightie power of the Scots assembled at that present; inasmuch as there was of earles, lords, knights, and gentlemen, to the number of two thousand men of armes; and of such armed men as they called hoblers, set forth by the burrowes and good townes twentie thousand; beside the archers and other footmen, so that they were at the least fortie thousand men in all; or (as some writers affirme) three score thousand.

King David with that his puissant armie, the first of October entered Northumberland, and coming to a fortrell not farre off from the borders called Liddell, they laie round about that place for the space of three daies, without giving thereto any assault: but the fourth day they assailed it right fiercelie, and in the end entered by fine force, slaying the more part of all those which they found within the house. The capteine Sir Walter Selbie was taken alive, but immediatly by king David his commandement, had his head stricken off, and was not permitted to have so much time as to make his confession, which he instantlie desired to have done, but it would not be granted. From thence the armie removed, and went unto the abbey of Lavercock, which they spoiled; and that done they departed, and passing by Batward castell, and the towne of Redbely, kept on

Ambassadors from the king of England into Scotland

The king of England's officers.

The Scots ready to help the French, & hinder their neighbors the English.

An armie raised to invade England.

The lord of the Isles slain by the earle of Ross.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.

William Douglas created earle of Douglas.

Ri. Southwell. Two thousand men of armes, 20000 hoblers.

King David invaded England.

The lord of Liddell.

Sir Walter Selbie beheaded by the Scots.

Lavercock.

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King David lodged in the maner of St. Mary.

The abbey of Durham spoiled.

The earle of Northumberland lieutenant of the North.

A herald.

The appointing of the Scottish battalia.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Douglas slain.

David Gra-ham slain by the Scots.

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The king of
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An armie rai
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The lord of
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by the earle
of Ross.

Fr. Thin.

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Fr. Thin.

William Dow
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Ri. Southwell.
Two thou
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King David
invaded Eng
land.

The fort of
Lidell.

Sir Walter
Scottie be
ded by the
Scots.

Launcroft.

King David
lodged in the
manor of
Beaurpaire.

The abbete of
Durham
spoiled.

The earle of
Northumber
land lieuten
ant of the
North.

A herald.

The appoint
ing of the
Scottish bat
tles.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of
Dowglas
chased.

David Gra
ham bitten
backe.

on till they came unto the priorie of Berham, which they sacked; but the towne was saved from fire by commandement of king David, who in this iourne appointed to preserve foure townes onellie from burning; to wit, Berham aforesaid, Corbridge, Darlington, and Durham, to the end he might in them lay up such store of vittels, as he should provide abroad in the countrie, wherewith to susteine his armie during the time of his abiding in those parties.

From Berham, where he late three daies, he marched to Eshelster, wasting and spoiling the countrie on each hand, and after turned towards the wood of Beaurpaire; and comming thither, lodged himselfe in the manour, and set his people abroad into the countrie to fetch in booties, & to burne up the townes and houses in all places where they came. The spoile, waste, destruction, and slaughter which the Scots practised with fire and sword, was wonderfull to heare, and incredible almost to be told; they spared neither young nor old, church nor chappell: religious houses as well as other were consumed to ashes. The abbete of Durham, and all places thereabout (as the Scottish writers affirme) were spoiled and miserable sacked, although it was said king David was admonished in a dreame, that he should in arie wisse abstaine from violating the gods and lands pertaining to saint Cuthbert.

The earle of Northumberland lieutenant of the North under king Edward, to resist these injuries, raised a great power of men, and joining the same with such bands of old souldiers as king Edward had lately sent over out of France for that purpose, first dispatched an herald at armes unto king David, requiring him to stae from further invading the countrie, and to returne into Scotland, till some reasonable order for a small peace might be agreed upon betwixt him and the king his master: otherwise he should be faine to have battell to the uttermost within three daies after. King David contenting this message, required his folks to make them ready to receive their enemies if they came to assault them, and on the next morrow, he divided his armie into three battels. In the first was Robert Stewart prince of Scotland, and Patrike Dunbar earle of March; in the second were appointed John earle of Murray, and William earle of Dowglas: in the third was the king himselfe, with all the residue of the nobles. [Contrarie to the which Buchanan placeth Dowglas in the first, the king in the middle, and Stewart in the third.]

In the morning earlie before the battell, the earle of Dowglas departed from the armie to describe the English host, and to understand their force and order (if it were possible:) but entering somewhat unwarlike within danger of his enemies, he was chased, and that to such disadvantage, that he lost fiftie, or rather five hundred (as some booke haue) of young gentlemen, and such other light horsemen as he toke forth with him, escaping verie narrowlie himselfe also from being taken at the chase. In the meane season, the English host divided likewise into three battels, approached forward, and came within sight of the Scottish armie. Whereupon David Graham with a wing of five hundred horsemen, well appointed gave a full charge on the skirts of the English archers, thinking to haue distressed them: but he was so sharpe receiued and beaten with arrowes, that losing a great number of his men, he was constrained to flee backe to the maine battell, and that not without great danger of being taken in his flight by such as followed him.

These two discomfures notwithstanding, the Scots rushed fiercelie upon their enemies, & fought with great manhood a long season; but in the end,

Robert Stewart, and the earle of March, perceiving their people partlie to shrinke backe, caused the retreat to be sounded, in hope to saue their men by withdrawing into some safer place: but this fleeing backe of the earle of March and Robert Stewart, brought the discomfure upon all the residue of the Scots. For that battell of Englishmen that was first matched with them, came now with such violence upon the maine battell where king David

fought, that within a short while after, the same was utterlie discomfited and put to flight. In this businesse king David himselfe did in euerie point plaie the part of a most valiant chieffaine, in encouraging his people as well with words as notable examples to do their indeuours. Neither would he stie after hee saw himselfe destitute of all conuentent aid, but still continued in earnest fight, desiring nothing so much (as should appeare) as death, for that he thought nothing more displeasing than life, after the slaughter of so manie of his nobles and liege people.

At length hauing his weapons stricken out of his hands, one John Copland came unto him, and willed him to yeeld; but he with one of his fists gaue this Copland such a blow on the mouth, that by force of the gantlet he strake out two of his teeth before he did yeeld unto him. Which Copland is misnamed by John Maior, and not onellie called Couptaunt, but also reported by him to be a Gascoigne, whereas it is evident by our histories, that he was named Copland, and a mere Englishman. But to our purpose. The Scots that fought in the reerward had no better successe than the other: for that battell was also broken & put to flight, with great laughter as well of the nobles, as other commons, besides those that were taken. There were slaine in this doleous conflict, the earle of Murray, the earle of Stratherne, the constable, the marshall, the chamberleine and chancelor of Scotland, with a great number of other nobles and commons [with Maurice Murray.]

Where were taken with the king five earles, that is to say, Dowglas, Jffe, Sutherland, Wigtoun, and Menteith [the earle of March & the Seneschall fled, but after the earle of March being taken, was with the earle of Menteith (as saith Scala chron.) be slaine and hanged at London.] And besides other great riches lost in this field, the holie crosse (as they call it) of holie rood house, was found upon king David, who bare it about him, in trust that by vertue thereof he should be invincible: but he was spoiled both of that and all other his Jewels which were found upon him at the same time. This battell was stricken nere unto Durham, the 17 day of October, in the yere 1346. What countries and places the Englishmen got after this victorie, ye may read in the English histories.

In the yere following, the Balliol, with the earle of Northumberland made a road into Louthian, and Cliddedale, bringing a great boote of goods and cattell out of those countries into Galloway, in which countrie the Balliol abode a long time after. At length, the Scots recouering themselves with much paine, after the slaughter of so manie of their nobles and commons, beside the discomfite for the taking of their king, chose and appointed Robert Stewart as gouernour to haue the rule of the realme. About the same time, William Dowglas the sonne of Archibald Dowglas, that was brother unto godd sir James Dowglas, who (as before is said) was slaine in Spaine, returned forth of France, and by support of his friends chased the Englishmen out of Dowglasdale, Tuidale, Twidale, Etrike forest, & Tweedale. John Copland capitaine of Robesburgh, to resist such enterprises, gathered a number of men, A. a. j. and

The cause of
the overthrow

The Scots
discomfited.

King David
his baliance.

King David
taken by
John Cop
land.

I 246.
Scala. chron.
Nobles slaine
in this battell.
Fr. Thin.
Prisoners taken.

Fr. Thin.

The Balliol
sotozney in
Galloway.

Robert Ste
ward gover
nour of Scot
land.

Countries re
covered out
of the English
mens hands,

John Cop-
land chaled.

1349.

The second
pestilence that
was heard of
in Scotland.
Sir David
Berklie slain

and came forth against his enemies, but receiuing the ouerthrow, he was chaled into Hokesburgh againe, with losse of diuerse of his men.

In the yere next following, which was from the incarnation 1349, there came such a pestilence thorough all parts of Scotland, so vehement and contagious, that it slue nere hand the third part of all the people. This was the second time that the pestilence was knowne or heard of to haue come in Scotland. The same yere, or (as other bookes haue) the yere next ensuing, one John saint. Highell slue sir David Berklie knight at Aberdeen, in the night season, by procurement of sir William Dowglaße of Addeghale, as then prisoner in England with the earle of Dowglaße, both of them being taken at Durgham field. The occasion was, for that this sir David Berklie had aforesaid slaine one John Dowglaße, brother to the said sir William, and father to sir James Dowglaße of Walsketh.

1352. J. Ma.
Sir William
Dowglaße
slaine.

1354.

1355.

Sir Eugenie
de Garente-
ris a French-
man, arrived
in Scotland.

Fortie thou-
sand crownes.

The earle of
March and
William Dow-
glaße enter in
to England
with an army.
William Ram-
sey of the Dale
house.

The English-
men intrap-
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Dut to flight.

Prisoners ta-
ken.

Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

1355.

In the yere following, was the same sir William Dowglaße, being lately before ransomed out of England, slaine, as he was hunting in Strike forest, by his cosine and godsonne William earle of Dowglaße, in reuenge of the slaughter of Alexander Ramsay, and other old grudges. This was the house of the Dowglaßes divided amongst themselves, pursuing each other manie yeres together with great unkinnesse, vnnaturall enmitie and slaughter. In the yere next following, which was 1355, shortly after Easter, there arrived in Scotland a noble knight named sir Eugenie de Garenteris, with a companie of Frenchmen, though few in number, yet ballant and verie skilfull warriours, which were sent thither by John king of France, that succeeded his father king Philip of Valois, lately before deceased, and deliuered vnto the gouernor and other nobles of the realme of Scotland, fortie thousand crownes of the sunne, to be imployed against the leuieng of an armie against the Englishmen, that they might be constrained the sooner to withdraw their powers out of France.

This monie was receiued, though a small part thereof came to the hands of the souldiers or men of warre of Scotland, for the lordes and nobles kept it safe inough to their owne vse. Yet neuerthelesse, the earle of March, and William Dowglaße, gather their people, and passe forth with the same to the borders, and entering into England, appoint William Ramsay of the Dalehouse, to ride before with a number of light hoshmen, to the end, that if the Englishmen did assemble and come forth to strong against him, he might retire backe to the maine battell, where they lay in couert, at a place called Disbet more. This Ramsay doing as he was commanded, made a great forrate thorough the countrie, and hauing got together a great botie of cattell, with drew with the same homewards: but being sharpe-ly pursued by the Englishmen, in hope to recouer their goods, he fled amaine, and they following egerly in the chase, were vpon the Scottis armie before they were aware. The Scottis men, and those few Frenchmen that were there, set vpon the Englishmen fiercelie, and finally put them to flight, though not without some slaughter on their part: for there were slaine of Scots sir John Holieburton, and sir James Turnbull knights. These were taken prisoners of Englishmen, sir Thomas Greie, and his sonne, with John Darcas, and manie other Englishmen.

* The taking of which Greie is reported by others to haue bene after this manner. The lordes Perfe and Hewill, gardians of the English marches, toke truce with the lord William Dowglaße, at the time that he conquered the lands which the Englishmen

had twone of the Scots. But Patrike earle of March (being in confederacie with Garenteris) would not by anie persuation consent to that leage: ther vpon (with a number of others) he made a road to the castle of Forham, ambushing themselves vpon the Scottis side of the riuer of Tweed, sending ouer a banneret with his ensigne, and 400 men to forage & spoile the countrie, who gathering the prizes, draue them in despite alongst the castle: where vpon

Thomas Greie, captaine of Forham (singing to Thomas Greie, that had bene thrice times by the Scots besieged in the said castle of Forham, in the reigne of king Edward the second) seeing the commons of England thus robbed (and deeming it his part to defend his countrie, friends, and their substance) issued forth of Forham with few men more than fiftie of the garrison of the castle, and a few of the common people expert in matters of war, who (not knowing of the secret ambush of the band which Patrike had layed in wait behind Tweed) issued forth to follow and recouer the prize: but being so farre gone in chase of the enimie, as that he could not returne in safetie (because he was beset before and behind with the 400 on the one side, & the ambush layed by Tweed on the other side) the said Greie and his companie (finding none other remedie but to hazard the successe) forooke their hoshes, and on foot (standing to the extremitie) with a wonderfull courage set vpon the Scots, whereof more were killed than of the English, but the Scots coming so close on the English (not able to resist) they began to flie, at what time Thomas Greie (as before is declared) was taken prisoner.

The earles of March, and Dowglaße, after the obtaining of this victorie, came suddenly in the night season vnto the towne of Berwik, and raising vp ladders to the wals, wan the towne, but not without losse of diuerse Scottis gentlemen, as Thomas Claus, Andrew Scot of Balmorie, John Gordon, William Sinclair, Thomas Preston, and Alexander Dowglaße knights. Of English were slaine Alexander Ogil captaine of the towne, Thomas Percie brother to the earle of Northumberland, and Edward Greie, with others. Eugenie de Garenteris with his Frenchmen did verie ballantlie beare himselfe in this enterprise, whome Robert Stewart the gouernour rewarding with great gifts, sent backe into France, commending him by letters vnto the French king, as he that had done his dutie in euerie behalfe verie thoroughly. The castle of Berwik, notwithstanding that the towne was thus twone, held forth the Scots and Frenchmen, by reason whereof when an armie of Englishmen came to the succours thereof, they rased the wals, and burnt the houses of the towne, and so departed.

* The tidings whereof were brought to king Edward at the verie instant of his landing from Calis into England, for which cause he taried at his parliament appointed at London but three daies, and with all speed came to Berwik, where he entered the castle; whereat the burgeses amazed, treated with him, and there vpon the towne of Berwik was rebeliured (against the minds of the Scots) to king Edward. B. Edward himselfe being come to the rescue and recouerie of Berwik, and hauing receiued the towne, and finding it so defaced, toke order for the repairing thereof againe, went to Roxburgh, and there receiued of the Ballioll a full resignation of all his pretended right to the crowne of Scotland. [For there the 26 of Januarie, the said Ballioll hauing resigned (as before) all his title to king Edward, acknowledged these causes: first, in consideration that the Scots were full of rebellion; also, because he had no better, nor anie verie nere of his linage; and for that he

Laleus epif-
cop. Roll. 1.
cap. 17.

Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

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Berwik
wals rased.
Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

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The
Ballioll
resigneth
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right.
Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

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Lelous epif.
cap. Rollz. lib.
ap. 57.

he was of R. Edwards blood of England, he knew not where to bestow it better than upon him. This Balioll is by no autho^r (as Lelous saith) placed in the catalog of the kings, as well for that he bound himselfe (by homage) to the gouernement of England with an oth, against the gouernement & maiestie of Scotland: as for that being a tyrant, & by force inuading the crowne, he continued not long in the same. In truth, I suppose he held it not verie long, and that in continuall warre. But yet for that which I can see, he was crowned king at Scone, 1332, as Lelous himselfe, Buchanan, and all other autho^rs doe agree. Beside, he gouerned by him & his agents untill the yeere of 1342, at that time he yielded his crowne to king Edward of England; which was the full part of ten yeares; after which againe he recovered a god part of England. Wherefore it seemeth strange to me, that Rolle will not allow him a place in the catalog of kings, since Buchan. maketh him the ninth fourth king, and so placeth him under that title, and maketh David Bruce (who was crowned before Balioll, and gouerned after Balioll's departing Scotland) the 98 king, naming also Robert (who succeeded after Bruce) the hundred king in order of gouernement; in such sort, that both these writing at one time (but with diuers affections) cannot agree on the number of their kings: one receiuing, & the other rejecting him to be placed in the catalog of their kings. After this, king Edward passing forth to Haddington, spoiled and wasted the countrie by the way on each hand as he marched forward; and for displeasure that his nauie on the sea (after the soldiers and mariners had bene on land, and burned the church of our ladie in those parts called Whitekirk) had with force of a rigorous tempest bene fore shaken, and manie of the ships lost and drowned together with men and all, he fell into such a rage, that he caused all the buildings in those parts to be burnt and spoiled, as well abbies as all other churches and religious houses, as though he minded (say the Scottish writers) to make warre both against God and all his saints. These things chanced in the yeare 1355, after our common account, about the feast of the Purification of our ladie, & by reason the Englishmen did so much hurt at that time in those parts by fire, they called it euer after; The burnt Canblemas. Shortly after that king Edward was returned into England, William Douglas of Biddesdale recovered out of the English mens possession the lands of Galloway, & the lands of Widdale were in like manner recovered by one Birpatrick. In the same yeere on the 20 day of October, was the battell of Poitiers fought, where Edward prince of Wales, otherwile named the Blache prince, ouerthrew the armie of France, and toke king John prisoner, with his yongest sonne Philip, and a great number of other of the French nobilitie besides. There was at this battell with king John, the earle William Douglas, & to the number of three thousand Scots, hauing diuers knights and gentlemen to their capteins, of whome there died in the same battell Andzew Steward, Robert Gordon, Andzew Holieburton, and Andzew Waus, knights. The earle of Douglas escaped with life and untaken, but Archembald Douglas, son to sir James Douglas slaine in Spaine, was taken prisoner; albeit his taker suffered him to depart for a small ran-some, by reason that William Ramsay of Colluthie, who was also taken with him, made semblance as though the same Archembald Douglas had bene some poore slaue, causing him to pull off his boots, and to do other such drudging seruice, as fell not for the estate of a man of any estimation or honestie, to the

end it should not be knowne what he was.

Thus the king of England at one time hauing two kings vnder his captiuitie, sat crowned betwixt them at meate in the feast of Christmasse, making (as the vse is) amongst the Englishmen in that season a great banquet. And this he did (as is reported) to the intent that the maner thereof might be bnted abroad to his high praise & glorious fame. King David within certeine yeares after was conueied by the earle of Northampton vnto Berwolke, where the most part of all the nobles of Scotland assembled together to consult with him touching some agreement to be had for his ran-some: but because they could grow to no certeine point therein, he was brought backe againe to London, and there remained in prison as before. In the meane time, Roger Birpatrick was slaine by James Lindseie, in a castell where the said James dwelled, and receiued the said Roger as his ghest. This Lindseie fled vpon the fact committed; but yet being apprehended and brought to the gouernor Robert Steward, he suffered death for that offense.

Shortly after, that is to wit at Michaelmasse next ensuing, after king David had bene at Berwolke, there was an agreement made for his ran-some, whereupon being deliuered, he returned into Scotland, in the eleuenth yeare after his taking at Durham field. It was agreed that there should be paid for his ran-some one hundred thousand marks sterling, at sundrie dates of payment, as was accorde betwixt them. After he had bene 11 yeares in England, in which place also Froissard setteth downe that he paid but 50000 marks English. And Scala Chron. saith, that at the feast of St. Michael, David king of Scots was deliuered for 100000 marks of siluer: for which, his hostages came to Berwolke, being the countie of Southerland, and his sonne that was boine of the sister of king David; Thomas Benescall that was named in Scotland earle of Angus; Thomas Demurrisse baron of Bothuill, and other twentie sons of noble men in Scotland.]

Truce also was taken for the space of fourtene yeares betwixt both realmes, and diuers nobles of Scotland were appointed to lie as hostages in England, till the monie were paid, as is before mentioned [of which pledges (as saith Lelous) most died in England, by means whereof, the king was deliuered of a great part of his ran-some.] R. David was also bound by couenant of agreement to race certeine castles within Scotland, which seemed most noisome to the English borders: which couenant he performed. For vpon his returne into Scotland, he cast downe the castles of Dalwinton, Dunfreis, Dornotowne, and Durisdere. He also called a parlement, wherein he enacted sundrie things for the punishment of them that fled from him at Durham field: and first for that his cosine Robert Steward was one of them, being through means thereof a great cause of the ouerthrow, he procured that the act (by which the crowne was appointed for want of issue of his bodie lawfullie begotten, to descend vnto the said Robert Steward) was utterly reuoked and disannulled, and John Southerland the sonne of Jane his yongest sister, appointed heire apparant in place of the said Robert. And all the lords of Scotland were sworn to obserue and keepe this ordinance.

The earle of Southerland, father to the said John, in hope that his sonne should inioy the crowne, gaue away the most part of his lands, diuiding the same amongst his friends, as to the Hales, the Sinclaires, the Ogilbies, and Gordons: but he was neuertheless deceived of his hope. For shortly after his son being one of them that was giuen in pledge to remaine in England, till the monie for the kings ran-

Two kings
prisoners in
England at
one time.

Roger Bir-
patricke slaine.

King David
is deliuered.

1357.
Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

Truce for
14 yeares.

Fr. Thin.

Castles re-
ced.

A parlement.
Robert Ste-
ward disher-
ited of the
crowne.
John Sou-
therland made
heire appar-
rant.

The death of
John Sou-
therland.

As. li.

some

Whitekirk
burnt.

Whitekirk
burnt.

Berwolke
towne.

Whitekirk
burnt.

1355.

The burnt
Canblemas.

Galloway re-
covered.

The battell
of Poitiers.

The French
king John ta-
ken prisoner.

Archembald
Douglas
taken prisoner

A subtil poli-
cie.

Berwolke is
repaired a-
gain by king
Edward.
The Balioll
resigneth his
right.
Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

Robert Ste-
ward againe
ordained heire
apparent.
(The contri-
bution of the
clergie.

1363.

Fr.Thin.
Buchanan.

A demand
proponed to
the lords of
Scotland.

Fr.Thin.

1357.
The an-
swer.

1357.

Quene
Janes death.
Fr.Thin.

John Maior li.
1. cap. 22.

Ouid.

King David
marrieth Mar-
garet Logie.

The repenteth
his mariage.

The banisheth
hir.

She complai-
neth to the
pope.

Sentence gi-
uen on hir
part.
She depa-
rth this
world.

some was paid, died there of the pestilence, in such sort as the most part of the other pledges likewise did. And shortly after his deceasse, Robert Steward was reconciled to the kings fauor, and ordeined heire apparent to the crowne in semblable manner as he was before. The cleargie of Scotland consended to giue the tenth pennie of all their fruits & reuenues towards the paiement of the kings ranfome [which the pope caused the clergie to giue.] Not long after, king David called an other counsell, wherein (according to his promise made to the king of England before his deliuerance) he moued the lords and barons of Scotland in a matter whereof he wished not to haue of them anie towardlie answer, and that was this: Whether they could be contented, that after his deceasse, the crowne of Scotland should be transferred vnto the king of Englands sonne, and to his lawfull heires: [Which thing John Maior assigneth to the yeare 1363; who also saith, that it was this parlement (as he hath red) and done by the perswasion of Jane the quene, forgetting that he said before, that she died in the yeare 1357.]

The lords hearing that was proponed vnto them, answered without anie long studie, that so long as anie of them were able to beare armour or weapon, they would neuer consent thereto. King David right sofull to heare them at this point, thought himselfe discharged, for that he was not bound to labor further in this sute, because his promise made to the king of England touching this point, onelie was, that if the Scottish lords would agree, then he should intaile the crowne to his sonne. In the yeare next following, which was from the incarnation 1357, quene Jane the wife of k. David went into England to see hir brother king Edward, & died there before she returned (leaving no issue behind hir) [at Hertford in the yeare of our redemption (as saith h. Maior) 1362, and was buried (as saith Sc. chron.) in the grete friers in London beside hir mother. This woman doth the said Maior commend for a most rare person, in that she neuer forsoke hir husband in his banishment into France, & in the time of his imprisonment in England; for which cause she deserueth as great praise as Penelope, although in hir life she enjoyed small worlde pleasure, hauing had hir bodie dedicated to the mariage bed. For

*Si nihil infansit datus tulisset rylles,
Penelope felix, sed sine laude foret.*

According to which, it might haue bene said of this woman, that she might haue bene counted happye, if hir husband had neuer bene oppressed with these manie disgraces of fortune; but then she should neuer haue bene extolled with that commendation, which now to the worldes end she hath amongst the wisest.]

k. David, after hir deceasse, married a yong luffie gentlewoman named Margaret Logie, daughter to sir John Logie knight, but within three moneths after he repented him, for that he had matched himselfe with one of so meane parentage, to the disparagement of his blood. Whereupon he banished both hir, and all other that had counselled him to marie hir, confining them for ever out of all the parts of his dominions. Shee hir selfe went vnto Auignon, where as then the pope with all his confidore remained, and entering hir plaint there in the court, folowed the same with such diligence, that in the end sentence was giuen on hir side (that is to say) that king David should receiue hir againe into his companie, and to accept and vse hir as his tust and lawfull wife. Thus should the realme of Scotland haue run in trouble and danger of interdication, had she not departed out of this life by the way in return-

ning homewards. * Charles the first surnamed the wiffe, being king of France (supported by the aids of Scots) prepared an expedition into the holie land, in which iourne, when a greuous contention fell among the French and English, the last were overcome by the first through the singular manhood of the Scots. Which benefit Charles not forgetting, erected an order of an hundred archers to be about his person, and by office to keepe watch and ward for him (in the night) within his court gates: which (vpon this original) is obserued with great solemnitie, euen in this our age. k. David in the meane time repaired sundrie places and strengthes of his realme, & built a tower in Edinburgh castell, bearing the name after him euen vnto this day, called Davids tower. About this time (or rather more trulie, as others haue before this written in the yeare of Christ 1356, or shortly after the deliuerie of David Bruce from captiuitie as the third lord do say) William Douglas being about to go on pilgrimage beyond the seas (at such time as king John was preparing his host against the Blacke prince) went with k. John vnto the fore said battell, being honored by his hand with the title of knighthood; but after, hauing manie of his men slaine, and being inforced to forsake the field, he returned home into Scotland. William Douglas shortly after, vpon the deliuerie of David Bruce from the captiuitie of England, was created earle of Douglas. Much about which or at the selfe sametime, the said king of Scots advanced William Ramsie to the earldome of Fife, by the means of the wife of the said Ramsie, whom the king intirely loued (as the report went.) The right of which countie king David affirmed to be lawfull in him (so that he might liberallie giue it) as true lie vested in his possession by the forfeiture which Duncan sometime countie of Fife had done in k. Robert Bruces daies; in murthering of an equier called Michael Beton, whome he miserablie slue in a riuier for extreme displeasure. Therefore this William Ramsie surmized that Duncan (to obtaine pardon for his offense) did by indenture make Robert Bruce k. of Scots his heire in reuerfion, if he died without issue male. Yet had this Duncan a daughter (by his wife the countesse of Gloucester, and daughter to the king of England) which was entertained in England, and should haue bene sold to Robert the seneschall of Scotland. But the rather respecting the satisfieng of hir loue, than the honor of hir estate, rather choosing to be a kings wife, than an earles ladie) toke to husband one William Felfon, a knight in Northumberland, which (at the said time when William Ramsie was made earle of Fife) challenged that earldome in the right of his wife, daughter and heire to the said Duncan earle of Fife. But for anie thing that I can yet see, the said Ramsie went away with the honor thereof.]

After this appealing of certeine rebels that sought to trouble the quiet state of the realme, he purposed to haue gone to Jerusalem: but hauing prouided all things necessarie for such a iourne, he fell sicke of a burning feauer, and died within the castell of Edinburgh in the thirtie ninth yeare of his reigne, and fortie seventh of his age, which was from the incarnation 1370, his bodie lieth in Holie rood house, where it was buried in the yeare aforesaid.

* During the time that this David Bruce was prisoner in England, he did so earnestlie set his louing affection vpon Katharine Portimer, a damsell of London (by reason of familiar acquaintance with hir) that he could not forbear hir companie, but (as it seemeth) brought hir also into Scotland with him, whereat the lords disdeining, and highlie offended with the king therefore, procured one Richard de Hull,

Fr.Thin.
Lectus lib.7.
pag. 156.

Davids tow-
er built.
Fr.Thin.

Scala chron.
Of this man
Douglas
and his daugh-
ter in France, the
English chro-
nicles dwell
report.

William Dou-
glas made
earle.

Scala chron.
William Ram-
sie made earle
of Fife.

Buchanan.

Fr.Thin.

He resigneth
his right to
the Steward.

Robert.
Robert Ste-
ward is crow-
ned king of
Scotland.
1370.

1370.

Fr.Thin.
Scala chron.

Strange
wonders.

yeares barren

Great rainne.

John Duns.

The assemble
of the lords
for the election
of a new king.

William earle
of Douglas
clanneth the
crowne.

Buchanan.

Fr.Thin.

He resigneth
his right to
the Steward.

Robert.
Robert Ste-
ward is crow-
ned king of
Scotland.
1370.

1370.

Fr.Thin.
Scala chron.

The first com-
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Stewards to
the crowne.
Fr.Thin.

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Wall, a ballet of Scotland (in feining some matter unto hir from the king, as being sent in message by him) to find meanes to rid hir out of life, which he did so covertlie, and handeled the matter so cunninglie, that he suddenlie murdered hir riding from Melros to Seltræ. Whereupon, the king conceiving great dolor (not daring to seeke reuenge thereof, for doubt of the nobilitie) caused hir to be honorablie buried at Jethobottle, not ceassing (as farre as in him lay) after hir death, to manifest the singular loue he bare unto hir in hir life.)

Sundrie marvellous things were sene in the daies of this king David, within the bounds of Alban. In the 16 yere of his reigne, crows, ravens, and pies, in the winter season brought forth their brood, and ceased in the summer and springtime, contrary to their kind. All the yeres in the countie the same yere were barren, and brought no lambes. There was such plentie of mice and rats both in houses, and abroad in the fields, that they might not be destroyed. In the 27 yere of his reigne, the rivers and other waters rose on such heighth through abundance of raine that fell in the latter end of harvest, that breaking forth of their common chanelles, with their violent streame manie houses & townes were borne downe and destroyed. About this time lived of uerse clerks, in that age counted notable, as John Duns, of the order of saint Francis, Richard Middleton, and William Ocham, with others.

King David being thus dead and buried, the nobles assembled at Liffhquo, about the election of him that should succede in his place. The greater part of the nobilitie, and such as were of the sounder iudgement, agreed upon Robert Steward; but William earle of Dowglas being come thither with a great power, claimed to be preferred by right of Edward Balioll, and of the Cumyn, which right he pretended to haue receiued of them both, and there ought to be no doubt (as he alledged) but that the crowne appertained by iust title unto them, as all the world knew, and therefore sith he had both their rights, he maintained that he was true and vndoubted inheritor to the crowne. It appeared that the said earle Dowglas purposed to usurpe the crowne by force, if he might not haue it by friendlie and quiet meanes: but neuertheless he was disappointed of his purpose, by reason that George earle of March, and John Dunbar earle of Murray, with the lord Erskine (which thre were capitaine of Dunbarton, Sterling, and Edinburgh) and others (of whose friendlie furtherance he thought himselfe assured) gaue their voices with the Steward, assisting his side to their uttermost powers. The Dowglas perceiving hereby that he should not be able to mainteine his quarrell, resigned thereupon his pretended title, which in effect was of no importance, nor worth the discussing.

Then was Robert Steward conueid to Scone, and there crowned with great solemnitie, and was called Robert the second. This came to passe in the 47 yere of his age, on our ladie day in Lent, called the Annuntiation, being the yere of Christ 1370. Moreover, that the firmer amitie & friendship might continue and be nourishd betwixt this king Robert and his subiect the earle of Dowglas aforesaid, it was accorded that Eufemie eldest daughter to king Robert, should be giuen in marriage to James sonne to the earle of Dowglas aforesaid. & Thus ye may perceiue how the Stewards came to the crowne, whose succession haue intioied the same to our time: queene Marie mother to Charles James that now that now reigneth, being the eight person from this Robert, that thus first attained unto it of whose first originall and descent you shall see before in the life of Duncan.

He had to wife at the time of his attaining to the crowne, Eufemie daughter to Hugh earle of Ross, by whom he had two sonnes, Walter and David. But before he was married to hir, he kept one Elizabeth pure in place of his wife, and had by hir thre sonnes, John, Robert, and Alexander, with diuerse daughters, of the which one was married to John Dunbar erle of Murray, and another to John Leon lord of Glames. The earledome of Murray continued in possession of the Dunbars onclie during the life of this earle John & his sonne, in whom the succession failed touching the name of the Dunbars, in the intioeing of that earledome: for leauing a daughter behind him that was married to the Dowglas, the same Dowglas came by that means to the said earledome of Murray King Robert after his coronation made sundrie earles, lords, barons, and knights. Amongst other, James Lindsay of Glenelke was made earle of Crawford. His wife queene Eufemie deceased the thirde yere after hir husband attained the crowne, and then incontinentlie he married Elizabeth pure (or pure, daughter to sir Adam pure knight) his old lemmann, to the end the children which he had by hir might be made legitimate by vertue of the matrimonie subsequent. [Although before he had procured this Elizabeth to be giuen in matrimonie to one Gifford a noble man in Louthian, which also died (as fortune serued) when Eufemie first wife of the said Robert died, whereby they (being now both at libertie) might reuiewe their owne old loue, and in wedlocke possesse that which before they intioied in adulterie.]

Not long after, by authoritie of a parlement assembled, he made his eldest sonne John, begotten on Elizabeth pure aforesaid, earle of Carrick: his second sonne begotten on hir, earle of Menteith and Fife: and his third sonne Alexander, begotten likewise on the same mother, he created earle of Buchanane, and lord of Badenoch. [Besides which he had also two daughters by hir.] His eldest sonne Walter, begotten on Eufemie his first wife, was made earle of Atholl, and lord of Brechin: his second sonne David, begotten on the same Eufemie, was made earle of Stratherne. The said Walter procured the slaughter of James the first, for that he pretended a right to the crowne, as after shall appeare. Shortly after, he called an other parlement at Perth, where it was ordeined, that after the death of king Robert, the crowne should descend vnto John his eldest sonne, and to his issue male; and for default thereof, vnto Robert his second sonne, and to his heires male; and for default of such heires, to Alexander his third sonne, and to his heires male, and in default of them, to remaine to his sonne Walter, begotten on Eufemie his wife, & to the heires male of his bodie begotten: and if such succession failed, then it should descend vnto his yongest sonne David the earle of Stratherne, and to his heires generall either male or female. And all the nobles of the realme were sworn to performe this new ordinance touching the succession of the crowne, and that in most solemne manner.

About this time, the borderers, which are neuer desirous of warres and trouble, to the end they may applie their market, whereby they most chieflie liue, that is to say, reise and spoile of their neighbors goods, through enuie of long peace and quietnesse, vpon a quarrell piked, sue certeine of the household seruants of George earle of Dunbar at the faire of Roxburgh, which as then the Englishmen held. Earle George soze offended herewith, sent an herald vnto the earle of Northumberland, warden of the English marches, requiring that such as had committed the slaughter might be deliuered to re-

A. liij.

ceiue

Elizabeth pure king Roberts concubine.

How the Dowglas came by the earledome of Murray.

Eufemie the queene deceased.

Fr. Thin. Elizabeth the pure married to king Robert.

The preference of the kings sonnes to dignitie.

Fr. Thin.

Enact for succession of the crowne.

The borderers desirous of warre.

Roxburgh faire.

the Fr. Thin. Lellous lib. 7. pag. 256.

Dauts to her built. Fr. Thin.

Scala chron. Of this man Dowglas and his deeds in France, the English chronicles dwell report.

William Dowglas made earle.

Scala chron. William Ramse made earle of Fife.

William earle of Dowglas claimeth the crowne.

Buchanan.

Fr. Thin.

He resigneth his right to the Steward.

Robert. Robert Steward is crowned king of Scotland.

1370.

Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

The first coming of the Stewards to the crowne. Fr. Thin.

reuee according to that they had deserued: but when he could get nought but dilatorie answers, full of derision rather than imposing anie true meaning, he passed ouer his displeasure till more opportunitie of time might serue. In the yere following, against the next faire to be holden at Roxburgh aforesaid, the said earle of March, with his brother the earle of Murray gathered a power of men secretly together, and comming to the said towne, took it, slue all the Englishmen found within it, put their goods to the sacke, and after set the towne on fire, and so departed.

Hereupon the Englishmen hostlie after enter with an armie into Scotland, burning and doing much hurt vpon the lands of sir John Gordon, for that they loined to the earle of Marches lands. Sir John Gordon verie desirous to reuenge this iniurie, came into England with an armie, and getting together a great bottie of cattell, returned therewith homeward, but being encountered by the way at a place called Carran or Carram, by John Lilborne and other Englishmen, there was a soze fight betwixt them, the victorie for a time shewing it selfe so variable and vncertaine, that sir John Gordon was soze wounded, and the Scots were five times that day had in chafe, and as oft got the like aduantage of their enemies. In the end the Englishmen were clearely discomfited, and their capteine sir John Lilborne, with his brother and diuerse other brought prisoners into Scotland [the maner whereof John Maior condemneth and laith the fault of breach in earle Douglasse.]

To reuenge these displeasures, Henrie Percie earle of Northumberland entered into Scotland with seuen thousand men, & comming vnto Duns, there pitched downe his tents; but the night following came the herds and other people of the countrie, hauing prepared certeine bagges made and sowed together, of drie leather like to bladders, into the which they had put small pebble stones, & running vp & downe about the place where the Englishmen were incamped, made such a noise with those bags full of stones, that the Englishmens horses breaking their halters and byddles wherewith they were tied, ran from their maisters and keepers, and were scattered so abroad in the countrie, that the Scottishmen got hold of them, and so in the morning the Englishmen that had watched all night (for doubt to haue bene assailed by their enemies) perceiving themselves set on foot, returned home without anie further attempt.

In the meane time, Thomas Musgrau capteine of Berwike, comming to the succours of the earle of Northumberland, chanced to meet with sir John Gordon vpon the way, by whom he was taken, and lead into Scotland as his prisoner. Neither had the Scots the better thus onelie on the east marches, but also on the west, where sir Jo. Johnston had sundrie skirmishes with the Englishmen, and went euer a waie with the upper hand. [All which before, untill the death of Eufemie the quene] Buchanan appointeth to the first two yeres of the king, before the death of the quene.] About this time, pope Gregorie the 11 sent a legat from Aignion to king Robert, for bidding him in any wise to meddle with the goods pertaining to the church, after the decaise of anie bishop, person, or vicar. [About this time happened the death of Edward the third, king of England. And Charles the sixt king of France sent ambassadors into Scotland, to renew the old leage betwene the two nations, and to perswade him to warre vpon England, to the end the warres might thereby be withdraue out of France: which was performed accordinglie.

On the 22 day of October, in the yere 1378, Dauid Stewart was bozne, which afterwards was made duke of Rothsaie, and on saint Andzews day next following, the towne of Berwike was taken by sir John Gordon, and sir John other knights, but it was not long kept: for a number of Englishmen entring by a posterne of the castell, recovered the towne easilie againe out of the Scottishmens hands. After this, William earle of Douglas came with twentie thousand men to the faire of Pennire within England, and spoiled all the goods found as then in the same faire, and so returned with great riches into Scotland: but the Scottishmen smallie reioiced at this gains, for with such cloth & other wares as they brought alwaie with them from the foresaid faire, they drew into the countrie such a violent and soze pestilence, that the third part of all the people (where it came) died thereof. This was the third time that the pestilence was knowne to haue done anie great hurt in Scotland, being in the yere after the incarnation 1380.

The Englishmen [with the number of 1500, under the conduct (as saith Buchanan) of Talbot] to reuenge the displeasure done by the erle of Douglas at Pennire, raised a great armie, and came with the same ouer Sullway, and inuading the Scottish borders on that side most cruellie, spared neither fire nor sword. In the meane time, the Scots gathered to the number of five hundred men, & stood in a streit till the Englishmen should come and passe by them, and then with such huge noise and clamor they set on the Englishmen, that in giuing backe there was foure hundred of them slaine, and a great number of the residue for haile dyotoned in the water of Sullway, and hereby was all the bottie of cattell & goods recovered againe by the Scots, and the most part of it restored to the owners. Charles the sixt as then French king, hearing of such prosperous aduentures dallie chancing to the Scots, sent ouer his ambassadoz vnto king Robert, exhorting him to follow his god fortune, and occasion thus offered to reuenge old iniuries against the Englishmen, now that their hearts seemed to faile them through losses sustained diuerse waies of late at the Scottish mens hands. An other cause of their message was also (as the Scots do write) to renew the old league & band betwixt Scotland and France, which being done in solemne wise according to the maner, they returned into France, & with them went ambassadoz from king Robert vnto their master the said Ch. Charles, Walter Wardlaw, cardinall & bishop of Glascow, with manie other noble men, who in like maner there renewed the same leage & bond of friendship, to the high contentation of both the princes. This was in the eleuenth yere of king Robert his reigne.

In which yere John Lion chancelor of Scotland was slaine by James Lindesay, earle of Crawford. This John Lion grew into so high fauour with king Robert, that he gaue to him his daughter the ladie Elizabeth in mariage, with diuerse possessions and lands, called Glamis. Of him the surname of the Lions is descended: and in memorie thereof, they beare in their armes the lion & lillies, with the trefe in forme and fashion as the king of Scotland beareth his, saue that their lions are placed in a blacke field. The cause why the earle of Crawford thus slue the chancelor, was onelie vpon enuie and spite, for that after he had married the kings daughter, he attempted to such estimation and authoritie, that he might do all things with the king, according to his owne will and pleasure. For this offense the earle of Crawford remained in exile certeine yeres after, and durst not returne home, till finally through earnest sute made to

1370.
Buchanan.
The truce
violated.

Roxburgh
surprised by
the earle of
March.

The English
men inuade
Scotland.

The English
men discom-
fited.
Sir John
Lilborne
taken.
Fr. Thin.

Henrie Per-
cie earle of No-
thumberland.

A policie to
afright hostes

Tho. Mus-
grau capteine
of Berwike
taken prisoner

Fr. Thin.

A legat from
the pope.

Fr. Thin.
1375.
Buchanan.

1378.

Berwike ta-
ken by Scots

Recovered a-
gaine out of
their hands.

1380.

The faire of
Pennire.

The third
time that the
pestilence cam
into Scot-
land.

1380.

Fr. Thin.

The English
men inuade
the Scottish
borders.

Englishmen
slaine and
dyotoned.

Ambassadoz
fro the french
king.

1381. Lel.

Anno Reg. 11.

The renewing
of the league
betwixt Scot-
land and
France.

The chancel-
lor of Scot-
land slaine.

Enuie & spite.

The earle of
Crawford in
exile.

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Anno reg. 12.
1382. 10. Ma.
1381.
English am-
bassadoz sent
into Scot-
land.
Fr. Thin.

Truce taken.
Rebellion in
England.

Jack Straw
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The truce ex-
pired.
The garison
of Lochmaben
Anno reg. 14.
1381. 10. Ma.

1384.

The castell of
Lochmaben
rendered to
the Scots.

John Fourdon.

Sir William
Fetherston.

Buchanan.

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1378.

Berwick taken by Scots

Recovered againe out of their hands.

1380.

The faire of Penmure.

The third time that the pestilence came into Scotland.

1380.

Fr. Thin.

The English men invade the Scottish borders.

Englishmen slain and drowned.

Ambassadors to the French king.

1381. I.c.

Anno Reg. 11. The renewing of the league betwixt Scot and France.

The chancellor of Scotland slain.

Ennie & Spite.

The earle of Crawford murthered.

Pardon is begged.

Anno reg. 12.

1381. I.c.

1381.

English ambassadors sent into Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

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1381.

to the king by the earles of Dowglas and Spargh, his pardon was begged, and then at length he was reconciled to the kings favour.

In the meane time, Edward king of England, the third of that name, departed this life, and Richard of Bardeour, sonne to the blacke prince Edward, that was sonne to the said king Edward, succeeded, in the fourth yere of whose reigne, being after the birth of our Sauour 1381, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, with other English lords, came into Scotland in ambassage [to whom were appointed James earle of Dowglas, and John Dunbar earle of Murray] to treat for the appeasing of the discord as then continuing betwixt the two realmes: and in the end the matter was so handled, that a truce was concluded to indure for thre yeres. As the said duke was returning homewards, he was informed of the rebellion and insurrection made by the commons of England against the nobles, having one Jacke Straw and others to their captains, whereupon doubting to passe thorough his owne countrie till things were better appeased, he returned into Scotland, and was conueied by William earle of Dowglas, and Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, to holic rood house beside Edinbrough, where he remained till he heard that the rebels were suppressed, and their captains slain or taken, and put to execution.

As soon as the truce was expired, Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, displeased in his mind that the Englishmen lieng in garison within the castell of Lochmaben, did daillie harrie and rob the villages and countrie townes of Galloway and Annanbale, raised a great power by support of the earls James of Dowglas, and George of Spargh, and therewith laid a strong siege vnto the said castell of Lochmaben, & having lien there at the space of nine daies, they fought with a number of Englishmen that came out of Carleill to rescue this castell, whom having put to flight, they gaue therewith also a sharpe assault to the castell, and put them within in such feare, that sir William Fetherston then capteine thereof, and the residue consented to yeld the house vnto the Scots even the same day without more ado, vpon condition they might depart with their goods in safetie into England.

But Fourdon writing of the winning of this castell, speaketh not of anie overthrow given to those that should come from Carleill, in manner as other write. For thus he saith. When Archembald Dowglas had got knowledge that the same castell was utterly unprouided both of men and vittels necessarie for the defense thereof, he assembled an armie together, with the helpe of the earles of Dowglas and Dunbar, who joining with him, innironed the castell about with a strong siege, so that no succour could enter to the reliefe of them within at anie hand. Here, vpon the capteine sir William Fetherston knight, sent letters vnto the lord wardens of the English marches, requirring aid, and letting them to vnderstand in what danger he stood for lacke of men and vittels. The wardens wrote to him againe, that he should doe his best for eight daies to hold out; and if no succour came within that terme, then to doe as he should see cause. Wherevpon sir William Fetherston requirring a truce of the Scottish lords for the space of those eight daies, within which terme if no succour came to remoue their siege, he would yeld the castell vnto them, the liues and goods of them within saued. This was granted, and the Scots ceased further to annoy them within by assaults: and when the ninth day was come, and no aid from England appeared, they received the castell into their possession, according to the couenant. And so the Scots having

thus wonne the castell of Lochmaben, rased it quite downe to the earth.

King Richard hearing that the Scots had achieved this enterprize, appointed the baron of Graustocke with a certeine number of men to go with vittels and munition vnto Norburgh, for doubt least if the Scots came to lay siege to that fortrell, and finding it unprouided, they might peradventure bring it into further danger than would lightlie be remedied. As this baron was come within a mile of Norburgh, he was taken by the earle of Spargh, and brought to Dunbar with all his prouision. The king of England being informed also of this mishap, appointed two armies, one by sea, and another by land, to invade the Scots; the duke of Lancaster having the generall charge and conduct of them both, who giving order to them that should passe by sea that they should doe, entered himselfe by land, and waisting the countreies of Spargh and Louthian, came to Edinbrough, and took the towne. But whereas his souldiers would haue spoiled and burned it, he compounded with the inhabitants for a summe of monie, and so returned without doing anie more damage.

His nauie being as then arrived in the Forth, tarried behind, & first burning the abbeie of saint Colmes Inch, a number of the souldiers with their captains landed in Fife, and spoiled diuerse townes and villages there: but in the end, Thomas and Nicholas Criskinnes being brethren, Alexander Lindsay, and William Cunningham of Kilmantiris, set vpon them, and slue the most part of them, so that few in number escaped againe to their ships, being pursued hard to the water side. The same yere the earle of Dowglas recovered all the strengths of Linlithgow out of the Englishmens hands, which they had held euer since the battell of Durham vnto those daies. This earle of Dowglas, one of the most valiant personages in those his daies, within the whole realme of Scotland, died within his castell of Dowglas, shortly after he had achieved this enterprize, and was buried in the abbeie of Melrosse.

After his decesse, his sonne James, or (as saith Buchanan) William succeeded in the earledome of Dowglas, a verie fierce and hardie knight, the which shortly after appointed by the king to haue the guiding of an armie, he passed with the same into England, and burnt the countrie so farre as Belvoir castell. But being countermanded home, he returned and came vnto Berth, where he found the lord John de Wian, admerall of France, and earle of Valentinois, who about the same time was arrived in Scotland with two hundred and fortie ships well and perfectlie furnished for the warres, and in them two thousand and five hundred armed men, diuerse of them being lords and barons, besides gentlemen and others. Also there was amongst them 400 hags, butters (as Bellenden saith) and two hundred with crossbolues: the residue bare pikes, halberts, and such like weapons. They were paid their wages for one whole yere aforehand, and had brought vittels with them to serue them as long. They had brought also with them foure hundred paire of white curets, foure hundred halfe long swords, & fiftie thousand franks, to be giuen among the nobles of Scotland, accordinglie as king Robert should appoint and thinke expedient.

The admerall and other the nobles of France, being thus come into Scotland to make warres on the Englishmen, were highlie feasted by the king and lords of the realme, as then present with him; and when the earle of Dowglas was once come, by common consent of them all there assembled together in counsell, it was ordeined that an armie should be raised with all speed, that joining with these

It is saied.

The baron of Graustocke taken.

Anno reg 15. 1381. I. Ma.

An armie by sea and another by land, prepared against the Scots.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edinbrough.

The Englishmen discomfited in Fife. The strength of Linlithgow recovered.

The earle of Dowglas decesseth.

James earle of Dowglas.

The Scots invade Forthumberland.

John de Wian admerall of France.

200. Buchan. 25 barons, 800 men of armes or knights.

1. Fourdon. I doubt whether there were any hags but used in those daies, though guns were some what before that time.

The earle of
Fife.
An armie of
Scots and
Frenchmen
enter into
England.
Castels won.

The French-
men & Scots
cannot agree.

They invade
Cumberland.

The French-
men returne
into France.

King Richard
invadeth
Scotland.

1387.

An armie of
thirtie thou-
sand Scots
invaded Eng-
land by the
West marches.
Cokermouth
taken upon
the sudden.

The forme of
an old deed of
gift.

The true me-
ning of men
in old time.

Frenchmen they might passe immediatlie into England. The earle of Fife sonne to king Robert was appointed to be generall of this armie, hauing with him the earles of Dowglas, and March, Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, and diuerse other of the Scottish nobilitie. This armie when they were all togither, amounted to the number of fiftie thousand men, the which entring into England, toke the castels of Marke, Foud, and Cornewall. After this, by robbing and spoiling the countrie betwixt Berwik and Newcastell, they did much hurt in all parts where they came; but through continuall rains which fell as then in great abundance, they were constrained to returne into Scotland, where they pitched downe their field nere to the castell of Rochelburgh, purposing to haue assailed the winning thereof: but forsomuch as they could not agree in whose name it should be kept if it were wonne, they left that enterprise. For the Frenchmen required that if they wan it, that then it might be kept by them, in the name and to the behoofe of the French king, whereunto the Scots would not agree.

Yet after this, the Frenchmen wishing to accomplish some other enterprise, went to the west borders, where joining with Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, they passed ouer Sulway sands; and so entering into Cumberland, did wonderfull much hurt in that countrie. At length they determined to lay siege vnto Carlisle, but being called from thence they returned into Scotland, and then (as some authors write) and not before, they laid siege to Rochelburgh, and raised from thence within eight daies after, by reason of the variance before alledged. At Allhallowentide next ensuing, the Frenchmen returned into France, hauing indured no small trauell and paines, since their first coming forth of their countrie. After they were gotten a shipboard to returne homewards, the Scots againe enter into England with an armie, remaining there for the space of two moneths (as the Scottish writers say.) And in the meane time king Richard assembled a mightie power, and invading Scotland, passed through the Pers and Louthian, putting all the towne, countries, and houses vnto utter ruine, as in the English historie more plainlie may appeere.

In the yere next ensuing, Walter Warblaw bishop of Glasco and cardinall, departed this life. Also within a while after that king Richard was returned backe into England, Robert Stewart earle of Fife, with James earle of Dowglas, Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, entred into England with an armie of thirtie thousand men, coming so secretlie thorough the water of Sulway, that they came to Cokermouth in such speedie wise vpon the sudden, that the people had not leasure to conueie away their goods: so that the Scots remaining there for the space of three daies, got a rich bootie togither, and returned with the same thorough the countries of Westmerland and Northumberland safe, and without encounter againe into Scotland.

Amongest certaine other things, found in rifeling and ransacking of houses in this iourne, there was a charter found of certaine lands given by king Athelstane, in this forme: I king Athelstane giues to Paullane, Odham and Rodham, als guid and als faire, alsoeuer yam mine waire, and yarro witnesse Mauld my wife. By tenure of which deed it may appere, that our ancestors gaue more credit to the true meaning of a few wordes barelie exprest in their writings, than that there needed so long proceesse and circumstance as is now vsed with long studie of penning, nothing being thought sufficient to assure the parties of their couenanted bargaines, and concluded agreements.

In this last iourne against the Englishmen, William Dowglas bassard sonne to Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, wan great fame and honor for his high prowes and noble valancie, shewed as well in certeine approaches made vnto Carlisle, as in diuerse other skirmishes elswhere. The king also hereupon began to fauour him in such wise, that he thought him worthy of some high aduancement; and thereupon gaue him his daughter in marriage, named Giles, a ladie of such excellent beaultie, as his match in those daies was not to be found: [with whom for his dowrie, he gaue the lands of Spiddale.] He begat on hir a daughter, which was after married to the earle of Arkenie. This William Dowglas (as John Fourdon noteth) was of a blackish or swart colour, not overcharged with flesh; but big of bone, a mightie personage, bright and tall, valiant, courteous, amiable, full of liberalitie, merrie, faithfull, and pleasant in companie, but herewith he was of such strength, that whome soeuer he stroke either with mace, sword, or speare, downe he went were he neuer so well armed. At one time (as the same Fourdon saith) he hauing with him but eight hundred, fought against three thousand Englishmen, of whom two hundred he slue in the field, & brought five hundred prisoners with him into Scotland.

In the yere 1388, Robert earle of Fife, and Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, entered with a proud armie into England, and in the meane time came sundrie Irishmen by sea to the coasts of Galloway, and landing in diuerse places, fetched aboate great booties of cattell, and other goods of the inhabitants: whereof William Dowglas, sonne of the said Archembald being informed, got a conuenient power of men togither, by support of his brother in law, Robert earle of Fife, and by licence of the king passed ouer with the same, shipped in certeine vessels into Ireland, where being got on land, he laid siege to the towne of Carlingford. The towne men doubting to be taken by assault, purchased a truce for certeine daies, promising to giue a great summe of monie to haue their towne saued: but in the meane time, they assembled the number of eight hundred men, through helpe of an other towne not farre off, called Doundalke, and ioining with them, they diuided themselves into two parts. One part set vpon Robert Stewart of Dunfermeil, who hauing the conduct of the earle of Fifes men, was gone abroad into the countrie to fetch in some preie: and the other part assailed William Dowglas, that lay still afoze the towne.

Nevertheless, the said Robert and William reueiued the enemies with such manhood, that they put them in both places to flight, and immediatlie after gaue assault to the towne, and entring the same perforce, put all the goods found therein to the sacke, and then set it on fier, and burned it to ashes. This done, they toke threescore ships which they found in diuerse hauens and craks there on that coast, and fraughting fittene of them with such spoile as they had got, they burned the residue, and then returning homewards, spoiled the Ile of Man by the way as they passed. Shortlie after their returne home, the king of England sent an armie into Scotland, which did much hurt in the Pers, in burning and overthrowing diuerse towne and houses. King Robert being certified hereof, as then remaining in the north parts of Scotland, assembled the nobles of his realme at Aberdeen: and there by all their aduises it was concluded, that the whole puissance of the realme should be raised with all speed, to reuenge those injuries done by the Englishmen. Hereupon were two armies assembled, the one, wherein were fiftene thousand men, was committed to the gouernance of the earle

William Dowglas
lord of Galloway
for his high
prowesse.

Fr. Thin.

1388.

Irishmen
fetch prizes in
Galloway.
William Dowglas
invadeth
Ireland with
five hundred
men, as John
Fourdon saith.
Carlingford
besieged.

The craftie
dealing of the
townemen.

The Irish-
men & the
Scots in two
seuerall places.

The Irish-
men put to
flight.

Carlingford
won by as-
sault.

The Ile of
Man spoiled.

Englishmen
burne in the
Pers.

Two armies
of Scottish-
men assembled

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of fife, hauing with him the earle of Menteith, Archibald Dowglas lord of Galloway, and Alexander Lindseie of Alcop. The other containing like number of men, was appointed to the guiding of the earles of Douglas and Percy, hauing with them James Lindseie earle of Crawford, John Dunbar earle of Murray, and the lord Hare the constable of Scotland, with diuerse other of the nobilitie (both which faith Froillard) amounted to the number of 40000 men.

These two armies parting in sunder at Jedburgh, the earle of fife with his people entered into Cumberland by the west marches, and the earles of Douglas and Percy with theirs entered on the other side into Northumberland, passing through the countie, spoiling and wasting the same, till as farre as Durham; and on the other part, the earle of fife spared neither fire nor sword, all the way as he passed. At length both these armies met together about a ten miles from Jedburgh. Here the earle of Douglas chose forth ten thousand of the most able men that could be found amongst all the nobilitie, with the which he went to Jedburgh, to trie if by any means he might take the towne. There they gathered into Jedburgh before his coming thither, the most part of all the chosen men from Berke to the borders, with the earle of Northumberland, who by reason of extreme age was not able to shew abroad (any thing to purpose) himselfe, but he had with him two of his owne sonnes, the one named Henrie, and the other Iaffe, verie forward and lustie gentlemen. This Henrie being the elder, was surnamed for his often picking, Henrie Hotspur, as one that seldom times rested, if there were any seruice to be done abroad.

The earle of Douglas comming to Jedburgh, incamped with his people on that side the towne towards Scotland, and viewed the towne earnestlie, which way he might best come to give assault to win it. Henrie Persie desirous to shew some proofe of his singular manhood, wherein he greatly trusted, required to fight with the earle of Douglas man to man; which request the earle granting, together they ran, mounted on two great couriers with sharpe ground speares at the utterance. The earle of Douglas in this encounter bare himselfe so well, that in the end he droue the Persie out of his saddle. The Englishmen that stood without the gates, made to the rescue, recovered him on foot, and brought him forth with backe into the towne. Incontinentlie hereupon, the earle of Douglas caused the assault to be giuen, and filling the ditches with haie and fagots, came with ladders to the wals: but the Englishmen so well defended themselves, that the Scots were beaten backe, not without great losse and slaughter of their people.

Froillard making mention of this enterprise thus made by the Scots, varieth somewhat from the Scottish writers in this place: for he speaketh nothing that the Douglas and the Persie should thus run together on horsebacke (as before is specified) but that in giuing assault to the towne, it chanced, that as the Englishmen defended their barriers without the gate, the Douglas fortune to be matched hand to hand with Henrie Persie, and there by force plucked the Persies staffe from him, and in returning hoisted it vp on height, saying, he would carrie the same for his sake into Scotland: and the next day after, he raised his campe and departed homewards towards the borders, & comming to a place called Dretborne, about twelue or foureteene miles from Jedburgh, pitched downe his tents there, that his soldiers might take some rest, & refresh themselves after their great trauell, for they had not rested of all

the day nor night before, nor to any purpose, since their first entering into England.

In the meane time the English power was highly increased at Jedburgh, for a great number of the countie came, and entered into the towne the same night that followed the day of the assault. Henrie Persie then perceiving his number sufficient to fight with Douglas, set them in order of battell, & determined to issue forth upon the Scots, and to giue them an encounter: but when he understood that they were gone homewards, he followed them with all speed, for he would by no means that they should passe into Scotland without battell, trusting to recover the dishonour which he had sustained by losing his staffe at the barriers before the gate of Jedburgh. Earle Douglas advertised that the enemies were comming to giue him battell, & exhorted his people with few words to remember their branted manhood, that by gaining the victorie, they might win euermore fame and honour, with safeguard to themselves and their countie. The Persie likewise for his part, encouraged his men, willing them to fight manfully in reuenge of their injuries done to them and their friends by the Scots, and herewith commanding the trumpets to sound, he gaue the onset fiercelie.

Here both the armies joining together, a right terrible encounter ensued: but because the night was at hand, before they began to loose, through want of light to see what was to do, they were sencer in farder for that time; but remembering that the mone would shortly rise, they determined so soone as the bryght to giue light, to renew the battell againe. As soone therefore as the mone began to appeare, they joined againe with more malice than before. The Englishmen fought so egerly, that putting the Scots backe, and causing them to giue ground, they had wonne the Scottish standards, and so by all likelihood got the upper hand, had not Patrike Hepburne with his sonne, & such other of his companie as attended him, come to the rescue, by whome the fight was begun afresh. Here with also came the earle of Douglas, and with a great mace in his hand laid such sore strokes round about him, that none came within his reach, but downe he went.

The said Douglas the younger, hauing with him Robert & Simon Glendoure, was (all which notwithstanding) most grievously wounded, whom his friends (comming about to succor) found then cast vpon the ground, next vnto whome lay one named Hart most miserable wounded also. At what time a priest (which had faithfully assisted this Douglas in all distress) did (now the bodie being faint and decaied) defend the same from other hurt of the aduersarie. Douglas lieng in this estate, his neere friends (John Lindseie, John and Walter Seintclere) came vnto him, demanding how he did. To whome he stoutly answered (as one whome the presence of death nothing dismayed) that he was verie well; for said he, I do not now die in my bed (by sluggish desinie) but in the field, as almost all my ancestors haue done. Wherefore, this shall be the last thing that I will require of you; first to keepe my death most secret, secondly that you suffer not my standard to be throwne downe, and lastlie that you reuenge my death; the which if I may before hand by your promise hope to be performed, I shall with more patience indure all other things. Whereupon they first seuered his bodie that it should not be knowne; then they erected his standard, crieng (as the manner is) A Douglas a Douglas. At which voice, there was so great a concourse of people, & such a foillall assault upon the enemy, that forthwith they drave them from the place of the battell. For at the very

The English power increased.

Henrie Persie followed the Scots.

The Douglas glasse exhorteth his men to fight manfully.

The Persie with comfortable words encourageth his men.

The onset is giuen.

The Scots secured by coming on of the night.

The battell is renewed.

Patrike Hepburne releueth the Scots at point to be overcome. The valiance of the earle of Douglas.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

This priest was William archdeacon of Berden, as faith Io. Maior lib. 6. cap. 3. & Lellius lib. 7. pa. 263. calleth him William Lounbie archdeacon of saint Andrews, kinsman to Douglas.

This Douglas was hurt in the shoulder in the lower part of his back, and in the thigh with several arrows, and had a deadly blow on his head being unconquered. Io. Maior. lib. 6. cap. 3.

William Douglas lord of Galloway, for his high prowess.

Fr. Thin.

Cumberland invaded. Northumberland invaded.

Counties of the shire of men with the earle of Douglas. The attendance of the Englishmen at Jedburgh.

1388.

rich men ch pieces in alloway. William Douglas invaded with a hundred men, as John urdon faith, arlingford leaged.

he craftie ling of the vnedmen.

he Frills n estate the cots in two erall pla.

ie Frills put to ht.

Kingford ne by al.

Fr. Thin. nspoiled.

Fr. Thin. nspoiled.

no armies scottish a climbed

The English
men put to
flight.

**Rafe and
Henrie Wer-
sie taken pris-
soners.**

Fr.Thin..

Other persons taken,

The number of prisoners taken.

Fr. Thin.
There were
slaine but
foue hundred
Englishmen
as Hector Bo-
etius saith.
The death of
James earle
of Dowglaſſe.

See more
of this matter
in England.

Archembald
Dowglaſſe
ſucceeded
James the
earle of Dow-
glaſſe.

The first advancement of the Hepbozng.

The earles of
Bothwell.

1310.
12. kal. Aug.
Buchanan.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan.

name of Dowglas, not onelie the common people, but John earle of Murray (supposing that the same side was in distresse) prepared in all hast to succour them.]

Finallye, the whole number of the Scottishmen bare themselves so manfullie, that the Englishmen being broken and put to flight, were slaine a bozne dwtone. The chase continued till the breake of the day with killing and taking, as in such cases is ever seene, though the more part in deed were taken with their lincs faued after they once fell in the chase. Amongest other, Kase Berkie and his brother Henrie, were taken by Keith, the marshall of Scotland, somewhat before the Englishmen began to turne.

[But Lefleus, lib. 7, pa. 2 63. saith that Henrie Hotspur was taken by Montgomerie, who for his ransom did build the castle of Pounune, which his heirs to this day do inioy. There was also taken besides the two Herties, diuers other men of name, as Ro-

bert Ogill, Thomas Halberke, John Lilborne, William Waulchut, Robert Heron, the baron of Hilton, John Colwell, and Patrike Louell knights. There were taken in all of Englishmen, to the number of a thousand and fortye, and slaine what in the field and chafe (as Froissard recounteth) above an eightene hundred. [But Buchan. faith, there were 1840 slaine, 1000 wounded, and 1004 taken.] But yet the Scottish writers themselves report a lesse number. Neither did this victorie chance to the Scots without great losse and slaughter. For amongst other, the earle of Douglas himselfe was thise stricken through the bodie, and also wounded to mortallie on the head, that being borne to his tent a little before the end of the battell, he died of those hurts immediatlie after, to the great discomfort of all his armie, conceiting more dolorous griefe for the losse of so worthie a chiefeiteine, than for for the gaine of a great victorie. His bodie was cometed vnto Melros, & buried beside his father earle William in the abbete church there. And because this earle James had no heires of his bodie begotten, his cosine Archembald Douglas lord of Galloway succeeded him in the earldome. The house of the Hepburns (of the which this Patrike Hepburne that fought so valiantlie in this battell at Otterborne did defend) arose in Scotland after this wise.

It chanced in the daies of king David the third, there was an Englishman of that name taken prisoner in Scotland, who by chance being in place where the earle of March was got vpon a young gelding vnbroken, the which plaining the vnruilie trade, in fetching and flinging aloft, put the earle in great danger of his life; and when all other that were present there gaue backe, and durst not step in to make anie shift to helpe the earle: this Englishman leapt to him, and boldlie catching hold on the bydle reine, held the horse fast, till the earle was safelie got beside him. In reward of which benefit, the said earle gaue vnto this Hepborne certeine lands in Alothman, whose posteritie increased afterwards in such power of lands and surname, that the same inioied not onelie the earldome of Bothwell, but was also diuided into sundrie branches, and manie knights thereof haue risen of right worthie fame and estimation. This battell of Otterborne was fought on saint Oswalds day, which is the fift of August, in the yeare 1588.

* Amongst those that fled to the battell, was Spat-
heims Redman governoz of Berwike, whom James
Lindale (supposing by the beautie of his armor to
be one of the nobler sort) did behementlie follow by the
space of thre miles. At the last, Redman percei-
ving that he was not by sight able to escape (and
deeming it better to hazard his life, than otherwisse

to be slaine without adventure) allighted from his horse to fight with his ennemie on foot, which A. indeite did accordinglie; in the end after a long conflict betwene them, the Englishman (being as faith Buchanan inferiour to the Scot in armes & weapon) did yeld himselfe to his aduersarie. By whome (after that he had giuen an oth to returne at a certaine day) he was permitted to go at libertie. Such in those daies was the humanitie amongst the borderers, and both nations towards their prisoners, which to this day doth continue betwene the inhabitants of those places. But if anie doe not returne at the day appointed, this punishment is set vpon him for a perpetual disgrace. That in the assemblies of true daies (to demand restitution of things and injuries done by the one nation vnto the other) they see that he which complaineth himselfe to be deceived by his prisoner (on his promise) doth carrie about a hand or gloue painted in a cloth vpon a long staffe or speare to be sene of all men; and which is accounted a singular infamie to the deserters thereof. For they which haue so broken their faith, be euer after hated of their friends and acquaintance; for which dishonestie; they will not afford them good report or intertainment. A. indeite hauing with this condition dismissed his prisoner (and perceiuing a great number of armed men) made dreadfull towards them, not knowing that they were his enemies, vntill he had ridden so neere vnto them, that he could not withstand himselfe out of their danger. These men were the bands of the bishop of Durham, who when he came too late to Newcastell (to ioine with Herie at the battell of Otterbourne, because he supposed that the enemies would not ioine vntill the next day) commanded his armie to rest there, and to fall to their supper. Shortly after which, he took his iourne towards the Scots.

But (before he was anie great way marched out of the towne) vnderstanding (by those that fled from Otterbozne battell towards Betsworthell) that Perrie was ouerthrowne, and had lost the field, he returned with his friends to Betsworthell, to consult what he should doe against the enimie. At which time it was declared, that the next day at the sunne rising, they should all be redie in armes; to take the Scots. According therunto in the morning of the next day, the inhabitants bordering therabouts were assembled, who (with these that the bishop had brought thither) were of all sorts gathered together, to the number of 10000 horsemen and footmen. These stirred the bishops mind, that (with all speed) he should lead them toward the Scots, and trie the successe of battell, for the Scots (said they) wearied with the former daies fight, and most of them wounded, will not be able to abide the second battell. With which speeches they perswaded themselves of an easie conquest. Whereupon the bishop set forward with his armie, whose comming being vnderstood by the scouts of the Scots, the erle of Murray (whom now all men did follow after the death of Douglas) cal-

Lindseie had
a halberd, and
Redman a
sword with a
buckler which
he carried at
his back. lo.
Major. lib. 6.
cap 14.
The disgrace
of prisoners
breaking
promise.

10. Ma. faith
if they breake
promise, the
picture of him
is tied to a
hoyse taile
and drawen
about the
bozders of the
countrie.

The bishop of Durham goeth towards the Scots, accompanied with Thomas Lindseie and Thomas Clifford.

The bishop of
Durham go-
eth against
the Scots.

John Maior
writeth, that
some say they
tied these pris-
oners fast with
ropes. li. 6. c. 4.

The manner of the Scots was, that going to battle they carie a hozne about their necks, like hunters, and in the battle encourage themselves to fight with that, Io. Ma. li 6 ca. 9. which I suppose, was also the manner of the English (as may be by many Instantian reasons appeared.)

A parliament
at Perth.

Robert earle
of Here is
chosen gouer
nor of the
realme.

John Ma. lib.6.
cap.6.

Buchanan.

William Dow-
glas of Strid-
dale chosen
admirall by
the lords of
Putzen.He is slaine
by the lord
Clifford.
Duncan Ste-
ward inua-
derth Angus.

Fr.Thin.

The north
parts of Scot-
land were dis-
quieted by
two clans.wild Scots
called Kater-
rans.
A battell of
thirtie against
thirtie.A desperate
fight.

I will leaue vncertaine, haning no certaintie deli-
uered thereof vnto me. This Robert the third rather
lacked vices, than was beautified with anie extraor-
dinarie vertues, for which cause he being king in
name, his brother Robert was king in deed, as one
vpon whome the whole gouernement did depend.
The king Robert did marrie Annabell (the daugh-
ter of John Drummond) whome he receiued into his
bed, rather for hir singular beautie, than the hono-
r of hir parents, or for anie benefit that might grow
to the common wealth by hir or hir alliance. In the
beginning of his reigne, a truce was taken betwene
England and Scotland, for the space of thre yeres,
which shortly after was proroged to the terme of
foure yeres.)

About the same time William Douglas of
Piddisdale was chosen by the lords of Putzen, to
be admirall of a nauie, containing two hundred and
fortie ships, which they had rigged, and purposed
to set forth against the miscreant people of the
northeast parts. But being appealed by the lord Clif-
ford an Englishman (who was there likewise to
serue with the foresaid lords in that iournie) to fight
with him in a singular combat: before the day
came appointed for them to make triall of the
battell, the lord Clifford lay in wait for the Dou-
glas, and vpon the bidge of Danzke met with
him, and there slue him, to the great disturbance and
stay of the whole iournie. Moreover, shortly after the
coronation of king Robert the third, tidings came
that Duncane (whom some call Dalech Stewart)
sonne to Alexander Stewart the kings brother a-
fore rehearsed, was entred into Angus with a great
number of men, and slue Walter Ogilvie thiriffe of
the countrie, that came forth with a power to resist
him from spoiling the people, whom he miserable ad-
dicted; howbeit these his insolent doings were not
long unpunished. For the earle of Crawford being
sent against him with an armie, caused him to dis-
perse his companie, and to flee his waies; but being
apprehended with the most part of his said com-
panie, they were punished according to their de-
merits.

At this time also the most part of the north coun-
trie of Scotland, was sore disquieted by two clans
of those Irish Scots, called Katerans, which inha-
bit the hie-land countries, the one named Clankaies
and the other Clanquhattans. These two being at
deadlie feide, robbed and wasted the countrie with
continuall slaughter and reise. At length it was ac-
corded betwixt the parties, by the aduise of the earls
of Murray and Crawford, that thirtie persons of the
one clan, should fight before the king at Perth, a-
gainst thirtie of the other clans men, with sharpe
swords to the utterance, without anie kind of armor
or harnesse, in triall and decision of the quarrell, for
the which the variance betwixt them first arose. Both
these clans right tofull of this appointment, came to
Perth with their number, where, in a place called the
Porthinch, a little beside the towne, in presence of the
king and other iudges assigned thereto, they fought
according as it was agreed, and that with such rage
and desperate furie, that all those of Clankaies part
were slaine (one onelie excepted) who to saue his life,
after he saw all his fellows slaine, leapt into the wa-
ter of Taie, and swam ouer, and so escaped. There
were 11 of Clanquhattans sode that escaped with
life, but not one of them vniwounded and that verie
sore. At their entring into the field or lists where they
should fight the battell, one of the clans wan-
ted one of his number, by reason that he which shuld
haue supplied it, was priuillie stolen awaie, not wil-
ling to be partaker of so deare a bargain. But there
was a countrie-felow among the beholders, who be-

ing soze that so notable a fight should be passed ouer,
offered himselfe for a small summe of monie to fill
vp the number, though the matter appertained no-
thing to him, nor to anie of his friends. [This man
(as saith Buchanan) seemed to be a saddle-maker,
who for halfe a Frencher towne, and his diet during
his life (if he were victor) took the matter in hand, in
which none behaued himselfe more balliantlie than
he, on whose part the said eleuen did suruiue, him-
selfe making by the number.] This battell was
fought thus betwene the two clans, in manner as
is before remembred, in the yere 1396.

In the third, or (as saith Buchanan) the second
yere after, a parlement was holden at Perth, wher-
in, besides diuerse constitutions and ordinaunces en-
acted for the aduancement of the common-wealth,
the king made his eldest sonne named David (that
was then about eightene yeres of age) duke of
Rothesaie, and his brother Robert (that was earle of
Fife and gouernor of the realme, as before ye haue
heard) he created duke of Albanie. These were the
first dukes that had bene heard of in Scotland, for
till those daies there was neuer anie within the
realme that bare that title of honoz. [Which virgin
title (saith Buchanan of that honoz) gaue neuer god
successe to the maisters]. During the time that the
peace continued betwixt the two realmes of Eng-
land and Scotland, there were sundrie iustes and
combats put in vze, and exercised betwixt Scots and
Englishmen, for profe of their balliant actiuitie in
feats of armes, to win thereby fame and honoz. But
amongst the residue, that was most notable, which
chanced betwixt David earle of Crawford Scottish,
and the lord Welles English.

It was agreed betwixt these two noble men; to
run certeine courses on horsebacke, with speares
sharpe ground for life and death. The place appointed
for these iusts was London bidge, and the day the
thre and twentieth of Aprill, being the feast of saint
George. At the place & day thus prefixed, they cante-
redie to furnish their enterpryse, and being mounted
on their mightie coursers, they ran togither right
egerlie. At the first course, though they atteinted,
yet kept they their saddles without anie perill of fal-
ling. The people beholding how stiffelie earle Da-
uid sat without mouing, cried that the Scottisman
was locked in his saddle. He hearing this, leapt be-
side his horse, and verie nimblie mounted vp a-
gaine into the saddle, armed as he was, to the great
wonder of the beholders. This done, he took ano-
ther flasse, & so togither they ran againe right fierce-
lie the second time, and yet without anie great hurt
on either part: but the third time, the lord Welles
was bozne out of the saddle, and sore hurt with the
griuous fall.

And for bicause the earle of Crawford thus van-
quished his aduersarie on saint Georges day, he
founded a chanterie of seuen priests to sing in our
ladies church of Dundee, in memorie of S. George,
which they did vnto our time, not without singular
commendation of the said earle. After this, he re-
mained thre moneths in England, in sporting and
feasting amongst the nobles, before he returned into
Scotland, highlie praised of all estates for his no-
ble port and great liberalitie there shewed amongst
them. Not long after, one sir Robert Spenslaie an
Englishman, came into Scotland to trie his man-
hod in singular battell, with whome soeuer would
come against him: he vanquished one Archibald
Edmounston, and Hugh Wallace: but at length he
was overcome by one Hugh Traill at Berwiske,
and died shortly after vpon displeasure thereof
conceiued.

In the same yere, Richard king of England,
maried

Fr. Thin.

1396.

1398.

The first
dukes that
were created
in Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

Iustes and
combats be-
twixt Scots
and English-
men.The earle of
Crawford of
Scotland, &
the lord Welles
of England
iusted for life
and death.The lord
Welles bozne
out of his
saddle.Waile of the
erie of Craw-
ford.
Sir Robert
Spenslaie.Richard
of England
goeth into
Ireland.Richard
is deposed.He is aduon-
ced to perpe-
tuali prison.
He escapeth
forth of
prison.Richard
dieth at Sher-
ling and lieth
buried there.
Heir the
fourth king of
England is
crowned.
1399. J. Ma.

1400.

The occasion
of the falling
out betwixt
king Robert
and the earle
of March.The earle of
March fleeth
into England.The castell
of Dunbar
sleied to the
kings use.

Fr. Thin.

King Robert
sleweth vnto
the earle of
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Richard
of England
went into
Ireland.

Richard
is deposed.

He is adu-
anced to perpe-
tual prison.
He escapeth
out of prison.

Richard
first at Ster-
ling and lieth
buried there.
Henrie the
fourth king of
England is
crowned.
1399. I. Ma.

1400.

The occasion
of the falling
out betwixt
king Robert
and the earle
of March.

The earle of
March fleeth
into England.

The castell
of Dunbar
sized to the
kings use.

Fr. Thin.

King Robert
waiteth vnto
the earle of
March.

married Isabel daughter to the French king, and
some after went into Ireland, to subdue such Irish
rebels, as troubled the quiet state of the countrey.
But in the meane time, his lordes at home rebelled
against him, and determined to depose him from the
croune, so that vpon his returne into England, he
was apprehended, put in ward, and shortly after
constrained to renounce all his right to the croune,
and aduoged therewith to perpetuall prison: yet at
length (as the Scottish chronicle telleth) he got forth
of prison disguised in womans apparell, and came in-
to Galloway, where he fell in seruice with a Scottish
man named Spaldonald. But at the last, being be-
trayed and knowen what he was, and thereupon
brought to king Robert, he was right honorablie by
him intertained: neuertheless, knowing himselfe
deposed from his roiall estate, he gaue himselfe whol-
lie to contemplation, till finally he departed this
world at Sterling, and was buried in the blacke
friars there within the same towne, as the same
Scottish chronicles vntreue do report. But to the
matter, Henrie the sonne of John of Gaunt, some-
time duke of Lancaster, after that king Richard
was deposed, was crowned king of England at
Westminster, the thirtieth day of October, in the
yere 1399.

In the yere next ensuing, that is to say, 1400,
king Robert, in consideration of a summe of monie
to him asforeshaid paid, contracted covenants of ma-
riage to be had and made betwixt his sonne the duke
of Rothsaie, and the earle of Marches daughter. But
Archembald earle of Douglas, hauing indignation
that the earle of March should be preferred before
him, by support of the duke of Albanie, procured a
councell to be called, in the which he found meanes to
assure his daughter the ladie Margerie, or Marie
(as saith Buchanan) vnto the said duke of Rothsaie,
& with all speed went about to consummate the ma-
riage betwixt them, to put the matter out of all
doubt. The earle of March perceiuing this dealing,
came to the king, and required to know his pleasure,
if he minded to performe the covenants concluded,
concerning the marriage betwixt the prince and his
daughter, or not; making as if were a great com-
plaint of that which was already done to the breach
thereof, and receiuing answer nothing agreeable to
his mind, he departed in a great fume, not sticking
to say, he would be reuenged on such vntruth per it
were long. Shortly after he fled into England, lea-
uing his castell of Dunbar well stuffed of all things
necessarie for defense, in the keeping of his sisters
sonne named Robert Spaitland. But when Archem-
bald Douglas came thither in the kings name,
and required to haue the castell rendered into his
hands, this Robert Spaitland obeyed the kings com-
mandement, and deliuered the house to the said
Douglas.

George earle of March informed hereof, procu-
red all his friends to conueie themselves into Eng-
land, and determined with himselfe to do all the dis-
pleasure and mischief he might inuent against his
owne native countrey. King Robert sore dreading,
least by this earles procurement some trouble might
hap to follow amongst his subjects [did first confis-
cating his goods] send an herald at armes into Eng-
land with letters vnto him, promising by the tenure
of the same, not onelie to pardon him of all offenses
committed, but also to redresse all wrongs or iniu-
ries which he had anie waies forth received, if he
would returne into Scotland. And forsomuch as the
earle of March refused this offer, the same herald ac-
cording to instructions giuen him at his departure
from king Robert, went immediatlie to Henrie
king of England with other letters, earnestlie desir-

ring him to cause the earle of March to depart out of
his realme, & not to receiue anie rebels out of Scot-
land into his bounds, whereby the peace might be vi-
olated, which as yet remained betwixt the two king-
domes.

King Henrie vpon reasonable allegations (as he
pretended) refused to satisfie king Roberts petitions
in this behalfe, by reason whereof the peace brake be-
twixt them and their subjects, without anie further
tracting of time. For shortly after, Henrie Perrie,
surnamed (as is said) Henrie Hotspur, and the earle
of March entered into Scotland, and got together a
great bottie of goods and cattell [in aouthian about
Haddington, at what time they did in vaine besiege
the castell of Pais or Halis, who being at Lintone
were come vpon by the Scots, for to haue returne of
the booties taken] Archembald earle of Douglas
hauing assembled a power of men, came with the
same towards the enemies, immediatlie whereupon
they fled to Berwik, and left all their bootie behind
them, which being recovered by the said earle of
Douglas and his companie, he returned backe vnto
Edinburgh, where he shortly after being taken
with an hot feuer, departed out of this life, leauing
behind him an honorable memorie of his name, for
his high prowesse and noble valiance shewed in ma-
nie and sundrie enterprises, by him luckilie achieved
for the wealth of his countrey. He was named of his
terrible countenance and dreadfull looke, The grim
Douglas.

After his deceasse, his second sonne that was cal-
led likewise Archembald, was made earle of Dou-
glas; for his eldest sonne William Douglas died
in the yere before his father. Shortly after, Henrie
king of England came into Scotland with an ar-
mie, without doing anie great damage to the peo-
ple; for he required no more of them that kept anie
castles or strengths, but onelie to put forth a banner
of his armes as he passed by. At his coming to Ha-
dington, he was lodged in the nunnrie there, & shew-
ed much bounteous humanitie toward the nuns, and
all other of that house, not suffering anie manner of
thing to be done preiudiciall to the same. The like
gentlenesse he vsed towards them of the Holie rood
house, at his coming to Edinburgh, wherein he
likewise lodged. It is thought, that in memorie of the
friendlie intertinement, which his father the duke
of Lancaster found in these abbeies, at the time of
his being in Scotland, when the rebellion chanced in
England, through Jacke Straw and his complices,
he shewed such fauour towards them at this present.
To be brieefe, it should appere, that king Henrie
came into Scotland, as if were enforced, more thro-
ugh counsell of his nobles, than for anie hatred he
bare towards the Scots, as he well shewed in retu-
ning backe againe, without doing them anie fur-
ther iniurie.

In the yere after, or thereabout, died Walter
Traill bishop of saint Andrews, and the Scottish
quene Annabell Drummond, after whose deceasse
hir sonne David the duke of Rothsaie, that vnder hir
government had bene well and vertuously brought
vp, hauing now got once the reine at libertie, fell to
all kind of insolent outrage, seeking to defile wiues,
virgins, nuns, and all other kind of women, in all
places where he came. At length, his father percei-
uing his sonnes youthfull nature to rage after that
manner in vnbridled lust, beyond the bounds of all
measure, to the great reproch of them both, wrote to
his brother the duke of Albanie, requiring him to
take his sonne, the said duke of Rothsaie into his cu-
stodie, and to see him so chastised for his wanton beha-
uour, as he might learne to amend the same. Where
is to be noted, that the duke of Albanie had of long
time

sent letters
also vnto the
king of Eng-
land,

Henrie Hot-
spur and the
earle of March
enter into
Scotland.
Fr. Thin.

The deceasse
of Archembald
earle of Dou-
glas.

Henrie king
of England
inuaith
Scotland.

Fr. Thin.
The death of
quene Annabell.

The insolent
outrage of the
duke of Roth-
saie.

(as the Scottish writers haue) but the English authors name a farre greater number, as sixtēne hundred at the least.

King Henrie (as the same Scottish writers doe record) vied the counsell & aduise of the earle of March, in the obtaining of this victorie, being fled latelie before from the rebels due to him. The earle of Douglas, in respect of his noble parentage and high valiance, was verie tenderlie cherished by king Henrie, who for that he had sene him doe so valiantlie in the day of that battell, reputed him worthy of all honoꝛ. The earle of Douglas yet was verie infortunat in most of his enterprises, so farre forth, that he neuer won battell wherein he chanced to be, and was therefore named Archembauld Tinneman; though there were no default to be found at anie time in his owne person, for he euer fought with great manhood. At the battell of Hommildon he lost one of his eyes, and at this battell of Shewesburie he lost one of his stones. The old earle of Northumberland, hearing that euill successe his sonne and other his kinsmen had found in their rebellious enterprise at Shewesburie, with one of his nephues (that was his sonnes sonne) and other of his friends and kinsmen, with drets into Scotland, where he was receiued by Henrie Earldow bishop of saint Andrews, and lodged with him at his ease and in good suertie within his castell of saint Andrews aforesaid.

About the same time, king Robert was aduertised, that his sonne the duke of Rothsaie was pined to death in Falkland (in manner as before is expessed) which newes were so grieuous vnto him, that he grew each day more and more in sorow and melancholie. The duke of Albanie kept it so long as was possible from the kings knowledge, and being now sent for by the king to answer him for such treasonable slaughter of his sonne, he came, and so excused the matter with a faire painted tale, as though he had bene nothing guiltie in the cause, and for further declaration of his innocencie, he promised (if it might please the king to come vnto Edinburgh) he would bring in the offenders which were culpable of the murder. The king as then remaining in Bute (where for the most part he euer sojourned) though he were not well able to trauell by reason of long sickness, yet in a chariot he came vnto Edinburgh, vpon the earnest desire he had to see his sons death punished. And at his comming thither, the duke of Albanie deliuered vnto him certaine naughtie persons, & such in deed, as for their heinous acts and ungracious conditions deserued well to die (though not for this matter) which neuertheless by vntrue suggestions and forged accusations, being brought before corrupt iudges (and such as the duke of Albanie had provided for his purpose) were condemned as guiltie of his death, whome in all their life time they neuer saw.

Though this matter was handled as finelie as was possible, and made so found and cleare as could be deuised; yet was not the king so satisfied in his mind, but that he had a great suspicion in the duke of Albanie as author of his sonnes death; but for so much as the duke had all the realme vnder his obedience, partlie by policie, and partlie by authoritie of his office, being gouernor thereof, the king durst not attempt anie thing against him, but rather doubted, least he hauing an ambitious desire to the crowne, would compass also to haue the life of his second sonne (named James) as then prince of Scotland; and therefore by the faithfull helpe & good aduise of Walter Wardlaw the bishop of saint Andrews, he provided a ship, and sent the said prince forth in the same to passe into France to R. Charles the first, deliuering him also a letter written and directed vnto the king of England in his fauour, if he chanced at anywaies by anie fortune to fall into the Englishmens hands.

Henrie lord Sinclair, the second earle of Orkney, was appointed to haue the conueie of him, who hauing all his purueiance readie, took the ship that was appointed for them at the Walle, where it laie at anchor, and loosing from thence, they sailed forward till they came to Flamburgh head, where (as some say) they were taken on the sea by Englishmen, the which hearing how the prince of Scotland should passe that waies, late in wait for him. Others write, that his desire was to be set on land there, because he might not auaile with the aire of the sea, being brought far out of quiet in his head & stomach therewith. But howsoeuer it was, the truth is, taken he was in the ninth yeare of his age, the 33 day of March, in the yeare of our incarnation 1406, and was kept in captiuitie of the Englishmen by the space of eightēne yeares. At his comming to the presence of king Henrie, he deliuered to him the letter directed from his father king Robert, the tenor thereof here insueth, as in the Scottish tong they be written.

James prince of Scotland taken by the Englishmen. H.B. 1404.

The tenor of the said letter as it is written in the Scottish toong.

Robert king of Scots to Henrie king of England greeting. Thy great magnificence, humilitie, and iustice, are right patent to vs, by gouernance of thy last armie in Scotland; howbeit like things had bene vncertaine to vs afore. For though thou seemed as enemy with most awfull incursions in our realme: yet we found mair humanities and plaisures than damage (by thy cumming) to our subdittes. Speciallie to yame that receiuit thy noble fader the duke of Longcassell the tyme of his exill in Scotland. We may not ceis yairfore, wuhle we are on life, but aye luf and loif thee as maist noble and worthy prince, to ioy thy realme. For yocht realmes and nations contend among themselfe for conquests of glorie & launds, yet na occasion is among vs to inuade athir realmes or lieges with iniuries, bot erat to contend among our selfe, quhay fall perlew othir with maist humanite and kindnesse. As to vs we will meit all occasion of battell, quare any occures at thy pleasure. Forther, bycause we haue na lesse sollicitude in preserving our childzen fra certaine deidlie enemies, than had sometime thy noble fader, we are constrained to seeke support at vncouth princes hands. Howbeit, the inuasion of enemies is so great, that small defense occures against yame without they by preserved by amitie of nobill men. For the world is so full of peruerse malice, that na crueltie nor offense may be deuist in erd, bot the samine may be wrought be motion of gold or siluer. Heirfore, because we know thy hynesse full of monie, noble vertues, with like puissance and riches, that na prince in our daies may be compared thairto: we desire thy

Thy b. huma-

The earle of Douglas in battell. His surname Tinneman.

The earle of Northumberland & his sonne into Scotland.

The death of the duke of Rothsaie commeth to the knowledge of his father.

The duke of Albanie excuseth himselfe.

The king commeth to Edinburgh.

Sittelle persons condemned.

The suspicion of the king towards the duke of Albanie.

The king sent away his sonne the prince.

Scots fight for England, and the

Scots fight for the English.

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humanitie and support at this time.

The traitt it is not unknown to thy maiestie, how our eldest sonne David is slaine miserablie in prison be our brother the duke of Albanie, quhome we chesit to be gouernour (quan we were fallen in decrepit age) to our subdittes and realme, besekand thy hiene's that foze to be so fauorable, that this bearer James our second and allanerlie sonne may haue charge to liefe vnder thy faith, and iustice, to be some memorie of our posteritie, knowand the vnstable condition of mans life so fardlie altered: now flourishand, and suddenly falling to vtter consumption. For thy beliefe well; quhan kings and princes hes na other beild bot in their awn folks, their empire is caduke and fragill. For the minds of common people ar eur flouand and mare inconstant than wind. Zit quen princes ar roborat be amitie of othir vncowth kings their brethren and nighbouris, na aduersitie may occurre to elect thaim fra their dignitie riall. For thy gif thy hiene's thinke nocht expedient (as God forbeid) to obtemper to thir owr desires; zit we request ane thing quhill was ratifit in our last trewes & condition of peace, that the supplicatioun made be ony of the two kings of England and Scotland sall stand in manner of sauveconduict to the bearer. And thus we desire to be obseruat to this our allanerlie sonne, and the gracious God conserue thy maist noble prince.

James the prince of Scotland stated as prisoner in England. His bringings vp.

An happie captiuitie. His instructours in the tongue.

His training in warlike exercises.

His knowledge in musike.

The griefe of his father King Robert.

After that king Henrie had caused these letters to be opened and read, he aduised himselfe thereon with great deliberation; but in the end, he determined to state this James prince of Scotland as his lawfull prisoner, for that he was thus taken in time of warres, and that moreover, there were diuers rebels of England succored within the boundis of his fathers dominion, to the high displeasure of the said king Henrie. But such was the fauour shewed to his bringing vp; that his captiuitie turned more to his honor, profit, and commoditie, than anie other worlde hap that might by anie means haue otherwise chanced vnto him. He had such perfect instructours to teach him, as well the vnderstanding of tongues as the sciences, that he became right expert and cunning in euerie of them. He was taught also to ride, to run at the tilt, and handle all kind of weapons conuenientlie to be used of such a personage, where vnto he was so apt and readie, that few in anie point of aduinitie might ouermatch him. He had good knowledge in musike, and could plaie on sundrie instruments right perfectlie. To be brieft, it appeared in all his behauiour and manners, in what companie so euer he came, that his bringing vp had bene according to his nature, neither of them differing from his birth, and the qualitie of a noble and most vertuous prince.

After it was signified vnto his father king Robert, as he sat at supper, that his sonne was thus arrested in England, he made full great and dolorous mone, sore lamenting that euer he matched himselfe in marriage with a woman of so meane degree (to the disparagement of his blood) as was quene Annabell, on whome he begat his sonnes, which (as he toke it) was the onelie cause why a well foraine princes as his owne subjects had him thus in con-

tempt. He toke this matter so sore to hart, that with in three daies after the newes came vnto him, he departed this world through force of sicknesse, new increased by melancholie, which had bereft him a long time before. He died at Rothsay in the first yearre of his reigne complet, and from the incarnation 1408. His bodie was buried at Passie, with his wife quene Annabell befoze rehearsed. He was a man of a mightie stature, verie librell and gentle, so that if he had not bene mained with a horse, and thereby grew lame; that he might trauell about the affaires of the realme himselfe, it was thought the common wealth should haue prospered vnder his gouernement; as much as euer it did vnder anie of his predecessors.

The gouernour Robert duke of Albanie, after the deceasse of his brother king Robert, was by new election chosen, or rather confirmed in his office of gouernour, which he exercised more by sightie, with better iustice now after his brothers death, than before. [For (as faith Buchanan) take away from him, that he was ouermuch blinded with desire to gouerne (wherevnto he cared not by anie means to aspire) there were in him manie other good parts worthe to haue such gouernement: for he was valiant in battell, wise in counsell, he did decide matters of controuersie with great equitie, he wan the nobilitie with his liberalitie, and did not luche the commons by exactions.] In the meane time, the castle of Jedburgh (which the Englishmen had held euer since the battell of Durham was taken by the uidalemen, and raced downe to the earth. Archembald earle of Douglas, as yet remaining captiue in England, after he had knowledge of king Roberts death, made shift to agree for his ransome, and so being set at libertie, returned with all speed now at length into Scotland.

Shortlie after, there was a counsell called, where in was a motion made for the restoring of George earle of March to his countrie, lands, and blood. After long debating of the matter, and hard hold to and fro both with him and against him, it was in the end concluded, that he should returne into Scotland, and be receiued as a true Scottishman; but vnder this condition, that he should forgo his lands of Arnerdale, and Lochmaben, which should for euer remaine to the Douglasse, and to his heires. All his other lands and possessions, it was accorded, that he should inioy as in his former right & estate. And thus was the earle of March pardoned of all passed offences committed against the crowne of Scotland, and returned home, to the great comfort of his friends.

¶ Versie that before was fled into Scotland to the erle of March his old friend, was courteously receiued, intertained, & nourished according to his estate, by the said earle of March: during which time, he solicited his friends in England to find means for returne into his countrie. And amongst other of his friends, with whom he dealt by secret messengers; he directed letters concerning the same, to an old (and as he deemed a most faithfull) friend of his, called Rafe Roksbie, declaring vnto him that he should not want friends, both Scottish & English (through whose helpe he did not despaire to recouer his patrimonie) if he might haue his aid also therein, for this Rafe was shiriffe of Dorsetshire. This man, after he had intised Versie (vnder the assurance of false hope and trust in him) to come into England, he opened the conspiracie to the king, and secretlie laid wait to intercept the said earle, by which means, (getting him into his possession) he cut off his head, and sent it to the king to London. At which time also, there was an Englishman in Scotland, which called himselfe Richard the second: but fallie (as I suppose

The death of king Robert the third.

1406, Buch. 1408. His buriall.

His stature and qualities.

The duke of Albanie confirmed gouernour of the realme.

Fr. Thin.

Donald subdued Ross. Fr. Thin. Lellius lib. 7. cap. 268.

Jedburgh castle taken.

The earle of Douglas released and returneth into Scotland.

A motion made for the restoring of the earle of March to his countrie.

The earle of March returned home.

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan. 1409.

Rebellion moved by Donald of the Isles.

Donald subdued Ross. Fr. Thin. Lellius lib. 7. cap. 268.

The earlbome of Ross transferred from the line of Walter Ross to the Douglasse.

The earle of March.

The battell of Harlow.

Doubtfull biotopie.

The number slaine.

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the chiefe was the abbat of Pontineac) and the other was from Peter de Luna, who did visite reitene and defend the papasie, whereof he had once gotten possession, which Peter by the trauell and persuation of Henrie Hartine (an English man, and a Franciscane frier) had bygone the gouernoz of Scotland to follow his faction, which yet succeeded to none effect: because the vniuersall companie of the cleargie stiffelie labored against it, and did subscribe to the deposition of Peter, and to the counsell of Constance for the election of Hartine the first to the papasie.

The earle of Stratherne slaine.

warres betwixt England and France, Rebellion in Wales.

Henrie the first discomfited by the welshmen He subdued them.

The castell of warke sowne.

It is againe recovered.

1419.

The decesse of Robert duke of Albanie. Fr. Thin.

Ambassadors from the French king.

An armie of Scots sent into France.

The king of England menaceth the Scots.

Much what about the same time, John Dunsmond slue Patrike Graham earle of Stratherne, by traitorous meanes, and thereupon fled into Ireland: but as he was about to haue passed from thence ouer into England, the vessel wherein he sailed, was driven on the coast of Scotland, where he was taken, and afterwards lost his head for the said offense. Shortly after also, there rose great warres betwixt England and France, as in the histories of those realmes may more plainlie appeare. There was also a great rebellion raised in Wales, against Henrie the first king of England, which was the son of Henrie the fourth lastelie decessed. While find in the Scottish chronicles, that this Henrie the first, at his returning forth of France, after his first iourne thither (hauing in the same wone the towne of Harfleur, & discomfited the whole power of France at Agincourt) was constrained to go against the Welshmen, and encountering with the prince of Wales, was discomfited, and lost ten thousand of his men: but after this, he reinforced his power, and came againe into Wales, not ceassing till he had brought the Welshmen subiect at his pleasure: but the English writers make no mention of anie such matter.

Whilest things passed thus in England, William Haliburton wan the castell of Marke, and slue all such as he found within it, howbeit small while indured the ioy of this fortunate successe to the Scots: for sundrie Englishmen that knew all the secrets of the house, found means to enter through a gutter, that serued in maner of a sinke, to auoid all the filth of the kitchen into the riuer of Tweed, breaking downe a pane of an old wall, and so made entrie for the residue of their fellowes; by reason whereof they easilie reconered the castell, and in reuenge of them that were slaine there when the Scots wan it, they likewise slue all those which were then within it, without anie respect of one or other. After this, in the yeere 1419, the third day of September, Robert duke of Albanie, that had bene gouernoz of Scotland for the space of fiftene yeeres, after the death of king Robert the third, departed out of this life, hauing bozned himselfe in all his time as a right valiant and noble prince. [This doth Buchanan attribute to the yeere 1420, being the fiftieth yeere after the death of Robert the third.]

A little before his decesse, there came from Charles the French king, the earle of Wandosme, and chancelloz of France, both to renew the ancient league betwixt the two realmes of Scotland and France, & also to get some power of Scots to passe into France, to support the said Charles against the Englishmen, which as then soze inuaded his realme. Whereupon shortly after by decree of counsell, it was ordeined, that John Steward earle of Buchquhane, second sonne to duke Robert, and Archemald Douglas earle of Wigton, should passe into France with seven thousand armed men. The king of England informed hereof, to cause the Scots to keepe their men at home, menaced to inuade Scotland with a puissant armie, & that in all hast. Which rumoz being spred ouer all the bounds of his realme,

caused the Scots for doubt thereof to lie all the next summer on the borders: but in the meane time, king Henrie passed into Normandie, to pursue his wars against France with all diligence.

At length, through the procurement of the duke of Burgognie, under certeine conditions and covenants of agrement, king Henrie toke to wife the ladie Katharine daughter to the French king. And among other articles of the same agrement, it was concluded, that after the decesse of Charles the French king, the crowne of France should immediately descend vnto king Henrie, as lawfull inheritor vnto that realme, without all contradiction, by reason whereof, Charles the Dolphin, and sonne to the said king Charles, was clearelie excluded from all claime to the same: but this notwithstanding, the Dolphin did not onelie refuse to surrender his title, but also sought to mainteine the war against king Henrie as his aduersarie, and open enimie to the realme. In the meane while also, the earles of Buchquhane and Wigton, with Alexander Lindsaye brother to the earle of Crawford, and Thomas Swinton knights, accompanied with seven thousand well armed men, arrived in France, to the great reioysing of the Dolphin, as he well declared in the thankfull receiuing, and most heartie welcomming of them. Finalie, the towne and castell of Chatelon in Touraine was deliuered to them, that they might haue a place at all times to resort vnto, at their owne will and pleasure.

Shortly after they were imployed in the battell of Baugé. For the duke of Clarence brother to the king of England (in whose place he was deputie and generall of the armies in France) after that he had spoiled and ouerrun the countrie of Anjou (which hitherto had remained most stedfast in the obedience of the French) was comming (as it was supposed) to the towne of Baugé, about two daies before Easter: for which cause the Scots (thinking that the duke in that holie feast would, as the maner was, cease from all violence of warre, and attend the church ceremonies appointed for those times; or else as some write, by reason of the truce which was taken for eight daies) did more negligentlie looke vnto their estate than wisdome would they shuld haue done. The which when Clarence understood (either by Andrew Fregose an Italian, or by the Scottish foragers intercepted by his hoisemen) he reioysed that he had so good occasion offered worthilie to performe something. Wherefore rising forthwith from dinner, he commanded his hoisemen to arme themselves, with whome he went directlie towards his enimies, at what time he was (besides the beautie of his other furniture) richlie adorned with godlie diamonds of gold (set with manie pretious stones) and placed vpon a chaplet of iron. At whose sudden approach, those few French which were nere vnto them in a billage called little Baugé (amongst whom was John de la Croix) being feared, made their defence in flight; and for safeguard entered the steeple of the next church adioining, in the which they were hardlie after besieged.

Whilest these were thus inuironed, the clamor and cries which was now come to the next armie (where in the Scots were assembled) suddenlie caused them with great feare to flee to their weapons. At that time the erle of Buchquhane (whilest the others prepared themselves) sent thirtie archers to possesse the bridge, vnder which the next riuer had his course, and through which they might passe ouer, where (encountering with the English enimie) Hugh Bennedie came vnto them out of the next church (in which he sojourned) with a hundred of his companie halfe armed, as it often falleth out in such sudden exploits. These

The king of England maried the daughter of the French king. The articles of agreement.

The Dolphin of France maintaineth warre against the Englishmen. Scottish soldiers arrived in France.

Chatelon in Touraine deliuered to the Scottishmen.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 10. 1419. Buc. 1421. N.G.

The battell of Baugé.

Hebor Boet.

Buchan. lib. 10.

Nic. Gil.

Prisoners taken.

The earle of Buchquhane is created comtable of France. Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 10.

with their arrowes so streitlie kept this streit, that the horsemen could not haue anye passage there, for which cause the duke of Clarence did first forsake his horse (as the rest of the companie did after him) began the battell on foot, and with a strong assault made way for his men, beating from them the Scots, who were for the most part unarmed, and the others not verie well armed.

After this, in the meane time whilst Clarence taketh his horse againe, and some of the rest scatteringlie do passe the bridge, the earle of Buchquhane commeth upon them, & forthwith (desirous to make trial of his people egerlie seeking after it) there was a bitter battell committed, with like minds of hatred the one against the other: for the Scots did reioyse, that they had now obtained cause, time, and place, where they might (after their first arrivall in France) shew some token of their valure, and refuse those talents which the Frenchmen laid upon them, objecting that the greedinesse of wine & vittells had brought them over into that countrie. With which reproch the Frenchmen are wont to upbraid the English, the Spaniard the French, and the African the Spaniard. But as the Scots were eger in a strange countrie to win honor, so was the English no lesse desirous of conquest, greatlie disdainning both at home and abroad, to be so infected with that implacable nature of the Scots. In which battell none did fight more valiantlie or egerlie than did the duke of Clarence himselfe. Against whome (so noted for the riches of his armor) came John Swinton, which greivously wounded him in the face, and whome the earle of Buchquhane (striking on the head with his mace) quite overthrow to the ground. Which done, the English fled, and were greivously slaine, because the same continued till the night ended the quarrell; which battell was fought on Easter eve, a little after the equinoctiall spring. In this battell were slaine of the English about 20000, amongst whome were 26 of noble calling, whereof were the duke before said, the earle of Kildesdale, other wise called the earle of Angus, & the lord Greie were part: but of the Scots and Frenchmen, there were few missing, and they of the meaner sort. All which, as we haue here set it downe, is the common report of the death of the duke of Clarence. But the booke of Pluicart reporteth, that the duke was slaine by Alexander Macell, a knight of Lenox, which took from him the coronet (whereof we spake before) and sold the same to John Stewart of Wernill, for a thousand angels, which he after laied to payme to Robert Hunsone, to whom he bought five thousand angels: & this saith that booke was the most common report at those dates. The chiefe praise of which victorie remained with the Scots, even by the testimonie of the envious adversaries, as the writer of this storie saith upon his credit. At this battell also were a great companie of prisoners taken, amongst whome (as principall) were these, the earle of Huntington, & the earle of Sumner, with his brother, both of them being brethren to the ladie Jane, that was after married to king James the first, king of Scotland. For the high valiance of the Scottishmen shewed in this battell, the Dolphin created the earle of Buchquhane high constable of France, and gave him sundrie townes, castles, and lands, therewith the better to mainteine his estate.

* King Henrie hearing of the death of his brother the duke of Clarence, did substitute for his deputie his other brother the duke of Bedford, promising that he would shortly after come thither himselfe with an armie of four thousand horse, and a thousand footmen (which he performed accordingly). For with all speed he after came into France with a

mightie host, and had with him James the Scottish king, or rather prince of Scotland, for all this while the Scots reputed him not as king, for that he was not as yet crowned: nor set at libertie out of the Englishmens hands, into the which (as before ye haue heard) he chanced to fall by his fathers life time.

The cause why king Henrie did take this James over with him at that present into France, was, for that he hoped by his meanes to procure all the Scottishmen that were in service with the Dolphin to forsake him, and to returne home into their owne countrie: but when he had broken this matter unto the said James, and promised, that if he could bring it to passe, he would not onelie remit his ransom, but also send him into Scotland highlie rewarded with great riches: James answered hereunto, that he marvelled much, why he did not consider how he had no authoritie over the Scots so long as he was holden in captivitie, and as yet had not receiued the crowne, but (saith he) if it were so that I might be set at libertie, and had receiued the crowne according to the accustomed manner, together with the othes and homages of my subjects, I could then in this matter do as should be thought to stand with reason; but in the meane time I shall desire your grace to hold me excused, and not to will me to do that which I may in no wise performe.

King Henrie maruelling at the high wisdom which appeared to be planted in the head of that young prince, left off to trauell with him any further in this matter. In the meane time, the warres continuing betwixt the king of England and the Dolphin of France, manie townes were besieged, wone, and sacked, and sundrie light bickerings and skirmishes chanced betwixt the parties, as occasion serued. But the Englishmen shewed themselves to beare such hatred toward the Scots, that so manie as fell into their hands neuer needed to streine their friends for their ransomes, which crueltie they put not in practice against their enemies, being of an other nation. [For King Henrie, when he had taken the towne of Melbens, hanged twentie Scots which he found therein, laing to their charge that they had fought against their owne king.] At length, king Henrie fell into a greivous disease, which in short time made an end of his life, notwithstanding all the helpe that either by physicke or other waies might be ministered unto him. The same yeere, that is to say, 1422, the French king Charles, the first of that name, deceased; after whome succeeded his sonne Charles the second, before named the Dolphin, as the custome there is. By the death of these kings, the wars were not altogether so earnestlie followed as before, whereupon the earles of Buchquhane and Wigton returned into Scotland, and shortly after was an armie lentied, and siege laied both to Rocksburch, and to Berwik, but for that they lay long abroad and did no good, returning home without gaine, this iourne in derision was called The durtie rode, or (as the Scots terme it) The durtin raid.

But now to speake somewhat concerning the order of the common-wealth in Scotland, ye shall understand, that after the death of Robert duke of Albanie, his sonne Morizo Stewart earle of Fife and Menteith was made gouernour, continuing in that office for the space of foure yeeres, though (to confesse the truth) he was farre vnniet thereto, differing much from the wisdom and manhood of his father, for in him remained sundrie vices, greatlie variable and contrarie one to another. In time of any aduersitie, he shewed himselfe as a man despairing of all comfort or helpe: in prosperitie to lift vp in carelesse insolencie, that he had no staie of himselfe, by reason whereof

The king of England rather prince of Scotland over with him into France.

The answer of James the king, or rather prince of Scotland,

King Henrie took it for a sufficient answer.

The cruell dealing of the Englishmen towards the Scots.

Fr. Thin, Buchan. lib. 10.

The death of Henrie king of England,

1422. The death of Charles the French king.

Rocksburch and Berwik besieged.

The durtin raid.

Morizo Stewart earle of Fife created gouernour of Scotland. The riper vices reigning in Morizo Stewart,

he king of England rich the lighter of French king. he articles agreement,

the Dolphin France notwithstanding against English. otish soldiers arrived France.

stolen in France de- ried to the Englishmen.

Thin. van. li. 10. o. Buc. r. N.G.

battell auge.

Hector Boet.

Buchan. lib. 10.

Prisoners taken,

The earle of Buchquhane is created constable of France. Fr. Thin, Buchan. lib. 10.

whereof, sometimes he suffered heinous offenders through dread of their puissant friends (a thing not to be suffered in Scotland) to escape unpunished; and at other times againe, he shewed himselfe more seuerer & cruell in executing of iustice, than the matter required.

His negligence in chastising his sonnes.

An insolent part of one of his sonnes.
The swordes of duke Moris do to his son.

Duke Moris traueleth for the redeming of James the first.
Fr. Thin.
Buchan, lib. 10.

Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 272.

The earle of Buchquhane returneth into France.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 270.

The earle of Dowglas made duke of Couraine.

Thus was he still in extremitie, keeping no temperance nor laudable meane in anie of his doings. Here to was he so negligent in chastising his sonnes Walter, James, & Alexander (whether through softnesse & lacke of wit, or by reason he bare such a fond & tender fatherlie loue toward them) that they hauing him in small regard, played manie outrageous parts, to the soze offending of a number. At length, one of them taking displeasure with his father, for that he would not giue him a falcon, the which he had long before greaillie desired, steept to him, and plucking hir beside his fist, twang his necke from his bodie euen presentlie before his face. Whereupon the father somewhat kindeled with this presumptuous deed of the sonne: Walter (said he, for so was his name that had thus misused him) sith it is so that thou and thy brother will not be ruled by my soft and gentle gouernement, I shall bring him home per it be long, that shall chastise both you and me after an other manner. And after this, he rested not to trauele still for the redeming of James the first out of captiuitie, till all wealth, joy, and good hap of all the Scottish nation. For calling together a parlement (of the nobilitie) at Perth, they consulted of receiuing home their James imprisoned in England, and at length willinglie agreed (either for fauour they bare to the lawfull heire, or being wearied with the lossonnes of the present gouernement) to send an ambassage to the king of England, to demand the restitution of king James. Whereupon they dispatched into England (to execute their desire) Henrie Lichon bishop of Aberdeen, Archembald Dowglas (the third earle of that name, and fist of that familie) the sonne of Archembald Dowglas, duke of Couraine, William Heire constable of Scotland, Richard Cozwall archdeacon of Londane, and Alexander Jarrairie a Dum, knight.)

In the meane time, the French king, Charles the seuenth, being soze bered with wars by the Englishmen, sent to the earle of Buchquhane his constable, requiring him to returne againe with all speed into France, and to bring so manie Scottishmen with him, as he convenientlie might. This earle therefore found meanes to persuaide Archembald earle of Dowglas, father to the foresaid earle of Wigton, to passe with him into France, which two earles with an armie of five thousand men, or (after some writers) ten thousand, toke the seas, and arriued with prosperous wind and weather at Rochell, and comming to the French king, were receiued of him with all ioy and gladnes. With this companie also was sent ambassado, Gilbert Grenlatw bishop of Aberdeen, a man of great authoritie amongst the nobilitie of Scotland, for his singular wisdom, and such a person as with great dexteritie executed the office of the chancelorship of the realme. The effect of whose message was, to comfort Charles the seuenth, then king of France, and to asseretine him, that not onelie they which were now allanded in France, but also all the inhabitants of Scotland would remaine so firme in his faith & friendship, that they would spend both liues and goods in the defense of the crowne of France, as the following experience should well trie. Whereupon the earle of Dowglas was by the king for his further advancement, honored with the title of the dukedome of Couraine. But that glorie of the Scots was some diminished (as saith Lesleus)

by the infortunat successe which they had through the English at the battell of Verneuil. In which (besides all the hired or common souldiers which were also most slaine at that time) there perished of the nobilitie, the two brethren of the gouernour, the earle of Buchquhane constable of France, Archembald Dowglas duke of Couraine, with James his sonne and heire, Alexander Lindseie, Thomas Swinton, Robert Stewart, and manie other, as in the French and English histories more largelie may appere.

Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 270.
1424. N. G.

And here a little to step out of the way, because in this place Buchanan giueth at the English (as he doth in all the parts of his booke, with most bitter talents) I will a little shew that he hath forgotten himselfe in the same: as well against vs generallie (as appereth in manie places) as against Grafton, Humfrie Lhoid, and Hall, especiallie in manie other places thereof. And therefore (readers) giue me leaue in milder sort to speake of him (being dead) than he doth of others. For although (against all humanitie) he do most bitterlie with words of heat inuaine his pen against Humfrie Lhoid, departed the world manie yeres (as it appereth) before he toke the later penne in hand (after the ouerseeing of his old fragments) as himselfe in his epistle confesseth, to write an historie: yet I will spare him in better sort. And therefore I much muse, that he a man so learned and graue, would now in his later age, when reason should most rule him, to dip his pen in gall, as forgetting himselfe, he should be of these rough conditions (contrarie to all learning, which *Emollit mores, nec sinit esse ferus*) he would call men impudent, immodest, vnlearned, liars, vnbrideled, malicious, backbiters, & will tonged; and that he can rather proue the Britains to be made of dogs and brute beasts, better than to be descended of Brutus. All which speeches are to be found in his booke: for (if there were a fault in Lhoid) as there was none, because it seemes he did not well conceiue his mind: could not he either reprehend error, or disproue men, but with such bitter talents, when they but onelie shew their opinion, dissenting in ouerlie sort from others, as it is lawfull for all learned men to do? Where learned he that rhetorike, to reiect the opinion of men with dogs eloquence, and sooner to deduce that creature (formed to the image of God, and lord of all beasts) to be rather made of dogs than of men, and for one or two pinat persons to inuete against a whole state?

A digression against Buchanan.

But Humfrie Lhoid imputeth a note of infamie to his nation (as he supposed) in disprouing Hector Boetius, who arrogantlie (beside all truth) hath transferred to his Scots, both places, persons, and deeds, which neuer belonged to them. And is this so great a fault in Lhoid, when himselfe and Lesleus bishop of Rosse (secretlie mistaking Boetius) haue in silence passed ouer a great manie imperfections in the historie of Boetius, and placed manie other things after an other sort, referring them to other times than Boetius doth? And why should he maligne Lhoid for reprehending him, whome himselfe condemneth, & of whome he saith that *In descriptione Scotie quedam parum uere prodidit, et alios in errorem induxit*, and whome for manie faults (by Boetius escaped) he further saith in the later end of his second booke, that he will not defend him in such errors, as no reason there is why he should? But if from the abundance of the hart the tongue and hand do speake and write, I can not see but that by his dissempcrat speeches, I must condemne him of secret grudge, not so much to the person of Lhoid, as to the whole nation, against which the chiefest part of his booke seemeth to be a stomaching inuective. And yet such as it is, they must of necessitie follow that intreat of the historie of his nation, or else he will exclaim against them (as he doth in this place

Canie and disceps,

Robert Dablocke captiue of a power of Scottishmen sent into France.

Robert Dablocke called Le petit roy de Gascogne, Fr. Thin.

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place of the battell of Terroille) that they maliciouslie obscure the glorie of the Scots, following the authoritie of the aduersarie, and not the truth of the historie written by him, or the French nation.

And in this place of his booke, rather than he will want occasion to saluunt and disgrace vs by his choicelike pen, he will seke a knot in a ruy, and make a mountaine of a molehill, in so belement inuading against the English, that say that the Scots were not able to mainteine such titles of honor as were giuen them by the French: a simple matter to make such discourse vpon, and to step so much awize out of the course of the storie. But thinke you Buchanan hath committed no such (nay greater) faults against vs: Yes trulie, and that I suppose will be well proued at an other time, in an other treatise vpon his booke now iustlie forbidden in England; and (as I heare) more iustlie in Scotland. And here remember I prae the gentle reader, that in one place of his booke he saith that he ment to haue obserued this course from the beginning; that he would not seke to digresse by bypaths out of the course of the historie. And hath he so sone forgotten that in the first forehead of his booke, almost three leaues together, & also in manie other parts of the same (as well as in this place of the battell of Terroille) he hath lept manie miles out of the way, with bitter words to saluunt Humfrie Lhoid, Crafston, Hall, & all the English histories, and by manie whole pages (in manie parts of his worke) with much speche of powder and shot, to batter the credit of the English writers. These trulie were not parts of such a person, as the place (which he had about the prince while he liued) required. But inough of this by the (who am not *Honorarius arbiter*, and will be no seuere censurer of other mens writings at this time (whereunto I was occasioned by Buchanans digression in this place) since the same will be more substantiallie touched by others in other works (whereunto I refer my selfe) and so returns to the order of the historie.)

The Scottish chronicles declare, that the losse of this field chanced speciallie through enuie and discord, which reigned amongst the chieftains. For the duke of Alanson enuieing that the Scots should baillie rise in honor within France, kept himselfe backe, till time the Scots were ouerthrowen and brought to utter destruction. Againe, euen vpon the ioining, there rose great strife and contention betwixt the constable & the duke of Touraine, who should haue the supreme rule of the Scottish leghe, the one disdainig to giue place to the other. Thus ye may perceiue, how the Scots with losse of manie of their liues, and much bloodshed, supported the side of Charles king of France, against the Englishmen. And though there came daillie netwies of diuerse great ouerthrowes giuen by the Englishmen to such Scottishmen and other, as serued the said king Charles, yet did not the Scots therefore staie at home, but at sundrie times, and vnder sundrie captains repaired into France: as amongst other, one Robert Dastillocke of Dundee with a new power of Scots went ouer to king Charles the seventh aforesaid, shewing such proue of his singular manhood and valancie in those wars, as in recouerie of the realme of France out of the Englishmens hands, his seruice stood king Charles in notable need. Chicke his diligence and prowellie well appered, in reducing the parties of Gascoigne vnto the French subiection, which had remained a great number of yeres vnder the dominion of the English kings. And here vpon was he called by the inhabitants euer after, *Le petit roy de Gascoigne*.

But to returne to the businesse of Scotland and of the Scots, as they passed in the meane time. We

say, that the French reioysing of this conquest of Gascoigne, would not seme to be vnthankfull to the Scots therefore: for which cause they erected a statue or image of this Dastillocke, in the hall of the king of France, as a perpetuall memorie of this conquest, and as a singular testimonie of their good will towards the Scots, which they placed there to remaine a monument to all posteritie. Beside which, he confirmed and increased the number of the guard of Scottish archers (which they were wont to vse in peace and warre) first instituted by Charles the king of France, ouer all which he made this Dastillocke chiefe captaine, which office the Scots did then and since so well discharge, that the same continueth yet in our memorie. Besides which (a little before this) Charles the first appointed an other companie of Scottish horsemen to be in wages with him, being commonly called the trope of the Scottishmen at armes. Of whome the chiefe gouernour was Robert Steward (borne of the familie of the earle of Lennox) who was honored by the king with the title of the lord de Albignie, with other lands and great possessions bestowed vpon him. All which (being of long time possessed of the Scots of the same surname, by continuall order of blood & descent, that is, by Stewart the famous captaine of warre, then by Robert, and to conclude, by John Steward, brother of the earle of Lennox) is at this day also in possession of the worthie poing gentleman (the sonne of the said John) who giueth forth a rare hope that he will not degenerat from the nobilitie of his ancestors. The ambassadors sent (as before is shewed) into England for R. James, behaued themselves so sagelie therein, that in the end, they brought it to good conclusion: as thus. First it was agreed, that king James should be set at libertie, and also pay for his rancome the sum of 100000 marks sterling, the one halfe to be paid in hand, and for the other halfe to leaue sufficient pledges behind him, till it were paid. Albeit some writers alledge, that leauing pledges for the payment of the one halfe, he was discharged of the other, in consideration that he toke to wife the ladie Jane, daughter to the earle of Summerset. The said earle and the cardinall of England his brother, conueied him with his quene their naice, vnto the borders of both the realmes. And at their taking leaue each of other, there was presented vnto king James and to the quene his wife, besides a cupbord of masse plate, sundrie faire cloths of rich and costlie arras by his wiues friends, with manie other iewels and things of great price & value.

King James then departed on this wise from his wiues brethren, and other such his deere friends, as his vertue and princelie behauiour had procured him during his abode here by the space of sixtene or eightene yeres in England, entered into Scotland, and came to Edinburgh on Care fundae, or therwise called Daffon Sunday in Lent, where he was receiued with all honor, ioy, and triumph that might be deuised. At what time as the nobles came to giue him their dutifull welcome into his native soile and inheritance, there began to be manie complaints by them, who since the death of their last king (partlie by negligence, and partlie by the default of the gouernors) had bene molested with diuers kinds of iniuries; where vpon, Walter the son of Mordae, Dalcouline Fleming, and Thomas Woid being greivously accused, were (to pacifie the exclamation of the common people) committed to diuers prisons till the next parliament, which was appointed the first kalends of June following, where is more intreated of this matter, as after shall appere, Buchanan hauing thus placed it before the kings

Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 271.

Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 271.

*Pag. 260. col.
1. numb. 30. 40.

The rancome
of R. James.

Jane daughter
to the earle
of Summerset
set married to
king James
the first.

Gifts giuen
to R. James
by his wiues
friends.

King James
commeth to
Edenburgh.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan;
lib. 10.

cus lib. 7.
270.
4. N. Gi.

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Enuie and
discord.

Robert Dastillocke captaine of a power of Scottishmen sent into France.

Robert Dastillocke called Le petit roy de Gascoigne.
Fr. Thin.

James.

He is crow-
ned at Scone
together with
his wife.1423, Buch.
1424, Lell.Andrew
Graie.The surname
of the Graies
in Scotland.King James
keepeth an au-
dit.A parliament
at Eden-
burgh.

A tax leuied.

The com-
mons grudge
at payments.Bills of com-
plaint exhibi-
ted against
the sonnes of
duke Morzdo.Walter Ste-
ward put in
prison.The oth of K.
James.

kings coronation.]

And after that, as soon as the solemnitie of the feast of Easter was finished, he came to Perth, and thither after to Scone, where he was crowned king, and his wife quene, by duke Morzdo the gouernor, and Henrie bishop of saint Andrews, the one and twentieth day of Maie, after the incarnation 1424. There came forth of England with this James the first, diuerse English gentlemen, which remaining euer after in seruice with him, were aduanced to certeine lands, possessions, and liuinges in Scotland. Amongest whome (as one of the chiefest) was Andrew Graie, who afterwards by the kings aid and god furtherance, got in mariage the daughter and heire of Henrie Spottimer of Foulis, named Helen, and by that means came the lordship of Foulis into the hands of the Graies, whose surname and posteritie continueth yet in Scotland, inuested with great lands and dignities, both in Gowerie and Angus.

King James after his coronation returned from Scone to Edinburgh, where he called before him all those that bare anie authoritie in the administration of the common-wealth, during the time of the gouernors duke Robert and duke Morzdo, namely the chancelor, the treasurer, the clerks of the register, the controller, the auditors, and receiueurs, with all other that had boine offices, or had anie thing to do concerning the kings rents. At length, when he perceived by their accounts made, that the most part of all the lands, rents, and reuenues pertaining unto the crowne, were wasted, bestowed, alienated, and transported by the two foresaid gouernors, unto their friends and fauours, contrarie to all right or god consideration (the customs of burrowes and god townes onlie excepted) he was not well content herewith, though for the time he passed ouer his displeasure, in shewing outwardlie no semblance, but as if he had liked all things well.

In the meane time, he aduisedly perused all endowments, rolls, and charters pertaining to the crowne, and thither thereupon called a parliament at Edinburgh, in the which, by aduise of the thre estates, a generall tax was ordeined and granted, to be raised through the whole realme; as twelue pence of the pound to be paid of all lands within Scotland, both spirituall and temporall; and foure pence for euerie cow, ore, and horse, to be paid for the space of two yeares together. This payment was leuied the first yeare without anie trouble, but the second yeare there rose such murmur and grudging amongst the poore commons about the payment thereof, that he remitted the residue that was behind, & took neuer anie tax after of his subjects, untill he married his daughter with the Dolphin of France. Amongst other bills put vp in this parliament, there was diuerse complaints exhibited by the people, for sundrie oppressions used and done by the sons of duke Morzdo, and other great peeres of the realme, before the kings returne into Scotland.

Whereupon Walter Steward, one of the sons of the said duke Morzdo, was arrested, and sent to a castell situated vpon a rocke within the sea called the Basse, there to remaine in safe keeping. Also Malcolme Fleming of Cumernald, and Thomas Boid of Kilmarnoke, were committed to ward in Dalkeith, but these two at the intercession of diuerse noble men were pardoned and forgiven of all offences for an easie fine, with condition, that they should satisfie all such persons as they had in anie wise wronged. In the foresaid parliament also, K. James took a solemne oth, to defend as well the liberties of his realme, as of the church, during the course of his naturall life. The like oth by his example did

all the residue of the barons take at the same present time. Not long after, an other parliament was called and holden at Perth, in the which duke Morzdo, with his sonne Alexander, were arrested and committed to ward. So was also Archembald earle of Dowglaste, with his brother William earle of Angus, George earle of March, Adam Hepborne of Hales, and manie other great barons of Scotland, euerie of them being put in sundrie castles and strengths, to remaine there in safe keeping. Duke Morzdo was sent to Carlawocke, and his duchesse was put in Lemptalloun.

In the yeare following, on the Holie rood daie, called the Inuention of the crosse, James Steward the third sonne of duke Morzdo moued with great ire, for that his father and brethren were holden in prison, came with a great power to the towne of Dunbzeon, and burnt it, after he had slaine John Steward of Wondonald, and two and thirtie other persons, which were found in the same towne: but the king kindled in great displeasure for this attempt, pursued this James to fiercelie, that he was faine to flee into Ireland, where he afterwards deceased. [And Finelaw (which was sometime one of the order of the frier Dominicks) which fled with him into Ireland, & was author that the said James committed all these outrages, died there also. Besides which, there fled into Ireland the wife of Walter, his two sonnes, Andrew and Alexander, with Arthur the bassard: who (in the end) returning home, was after by James the third aduanced to great honors.] In the next yeare ensuing, K. James called a parliament at Sterling, in the which he sitting with scepter, sword, and crowne in place of iudgement, Walter Steward with his brother Alexander were condemned, and incontinentlie were lead forth to a place before the castell, and there beheaded.

On the morrow after, duke Morzdo himselfe, and Duncan Steward earle of Lennor were conuicted of high treason, and beheaded before the castell in semblable manner. [It is a constant fame (saith Buchanan) though I find it not written in any place, that the king sent the heads of the father, husband, & children, to Isabell the wife of his cosine germane, to trie whether she being a fierce woman, would (as it is said) by dissemperance of grieve discover the secrets of his mind. But she (notwithstanding all which grieuous and vnlooked for spectacles) did not inordinatlie burst out into anie bitter words, but onlie said; If the faults be true which are laid against them, the king hath done but right and iustice vnto them.] Thus by the attainder of duke Morzdo and his sonnes, the earldome of Fife, Menteith, and Lennor came into the kings hands. The residue of the lords and barons remaining as then in prison, and abiding the kings pleasure, were soe afraid, when they heard what rigorous iustice had bene executed on duke Morzdo and his sonnes: not notwithstanding, within 12 moneths after they were all set at libertie, and receiued into the kings fauor, on promise of their loiall demeanour & dutifull obedience euer after to be shewed, during their naturall lines.

The parliament being ended, John Spountgomerie, & Humphreie Cunningham were sent by the king to the castell of Leuchleuine, which was kept against him by the runagat James Steward, whom in thox time they forced to surrender the said castell. Not long after, John Steward of Wernleie (who was maister of the Scottish garrison of horsmen in France, the rest of the former captains being consumed) came into Scotland with the bishop of Reims, as ambassado; in the name of Charles, to re-

A parliament
holden at
Perth.
Duke Mor-
zdo with his
sonne Alexan-
der, and di-
uerse other
peeres of the
realme arre-
sted.

1425.

The towne of
Dunbzeon
burnt.Fr. Thin.
Buchanan,
lib. 10.A parliament
holden at
Sterling.
1426.
Walter and
Alexander the
sonnes of
duke Morzdo
beheaded.
Duke Morzdo
and Duncan
Steward earle of Len-
nor beheaded.
Fr. Thin.Fr. Thin.
Buchanan,
lib. 10.

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Lesseus.

1430.

The quene
delivered of
two sonnes
at one birth.Fiftie
knights
dubbed.Archembald
earle of Dow-
glas arrested
and put in
prison.

Fr.Thin.

King James
desirous to
purge his
realme of vn-
ruly persons.Fr.Thin.
Buchan.li.ro.An ordinance
for measures.Castles re-
pared and
munited.

same of others, and had gotten Spakdonald in pri-
son, determining to see due punishment for that vic-
ked fact comforted the filie woman, promising her
thozlie to behold a iust reuenge thereof. Whereupon
Spakdonald being brought out of prison with
twelue of his companions, the king commanded
that they (by the tallion law of spoces that yeldeth
an eie for an eie, and a tooth for a tooth, and by the ex-
ample of Halaris, who burnt him first in the bull
that was the author thereof for others) should like-
wise be shod with iron hozeshoes, in that sort as
they before had serued the woman, and then to be
carried three daies togither about the citie for a spec-
tacle to the people, to feare to attempt such extraor-
dinarie wickednesse, making proclamation that e-
uerie one might see this new kind of punishment.
After which, at length (doubting if he liued he would
not cease to commit the like, or else reuenge the
same) he chopped off Spakdonalds head, & caused his
twelue fellows and partakers to be hanged in the
high waies.)

In the third yere after, which was from the in-
carnation 1430, on the eleuenth daie of October,
Jane the quene of Scots was deliuered of two
sonnes at one birth, Alexander and James. The first
deceased in his infancie. The other succeeded after
his fathers decease in the kingdome, & was named
James the second. At the baptisme of these two in-
fants, there were fiftie knights made. Amongst the
which, and first of all other, was William the sonne
of Archembald Douglas, that succeeded his father
in the earldome of Douglas. His father the said
Archembald Douglas, somewhat before this time,
or (as other authors say) in the yere next ensuing,
was arrested by the kings commandement, and put
in ward, remaining so a long time, till at length by
supplication of the quene, and other pères of the
realme, the king pardoned him [with John Benne-
die] of all offenses, and set both them And Alexan-
der earle of Ross at libertie. King James in this
sort did what in him lay to bring the realme of Scot-
land in such quiet tranquillitie, that in purging the
same of all offenders, and such as liued by reisse and
robbing passengers by the high waies might trauell
without dread of anie euill disposed persons to mole-
st them.

¶ Having thus with diligence suppressed the rob-
beries (practised through all parts of his realme) he
forgot not to looke into small offences which were se-
cretlie done, and of lesse danger; determining to
take awaie all euill customes which had continued
in the realme. For custome, being an other nature
doth bring to passe, that a common error (by manie
ages continued) maketh a perfect law, and therefore
(because the inferior iudges would the better admini-
ster iustice, if they had persons of high authoritie
that might punish their false sentences) he chose forth
speciall persons of the better sort (commended for
their wisdom, grauitie, and holinesse of life) and
made them iustices, whome he sent ouer all the
realme giuing them full authoritie to heare and de-
termine all quarels and lutes (if anie were brought
vnto them) wherof the ordinarie iudges either (for
feare) durst not, or (for hatred or fauor) would not, or
(for strength of others) could not giue anie perfect
iudgement.)

He caused also the bailiffes and prouosts of god
townes, to see that iust measures were used by all
manner of buiers and sellers, and none to be occu-
pied, but such as were signed with the note & marke
of the said bailiffes or prouosts. Moreover, he repara-
red and fortified the castles and fortresses of his
realme, and stuffed them with such ordinance and
munition as was thought expedient. He granted al-

so sundrie priuileges and great liberties to the vni-
uersitie of saint Andrews, to the high advancement
thereof, and was oftentimes himselfe present at
their disputations, taking great pleasure therein.
Such as were knowne to be learned men, and were
presented to him by the vniuersitie, he preferred to
great benefices and other ecclesiasticall livings, till
as the same chanced to be vacant. ¶ Having for that
cause made a law in the said vniuersitie, that none
should introy the roime of a canon in anie cathedral
church, vnles he were a bachelor of diuinitie, or at
least of the canon law. ¶ By which meanes all maner
of vertue and god learning increased daile through
the realme during his time, and namelie musike
was had in great price, which he appointed to be used
in churches with organs, the which before his time
were not much knowne amongst the Scottisshmen.

¶ Much what about the same time, there was a par-
lement holden at Perth, in the which Henrie Ward-
law bishop of S. Andrews, in name of all the thre
estates there assembled, made a long and right pithe
oration to this effect; that where by the high policie
and prudent diligence of the kings maiestie there
present, iustice, and all due administration of lawes
and good ordinances were so reuiewed, that nothing
seemed to be ouerpasse, that might aduance to the
profit and commoditie of the common-wealth; yet
was there one wicked plage crept in of late, increa-
sing so fast, that if speedie remedie were not had in
time, all those commodities brought into the realme
by his comming, should be of small auail, and that
was, such superfluous riot in banquetting there, and
numbers of collie dishes, as were then taken by
and used after the English fashon, both to the great
hinderance of mans health, and also to the vnprofi-
table wasting of their goods and substance. If the
laudable temperance used amongst the Scottissh
men in old time were well considered, nothing
might appeare more contrarie and repugnant there-
to, than that new kind of gluttonie then used, by re-
ceiuing more exccesse of meats and drinks than suffi-
ceth to the nourishment of nature, through prouoca-
tion of such beintie and delicate dishes, confectioned
sauces, and deuised potions, as were now brought
in amongst them. As for such gentlemen as the king
had brought with him forth of England, they were
worthy in deed to be cherished and had in high fa-
uour; neither was this abuse to be so greatlie imput-
ed vnto them, considering it was appropriate to
their nation. But the Scottisshmen themselves were
chiefly to be blamed, that had so quicklie yelded to
so great an inconuenience, the enormitie thereof
appeared by the sundrie vices that followed of the
same, as exccesse, sensuall lust, sloth, reisse, and wa-
sting of goods. For if temperance be the nourisher
of all vertue, then must the contrarie, that is to say,
intemperance, be the bringer forth and prouoker
of all vice. If it might therefore please the kings high-
nesse, to shew his accustomed wisdom and prou-
dence in repressing this abuse of collie fare, so much
damagable to his people, he should doe the thing that
was meritorious before God, and no lesse profitable
and necessarie for the publike weale of all his sub-
iects.

By these and manie other the like perswasions,
bishop Wardlaw used to dissuade the king and his
people from all superfluous courses of delicate di-
shes and surfetting bankets. Insomuch that euen
then there was order taken, that seluer dishes and
more spare diet should be used through the realme,
licencing gentlemen onelie, and that on festiuall
daies, to be serued with pies, the use of them not be-
ing knowne in Scotland till that season. ¶ After the
lesse, such intemperance is risen in proccesse of time
following.

Priuileges
granted to the
vniuersitie of
S. Andrews.Fr.Thin.
Lesseus lib.7.
pag.274.Organs
brought into
Scotland.A parliament
at Perth.Bishop Ward-
law inueth
against super-
fluous fare.The great
appetite of
gluttons ne-
er satisfied.A terrible
plague.Berburgh
besieged.A huge
armie.Men of occa-
sion brought
into Scotland
to instruct the
Scottisshmen
therein.Iulienne the
rot of all
mischiefe.Danie Crows
burnt.

John Fogo.

Fr.Thin.
Lesseus lib.7.
pag.275.The abbey of
Charteris
monks built
belies Perth
by S. James.The lord
Scrope am-
bassadors into
Scotland.The offer of
the English
men to haue
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following, that the greedie appetite of gluttons in this age may be satisfied with no competent feeding, till their bellies be so stuffed with immoderate gourmandise, that they maie scarce fetch breath, through which their noisome surfetting, they fall daillie into sundrie strange and lothsome kinds of diseases, being oftentimes killed by the same in their flourishing youth, as by daillie experience plainlie appeareth.

In the same yere the seuenteenth day of June, was a terrible eclipse of the sunne, at three of the clocke at after none, the day being darkened over head for the space of one halfe houre together, as though it had bene night, and thereupon it was called the blacke houre. At the next Lammass, the king raised an armie, & came with the same to Forburgh, besieging the castell for the space of sixtene daies together. He had in this armie (as the report went) the number of two hundred thousand men, accounting cartage men & all other such as followed the campe: yet notwithstanding all this huge multitude, having wasted his powder and other munition, before he could do anie great hurt to his enemies, he was constrained to raise his field, and leaue the castell in the Englishmens hands as he found it. After this king James perceiuing how the knowledge of handicrafts and manuell occupations was decayed in Scotland, through continuall exercise of wars, since the daies of Alexander the third, to the further advancement of the common wealth, and that his subjects might haue occasion to avoid sloth and idleness (the root of all mischief) he brought a great number of cunning craftsmen out of Germanie, France, and other parties, to instruct his people in their arts and faculties.

Not long after, one Paule Crawl a Bohemian boyne, was burnt at saint Andrews, for preaching and setting forth the doctrine of John Wic, & John Wicliffe. John Fogo being one of them that helped chiefe to condemne him, was made (for his great and earnest diligence therein shewed) abbat of Melrose. After which, the said king James began to take vpon him the person of a priuate man, sundrie times associating himselfe to the companie of others (but especiallie of the merchants) in changed apparell, according to the state of such persons with whom he would companie, to the end he might thereby learne what men did say and iudge of him, and so vnderstand what was to be corrected in the gouernement of the common wealth. About the same time was the abbey of Charturay monks founded besides Perth, by king James, with great cost and magnificence.

Also the lord Scrope and other associates with him, came in ambassage from Henrie the first, king of England. The effect of whose message was, to haue the ancient league betwixt the Scots and Frenchmen dissolved, promising that if the counsell of Scotland would consent thereto, and ioine in league with the Englishmen; that both the towne and castell of Berwikke, with all the lands lieng betwixt Tweed and the Hecrolle (as the Scots write) should be deliuered into the Scottishmens hands. King James hauing small credit in such faire promises, perceiued the same to tend onlie to this end, that the league betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots might be once clearelie broken, and then to vse the matter as occasion should serue their turne. This matter therefor being proponed before the counsell, it was concluded, that in no wise the said league betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots should be dissolved, and so thereupon the English ambassadors were dispatched without more talke concerning that matter.

In the same yere, that is to say, 1433, the king

caused George Dunbar erle of March, sonne to that earle which rebelled against his father king Robert the third, to be arrested and put in safe keeping within the castell of Edenburgh. He sent also the earle of Angus with his chancelor William Creighton, and Adam Hepburne of Hales to the castell of Dunbar, deliuering them letters signed with his hand, and directed to the keepers of the said castell, that they shuld deliuer by the house immediatlie vpon sight of those letters vnto the bringers of the same. The keepers durst not disobey his commandement, but suffered them to enter according to their commission. Within twelue months after, a parlement was held at Perth, where the foresaid George earle of March was disherited of all his lands and liuings for his fathers offense committed against king Robert the third. Thus the house of the Dunbars lost the earldome of March, wherein the same had flourished so manie yeres together, to the great defense and safeguard of the realme of Scotland on that side, against both ciuill and foene enemies.

The king yet moued with some pitie toward so noble a linage, within short time after gaue the earldome of Buchquhan to the said George; and after the kings deceasse, the lords of the counsell thinking the same too little, assigned forth to him and his son Patrike, the summe of foure hundred marks yere lie, to be receiued out of a parcell of his owne ancient inheritance of the earldome of March, to inioy the same till James the second came to full age. In the yere 1435, Alexander Steward earle of March departed out of this life. This Alexander was a bastard sonne of the earle of Buchquhan, that was one of the sonnes of king Robert the second. He was a man of right singular prowesse, and in his youth following the warres, was with Philip duke of Burgonie at the siege of Liege, or Luike, where he bare himselfe so manfullie, that few wan the like honor at that iournie. Not long after, to his high advancement, he got in mariage the ladie Iacoba countesse of Holland: notwithstanding, he continued but a while with hir, being forced to forgo hir companie, either for that she had another husband, or else for that the inhabitants would not suffer a stranger to reigne ouer them.

After his returne into Scotland, he sent messengers into Holland, requiring to haue the issues and profits of such lands as were due vnto him in right of the said countesse his wiife; but receiuing nought saue a froward answer, hee provided him of ships, and made soe warres on the Hollanders by sea: first being put to the worse; but at length he toke a number of their ships laden with merchandize, as they were returning homewards from Wantzicke. The mariners were drowned, and the ships burnt. Through which losse the Hollanders being soe abashed, fell to a composition with him, and toke truce with the Scots for an hundred yeres. This earle of March so long as he liued had the gouernance of the north parts of Scotland vnder king James the first, for he was a right prudent person, as well in warlike enterprises, as in ciuill administration. Hee brought forth of Hungarie sundrie great horses and mares for generation, that by such meanes the countrie might be provided of great horses of their owne race, where till that time there was none bred within Scotland, but small nags, more meet to serue for iournieng hacknies, than for anie seruice in the warres.

Not long before this time, there came an ambassage from the king of Denmarke to king James, requiring him to make payment of such yerele tribute as was due to the said king of Denmarke, being also king of Norway for the westerne Isles, according

George erle of March arrested and put in ward.

A parlement at Perth.

The earle of March disherited,

The earldome of Buchquhan giuen to George Dunbar.

1435. The death of Alexander Steward erle of March.

Leodium.

warres betwixt the earle of March & the Hollanders.

Truce betwixt the Scots & Hollanders for teame of 100 yeres.

Good mares brought out of Hungarie into Scotland for breed.

Ambassadors out of Denmarke. Their request according

Privileges granted to the universities of Scotland.

Thin. Lellus lib. 7. pag. 274.

Dignities sought into Scotland.

Parlement at Perth.

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The greedie appetite of gluttons not satisfied.

Terrible eclipse.

Forburgh besieged.

In huge armie.

Men of occupations sought into Scotland to instruct the Scottishmen therein.

Idleness the root of all mischief.

Paule Crawl burnt.

John Fogo.

Thin. Lellus lib. 7. pag. 275.

The abbey of Charturay monks built besides Perth by king James.

The lord Scrope ambassage into Scotland.

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cording to the promise and agreement made by Alexander sometime king of Scotland; the third of that name, unto his predecessor Magnus, at that time king of Norway. The ambassadors that came with this message were honorably received, and in like sort intertained by king James, who at their departure gave to them sundry rich gifts; and appointed Sir William Creighton to go with them into Denmark, ambassador to him, to the king there, who desired himself so fagelie in this business which he thus went about, that renewing the old league betwixt the two realmes of Denmark and Scotland, desired fast peace and assured amitie without anie more ado therof infused. Much about the same time, there came ambassadors from the French king, Charles the seventh, not onelie desiring to have the old league betwixt France and Scotland to be ratified at that present, but by a new confirmation, but also to confirme the same with better assurance. Margaret eldest daughter to king James, at request of the said king Charles, was given in marriage unto Lewis the Dauphin, and eldest sonne to the said king Charles.

Manie great lordes of Scotland were appointed to have the conueiance of hir into France; and great provision of ships made for that voyage, because the king was advertised that the Englishmen had a fleet abroad on the seas, to take hir if they might meet with hir by the waie. But as the hap fell, it chanced the same time, as the Scottish ships should passe, there appeared on the coast of England, a great fleet of Spaniards, which the Englishmen supposing to be the Scots, they came upon them with foure score vessels of one and other, thinking verelie to have had their wished preie, even according to their expectation: but being received with as hot a storme as they brought, they quicklie understood how they were in a wrong bor, and so shewelie amazed (as Hector Boetius saith) they sustained great losse both in men and ships, and in the meane time the Scottish naue passed by quietlie without damage, incountering not one ship by the waie that sought to impeach their passage. There went 140 ladies and gentlewomen forth of Scotland, to attend this lady Margaret into France, amongst which number there were five of hir owne sisters.

In the meane time, whilst such things were a doing, Henrie Perrie of Northumberland invaded Scotland with foure thousand men, not being known whether he had commission so to do from the king of England, or that he made that enterprize of himselfe. William Douglas earle of Angus, to resist this invasion, gathered a power of chosen men, amongst whome were Adam Hepborne of Hales, Alexander Ramsie of Dalehouse, and Alexander Elphinston, with others. The earle of Angus being thus associat, met the Perrie at Wiperden, where a sore battell was foughten betwixt them, with great slaughter on both sides; but at length the victorie fell to the Scots, though there were slaine together with Alexander Elphinston, two hundred gentlemen and commons of Scotland; and of the English part there died Henrie of Cliddesdale, John Ogill, and Richard Perrie, with sixene hundred other of gentle men and commons, of the which gentlemen, fortye were knights. There were taken also and brought home by the Scots as prisoners, to the number of foure hundred.

Shortlie hereupon, king James raised a mightie armie, and besieged the castell of Rocksburch, but when he had almost brought his purpose so nere to passe, that those within began to fall to communication, for the rendering of the place, the quene came to the campe in great haste unto him, signifieng that there was a conspiracie begun against him, so that

if he took not the better heed, he was in great danger to fall into the hands of those that sought his life. The king doubting the matter, raised his siege and returned home to provide the better for his owne safety, but that prevailed little: for Walter Stewart earle of Atholl, and head of the whole conspiracie, pretending ever a right to the crowne, by reason that he was procreat by king Robert the second on his first wife, procured his nephew Robert Stewart, and his cosine Robert Graham, to sea the king by one meane or other, which finally they accomplished in this wise. This Robert Graham, for diverse wicked acts before committed, contrarie to the lawes and ordinances of the realme, was driven to an outlawrie, so that if he were taken, he looked for nothing but present death, and therefore hated the king most deadlie. And though by the quenes diligence both his and other of the conspirators purposes were now disappointed, having continued to dispatch the king at the siege of Rocksburch; yet forsomuch as their names were not knowne, they hoped still to find occasion to atchieve their detestable intention, with they were no more mistrusted than the others.

Hereupon the said Stewart and Graham came one evening to the blacke friers of Perth, where the king as then was lodged, and by licence of the porters comming into the house, entered up into the gallerie before the kings chamber doore, minding to have staied there till one of the kings servants that was priue to their diuelish purpose should come, by whose helpe they were promised to have entrie into the chamber. But before the comming of this undesirable traitor, an other of the kings servants named Walter Straiton came forth of the chamber doore to have fetched wine for the king: but being aduised of these two traitors standing there at the doore, either of them hauing a long sword girded to him, he slept backe, and cried Treason: but yet he could get within the doore to have made it fast, they leapt vnto him, and slue him there outright.

Whilst this was a doing, not without great noise and rumbling, a young virgin named Katharine Douglas (that was after married to Alexander Louell of Bolumie) got to the doore, and shut it: but because the barre was awaie that should haue made it fast, she thrust hir arme in the place where the bar should haue passed: she was but young, and hir bones not strong, but rather tender as a gristle, and therefore hir arme was sone crast in sunder, and the doore broken by by force. Here with entering the chamber, they slue such of the servants as made defense, and then the king himselfe with manie cruell and deadlie wounds [at 28 severall blowes.] The quene was also hurt as she was about to saue hir husband. Patrick Dunbar, brother to George sometime earle of March, was left for dead on the floore, by reason of such wounds as he received in the kings defense, doing most manfullie his uttermost deuoir to haue preserved him from the murderers hands. Thus was James the first murdered the 21 day of February, the 44 yere of his age, the 13 of his reigne, and from the incarnation of Christ 1436. His bodie was buried in the house of the Chartarars at Perth which he founded in his life time, but had not as yet throughlie finished.

* Of this James I find written in his singular commendation, that he was for proportion of bodie of the middle stature, with broad shoulders, having the other parts also answering thereto, as they neither seemed monstrous big to be wondered at, nor extreme small to be scoffed at; but caried the maiestie of a person, whome Aeneas Syluius (expressing the most excellent conformitie of members in this our king) doth terme to be squared or of even proportion.

The king formed or a conspiracie made against him, raising his siege.

Robert Graham.

Robert Stewart and Robert Graham murderers of the king.

Walter Straiton is slaine.

Katharine Douglas.

The murderers enter the kings chamber, and sea the king. The quene is hurt. Patrick Dunbar wounded and left for dead in the kings defense. James the first murdered.

1437. Buch. 1447. Ma. 1326. Lell. His stature and forme of bodie. Fr. Thin. Lellus lib. 7. cap. 271.

tion, as answer framed ther for, did man seuerel called of the c measur said (w ted the ses. Al (than of all thin respect a suffice sweet that di mongl fame a wisde did so tions t which he obt great he pur what t the ki there l scienc genice iudge he bat lent i toz, ti which he se by na dym (is tho and h It genci pond firm well: praif prehe be er nie: com thew with ledg nical fræ follo king serio to be nati by ti the i that mile fore tchic tuff bele noz do will

Sir William Creighton sent into Denmark. Peace and amitie betwixt Scotland and Denmark.

Ambassadors forth of France.

The old league renewed betwixt France and Scotland.

The Dauphin married Margaret daughter to king James.

Englishmen lie in wait for the Scottish fleet.

The Englishmen encounter a fleet of Spaniards.

The arrivall of the lady Margaret of Scotland in France.

Henrie Perrie invadeth Scotland.

The battell of Wiperden fought betwixt Henrie Perrie and the earle of Angus.

The Scots get the victorie. The number of Englishmen slaine. Prisoners taken.

Rocksburch besieged.

tion, as the parts of a quadrangle or inst square do answer each other, so that nature seemed not to have framed a creature more apt or excellent than he, either for shape of bodie, or for kinglie maiestie. He did manie times imbrace iustice more streialie and seuerellie, than well became a king, which ought to be called (and so in truth to be) the father and nourisher of the common wealtie. For he seemed so exactlie to measure all things by the rule of iustice, that he is said (within the space of thre yeres) to haue executed thre thousand persons for their committed offences. Although this may rather seeme to be a slander (than other wise) grounded vpon no foundation, since all things seemed to haue bene performed by him in respect of sincere zeale of iustice, whereof this may be a sufficient argument, that he was of so mild and sweet nature, that we read not of anie of our princes that did more reuerentlie imbrace peace at home amongst his subiects, or more willinglie conclude the same abroad with strangers. That shall I say of his wisdom, which in manie and the greatest affaires did so manifestlie appere, that the kings of other nations did ioine in league and friendship with him: Of which wisdom, and of other his vertues (although he obtained part by the benefit of nature) he got the greatest summe by the learning & instruction which he purchased in England, when he was prisoner: at what time he was by the commandement of Henrie the king most diligentlie instructed. For he was there by the kings beneuolence so well trained in all sciences and gentlemanlie actiuitie, with the diligence of good schoolmasters, that it is not easie to iudge what science he best vnderstood: for beside that he had skill in all kinds of musike (but most excellent in plaing on the harpe) he was so good an orator, that nothing might be more artificiall than that which he spake: againe, he was a rare poet, in which he seemed not so much cunning by art, as furthered by nature, which is sufficientlie proued by verses of diuerse kinds (at this day remaining) composed by him (in Scottisli meter) with that singular art, as he is thought fullie to equall the sharpenesse, grauitie, and wisdom of the ancient poets.

It is strange that I saie, and far beyond the diligence of the princes of our time, yea and almost beyond the opinion of men: but yet most true and confirmed by the testimonie of them which knew him well: and therefore to be written to his perpetuall praise. He did so exactlie in mind and memorie comprehend the depth of diuinitie and law, that therein he excelled manie, & in his time gaue not place to anie: to conclude, there was nothing wherein the commendation of wit consisted, or wherein anie shew of the liberall arts appeared, that he would not with great diligence applie his indeno: for the knowledge thereof, yea and that sometime to all mechanicall or handie-craft labors which were meet for a free man, which he is said most studiously to haue followed. But in the end, iudging it ouer base for kinglie maiestie to be exercised in these meane & inferior knowledges, he caused artificers of all sorts to be brought out of England, Flanders, and other nations, which should instruct our people therein: for by that means he persuaded himselfe he should in the end calme the rough manners of his nation, and that with these mild arts they would also receiue a mild and sweet condition of life & manners. Wherefore I may well say: A most happie common-wealtie which was gouerned by so worthie a prince: & may iustlie exclaime; O you most fierce and wicked rebels, that would by murder take away such an honor, beautie, and pillar of the common-wealtie. Now, besides manie other things by him done, I will here (being better late than neuer) set downe

this (not touched before) which is, that he was not onlie a beautie to his countrie, in prouiding for his people to liue at quiet with in doores; but he also fought for the defense of his realme against his enemies without doores: by artillerie, and other necessaries required for the warres. For the inuention of guns hapning about his time, or not much before, he caused certeine peeces of artillerie to be made beyond the seas in Flanders, of which, there was one most especiall and great peece called the Lion, on the circumference whereof were these verses ingrauen, testifying the antiquitie in like maner of the same:

*Illustri Jacobo Scotorum principi digno,
Regi magnifico, dum fulmine castra reduco,
Factus sum subito, nuncupor ergo Leo.*

The nobles and peeres of the realme right sorrowfull for the death of this James, assembled together, and made such earnest & diligent search for the traitors before mentioned, that at the length they were apprehended and brought to Edinburgh, where they were executed on this maner. The earle of Atholl, which was not onelie principall in practise of this treason concerning the kings death, but also in times past was chiefe of counsell with Robert duke of Albanie, in making away of David the kings eldest brother, and after the kings returne forth of England did most earnestlie solicit him to put duke Howard to death, with all other of his linage, trusting that when they were dispatched, he should find means to rid the king also, and his children out of the way, & so at length attaine to the crowne without anie obstacle. This earle (I say) was first stripped of all his clothes, saue onelie his shirt; and then was an instrument of wood, made like to the dialuer of a well, set fast in a cart with a frame: at the end of which instrument, was the earle fastened and bound, and so caried about the towne, sometime hoisted on high, that the people might see him aloft in the aire, and sometime let fall againe with a swaie done vpon the pavement.

After this, being brought to an open place, where most resort of people was, they crowned him with an hot iron, for that (as was said) a witch had told him, that before his death he should be crowned openlie in sight of the people. Although whose illusion being deceiued, he liued vnder vaine hope to attaine the crowne, directing all his imaginations to compass the means thereto. Thus was he serued on the first day. On the second day, he was drawn with his complices laid on hurdles, round about the towne at an horse taile. The third day, his bellie was ript, and his bowels were taken forth, and throwne into the fire sickerling before his eyes; & then was his heart pulled forth of his bodie, and throwne likewise into the fire: and last of all, his head was cut off, and his bodie diuided into foure quarters.

His nephew Robert Stewart was not altogether so cruellie executed. But Robert Graham, for that it was knowne that he liue the king with his owne hands, was put into a cart, the hand that did the deed being fastened to a paire of gallows, which were raised by in the said cart; and then were thre persons appointed to thrust him through in all parts of his bodie with hot irons, beginning first in those places where it was thought no hastie death would thereof insue, as in the legs, armes, thighs, & shoulders. And thus was he caried through euerie street of the towne, and tormented in most miserable wise, and at length had his bellie ript, and was bowelled and quartered as the other were before. Christopher Claton also, and other that were of counsell in the conspiracie, were put to most shameful kinds of deaths, as they had iustlie deserved, few or none lamenting their case. Touching whose death, and the

John Maior
lib. 6. cap. 13.

The search
made for the
traitors.

The execution
of the
erie of Atholl.

The prophesie
of a witch.

Robert Stewart
executed

The ordering
of Robert
Grahams
execution.

Christopher
Claton.

Fr. Thim
the

C. 11.

The king
formed of a
conspiracie
made against
him, raising
his siege.
The earle of
Atholl heard
of the conspiracie.

Robert Stewart
and Robert
Graham
murderers of
the king.

Robert Stewart
and Robert
Graham
murderers of
the king.

Walter Stewart
son is slain.

Katharine
Douglas.

The murderers
enter the
kings chamber,
and flea
the king.
The queens
hurt.
Datrie Dun
bar wounded
and left for
dead in the
kings defence.
James the
first martyred.

1437. Buch.

1447. I. Ma.

1226. Lell.

This stature
and forme of
bodie.
Fr. Thim.
Lellus lib. 7,
cap. 271.

Duchan also
saith he wrote
Latine verses
with such good
grace, as the
rudeness of
that age permitted.

Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 279.

Strange
lights.
Dogs with
heads like to
Dogs.
A calfe with
a head like a
colt.
A blasing star.
A great frost.
Ale and wine
sold by the
pound weight
A sword scene
in the aire.

James the
second.
1436

Buchan. 103.

The daugh-
ter of the duke
of Gelderland
married to
James the
second.

Sir Alexan-
der Leving-
ston govern-
or.
Sir William
Creighton L.
chancellor..

Disobedience
in the Dow-
glas.

1437.

A pollicie
brought by
the quene.

the reuenge thereof, it is reported, that Aeneas Syl-
uius (being then ambassado) in Scotland for pope
Eugenius the fourth to the said king James, con-
sidering the cruelnesse of such a wicked fact, with the
spædie reuenge, therefore executed by the nobilitie)
should say, that he much doubted, whether he ought
with greater praise to commend them which reuen-
ged the kings death, than by sharper sentence pun-
ish those that had committed such parricide. In
the daies of king James the first, sundrie strange
and monstrous things chanced in Scotland. At
Perth there was a sow that brought forth a litter
of pigs with heads like unto dogs. A colt also
brought forth a calfe, hauing a head like a colt. In
the harvest before the kings death, a blasing star
was scene with long streaming beames. And in the
winter following, the frost was so vehement, that
ale and wine were sold by pound weight, and then
melted against the fire. A sword was scene gliding
up and downe in the aire, to the no lesse dread than
wonder of the people.

James the first made away through the traitorous
practise of the earle of Atholl (as before is spec-
ified) his eldest sonne James the second of that name
being as then but six yeares of age succeeded to the
croune, as lawfull heire to the same, and by his mo-
ther and the nobilitie of the realme was brought to
Scone, where, by the vniuersall content of the three
estates he was crowned king of Scotland, being
the 102 king of that realme from Ihergute the first.
He was surnamed James with the fierie face, by
reason of a broad red spot which he had in one of his
cheekes. This James at his coming to mans state
procured a stout prince, and married the daughter of
the duke of Gelderland, as after shall appeare. In
the beginning he had some trouble and businesse, by
reason of the great authoritie and rule which the high
barons of the realme sought to beare & mainteine,
as the Dowglas, and other, but in the end he sub-
dued them all.

Shortly after his coronation, because he was not
of himselfe able to gouerne, by reason of his tender
age; the nobles and estates of the realme chose sir
Alexander Levingston of Calender knight, gover-
nor of the king and realme, and sir William Creigh-
ton knight was confirmed in his office to inioy the
same as he before had done, the king being committed
to his keeping, together with the castell of Eden-
burgh. Archembald earle of Dowglas remained in
his countries of Dowglas & Annardale, and would
neither obeye gouernor nor chancellor, whereby great
trouble was raised within the realme. Within a
short time also, the gouernor and chancellor were di-
uided. The gouernor with the quene remained at
Striueling, but the chancellor had the king still with
him in the castell of Edinburgh; and what the one
commanded to be done, the other forbade; whereby
neither of them was obeyed, nor anie execution of
iustice put in practise, so that through all the countrie,
reiffe, spoiles, and oppression were exercised with-
out feare of punishment. The quene perceiving
such mischiefe to reigne throughout all parts of the
realme, deuised a meane to aduance the gouernors
side, and hereupon with a small companie repa-
ired to Edinburgh, where she to bring her purpose to
passe, did so much by great dissimulation, that she
persuaded the chancellor to suffer her to enter the cas-
tell, and to remaine with the king; but within three
daies after, she feigned one morning to go on pil-
grimage vnto the White kirke, and caused the king
her sonne to be handsomlie couched in a trunke, as
if he had bene some fardell of his apparell, and so
packed up, sent him by one of his trustie seruants
laid vpon a sumpter horse vnto Leth, from whence

he was conueied by bote vnto Striueling, where, of
the gouernor he was iustillie receiued, commen-
ding the quene highlie for his politike working, in
deceiuing so wise a man as the chancellor was. Then
raised he a great power of his friends and well-wil-
lers, and besieged the chancellor in the castell of E-
denburgh.

The bishop perceiving in what danger he stood
through the womans deceit, sent to the earle of
Dowglas, desiring his assistance against the quene
and gouernor. But the earle refusing either to helpe
the one or the other, alledging that they were both
ouer ambitious in seeking to haue the whole gouern-
ment of the realme in their hands. The chancellor
then perceiving himselfe destitute of all helpe, made
agreement with the gouernor, vnder certeine condi-
tions, that he should retaine still the castell of Eden-
burgh vnder his possession, and likewise continue
still in his office of chancellor. Shortly after the earle
of Dowglas deceased at Lethelricke, in the yeare
1439, against whom aswell the gouernor as chan-
celloz had conceived great hatred. He left behind
him a sonne (begot of the earle of Crawford's daugh-
ter) named William, a child of fourteene yeares of
age, who succeeded his father in the earldome of
Dowglas, appearing at the first to be well inclined
of nature, but afterwards by euill companie he
waxed wild and insolent.

About this season, James Stewart sonne to the
lord of Loche, married the quene Dowager, and fa-
uored the earle Dowglas in his vnrulie dema-
nor: whereupon, both the said James and his bro-
ther William, with the quene, were committed to
prison in the castell of Striueling by the gouernors
appointment; but shortly after they were released
by the sute of the lord chancellor, sir William Cre-
ighton, and Alexander Seton of Curdon, who be-
came suerties for their good abearing, vnder great
forfeiture of sufficient band. About the same time,
or rather somewhat before, Alane Stewart lord of
Dernlie was slaine at Palmis thorne, by sir Tho-
mas Boid. And in the yeare following, the same sir
Thomas was slaine by Alexander Stewart of
Bolanet and his sonnes; where through there rose
great troubles in the west part of Scotland. Wil-
liam earle of Dowglas sent Malcolme Fleming
of Cunnernald, and Alane of Lowder, vnto Charles
the seventh, king of France, to obtaine of him the
duchie of Lotzaine, which was giuen to Archem-
bald Dowglas at the battell of Veruill in Perth;
and the last earle, father to this earle William, had
inioied the same all his life time, whereupon that
sute was the sooner obtained: which made the yong
earle more insolent than before.

He kept such a post, and vsed to haue such a traine
attending vpon him, speciallie when he came to the
court, that it should seeme he had the king in small
regard; for he thought himselfe safe enough in main-
teining the like state and post, or rather greater than
euer his father at anie time had maintained before
him: insomuch as he would ride with two thousand
horse, of the which number there were diuerse errant
thieves and robbers, that were borne out in their
vnlawfull and wicked practises by the same earle.
Certeine captiues of the Isles, as Lachlane, Maki-
laine, and Murdac Bishop, with a wicked number
of the inhabitants of the same Isles, haried, spoiled,
and burnt the countrie of Lenox, and slue John Col-
quhoun lord of Lute vnder assurance. They also
slue women and children, without respect of age or
sex. In this yeare chanced a great dearth in Scot-
land, the like was neuer heard of before, and such a
death by pestilence, that few escaped that were ta-
ken therewith, and so the realme was plagued with
reiffe,

The king
conueied vnto
Striueling.

An agreement
made.

The earle of
Dowglas
departed this
life at Leth-
ricke.

1439.

The quene
imprisoned.

Alane Ste-
ward is slain.

The great
post of the erle
of Dowglas.

Lenox is har-
ried.
John Colqu-
houn, lord of
Lute, slain.

A dearth.

Pestilence.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 11.

The king
sent with
the chancellor
to Eden-
burgh.

The gouernor
and chancel-
lor are made
friends.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 8.
pag. 294.
Buchan. lib. 11.

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reife oppression, dearth, and death of people. This year alio the gouernor: took the whole administration upon him, where with the chancelor: was displeased, and leaving the king and him in Strirling, repaired to Cdenburgh, where he desired the way how to recover the king from the gouernor: and so on a morning took foure and twentie men with him and rode to the park of Strirling where the king was then hunting. The gouernor: absent at Perth.

At that time the chancelor: with great courtlesie drawing towards the king, did salute him, being in some feare to be such companion unto him, being so few in his traine. Which when the chancelor: perceived, he prayed the king to be of good comfort, and in few words (fit for that time) exhorted him that he should take to himselfe and the kingdom, and deliver himselfe from the imprisonment of Alexander the gouernor: living free from henceforth after a single manner; that he should not accustom himselfe to obey the pleasure and countenances of others, that he should use to command his subjects in all iust and lawfull causes; and that he should deliver his people from these evils which increased upon them, by the ambition and countenances of the rulers, which he could not now well remedie or resist, except the king would take on him the gouernement, the which to do, he had without all danger or trouble provided a meane. For he had in a readinesse sufficient number therefore, which should attend upon the king where so ever he would go, or to be anie other matter as need should require. Which the king taking with a pleasant countenance, either because the matter liked him well, or to dissemble the feare he had of the chancelor: did fullie approve, and went with his small unarmed companie and the chancelor: toward Cdenburgh.)

The chancelor: (as Hector Boetius saith) had caused the number of foure thousand householders of his servants, tenants, and friends, secretly to be readie that morning about the towne of Strirling, to resist his aduersaries, if they should haue used anie force against him: and now vnderstanding of the kings going thus with the chancelor:, they came to him on the way, and attending him, brought him safely and without further trouble into Cdenburgh, where he was iustlicie receiued. The gouernor: when he was aduertised hereof, was grievously displeased; but because he knew not how to remedie the matter, he went to Cdenburgh, and there got John Junes bishop of Murray, and Henrie Lichon bishop of Aberdene, to labor some agreement betwixt him and the chancelor: which they did in this wise: the king to remaine in the keeping of the chancelor:, and the gouernor: to continue his office. And so by this accord they were made friends.

During which turmoiles, William Dologlas (that with a certaine pride of mind had highlie borne himselfe, disobeying the rule of the gouernor:, & disdaining to ioyne in societie of the chancelor:) did vnto the dedlie hatred of them both against him; for which cause they seke by all means utterlie to take him awaie. For the doing whereof (to the end it might be performed without anie tumult) they appoint a parliament to be holden at Cdenburgh; whither came not a few (as at other times in such assemblies it alwaies hapneth) but almost the whole countries came flocking thither, to complaine of the iniuries which they had receiued: of which sort, there was such a miserable shew, that men could not behold the same without great motion of a pitifull mind: when euerie one for himselfe, the father for the children, the children for the fathers, and the widows for their husbands, did complaine that they were by the robbers spoiled of all their substance. Whereupon (as

it happeneth alwaies through pittie of gentle hearts, to see the afflicted) there arose great enuie against the captiues and leaders of the wicked doers of such sorte, whose evils were now growne to such excess, as by no means they might be suffered: whole factions were so largelie spread ouer the realme, that none could defend their life or husband: but such as did yield themselves to their actions, and whose riches were so increased, as the weak could not well find anie helpe (in the authoritie of the magistrate) against their violence.

Whereupon it liked the wisest sort (since their force seemed not almost able to be broken, or their parts to be secured) to sit to politics and leane strength, not daring openlie to call the earle Dologlas by that name of captiue of them, although they well knew him to be the chiefe author and cause of those people. Therefore the gouernor: and the chancelor: (for a time dissembling the hatred which they harboured against Dologlas) persuaded the whole parliament, that it were more conuenient with faire speeches to pacifie Dologlas, than with shew of suspicious and euill words to stirre him to further heat: especiallie considering that he was of that great wealth and power, that he alone, if he stood against them, might hinder all the decrees of the parliament: but if hee ioyued with the nobilitie, there might be easie remedie found to salve all these present evils. Through which wise and subtil persuasion of Alexander the gouernour, it was decreed amongst them, that there should be honourable letters directed to him in the common & speciall name of all the nobilitie, which should admonish him, that being mindful of the honorable place which he possessed (and of his worthy ancestors, by whom the common-wealth of Scotland had receiued manie singular benefits) hee should repaire to the parliament, which well could not, and willingly would not, either keepe or determine any thing in the same without his presence. In which assemblie, if hee would complaine of anie wrongs or griefes offered unto him, hee should be satisfied so fullie as they might lawfullie.

And if he or anie of his friends or familie had committed anie disordered part, the nobilitie there met would fullie reuint the same, as well for the nobilitie of his, and the worthy memorie of the deeds done by his ancestors; as for that they rather attributed such actions to the iniurie of the times, and the frailtie of his age, and the persuasion of others, than unto him, of whom there was conceived a singular hope of great towaerdnesse, for the advancement of his name and benefit of his countrie. Therefore if he would come and ioyne with them, hee should receiue in gouernement what part, place, and office of the common-wealth pleased him, to the end that as in times past, their countrie had bene manie waies deliuered out of most heauie dangers by the hand of the Dologlasses, so at this present, the same might also by his presence and furtherance, be againe advanced and strengthened from and against those intestine evils wherewithall it now suffered. The young man (by nature and age greedy of glorie) being moued with these flatteries, and the other persuasions of his friends (whereof euerie one was blinded with a certaine hope of good to hapen to himselfe) they now deemed it best (forgetting all former dangers) to thinke upon their priuate commodities, and with that resolution took their iourne to come to the parliament.

The chancelor: when he vnderstood they were on their way, rode south of Cdenburgh manie miles to meet the Dologlas, and courtleslie invited the earle to his castell of Creichton, which laie in his

waite as he should ride, 'at which place he was most honourable entertained by the chancelor. And here, when they had remained two daies, the chancelor (after hee had shewed manie tokens of a friendlie mind vnto him) because he would vtterlie banish from the earle all suspicion of him, that he had anie mislike in the said earle) began familiarlie to perswade him, that (remembering the kings dignitie, and the office of him vponne the lot of inheritance, their countrie lawes, and the consent of the parliament had aduanced to the gouernement and administration of all things) he should in all humilitie acknowledge him for his chiefe lord and king; that he would permit the large patrimonie obtained by the blood of his ancestors to descend to posteritie by lineall inheritance as he himselfe receiued it; that he would clearelie deliuer the name and familie of the Douglasse (no lesse famous for their dutie, than their deede) not onelie from the filthy spot of treason, but also from all note of suspicion thereof; that he would restraîne himselfe and his from offering iniuries to the weake and common people; that he would remoue from him all such as were giuen to robberie and spoile; that he would from henceforth applie himselfe to the defense of iustice, to the end that his former offenses (if there were anie) might rather be attributed to euill counsell of the wicked, than to the naturall disposition of himselfe: for so the repentance of his yong yeeres might be taken for proofe of his innocencie in such euils. With these and such like speeches, declaring the faith of a well-willing mind, he allured the earle to come to Edinburgh with Dauid his brother partaker of all his counsells and actions.

This faire tale of the chancelloz, more than in times past or then besetmed the place which he possessed, with the manie messengers sent to him from Alexander the gouernoz (to meet him on the way) almost euerie houre, draue a déepe suspicion in the heads of the earles companie riding with him to Edenburgh, of some trecherie to be ment towARDS him. Wherevpon the same began to be blundered from one to another of the traine, and came so fast to the friends of Dowglassse, that some of them did boldlie and libralitie admonish him, that he should remaine in that purpose (which once he did) to flate, to returne, and not to go forward with the chancelloz: and at the least (if he would aduenture himselfe) to send home his brother David, to the end that hee might not hazard the whole familie vnder the fortune of one stroke, as his father had before admonished him when he died. Whereat the vnadvised youth of this man, being moued to anger against his friends, did by the voices of some of his men (as it were by one that should make proclamation therfore) pacifie the secret murmurings that were amongst the companie; and answered such of his friends as found fault therewith, that he sufficientlie knew, that it was the common plague of all great families, alwaies to haue such men about them, as being impatient of quiet and ease, respect not the danger and miserie of their patrons, so it maie be commoditie vnto them: who because (they would not be restrained within the bounds of peaceful lawes) are authors of sedition, in which (when all things are in turmoile) they may the better wander abroad to satisfie their euill humor: whose speeches hee regarded not, since hee rather respected and trusted the appoyued wisdom of the chancelloz and the gouernoz, than the slouthfull & rash minds of such seditious persons.

After which (to cut alwaie occasion from the rest to answer) he set spurres to his horse, and hastened his iourneie more than he did before, with his bro-

ther and a few of his other friends, taking his right
courts into the castell, and (as it were by a certaine
destinie) casting himselfe he blong into the snarcs of
his enemies. At such time as he came to the castell,
the governo^r (according to his promise) was readie
there to meet him, to the end the matter might seeme
to be wrought by common consent, and the twaight
of so great enuie might not light vpon the head of
one man. Dologlasse being honorable and friend-
lie by the governo^r receiued into the castell, was for
dinner placed at the kings table. But in the midst
of this sweet meat (sooner sauced being prepared)
there was a bulles head set before him, which in those
daies was a signe of death. Wherewith the yong
man amazed (and greatlie troubled in his mind, in-
wardlie repenting that he followed not the aduise of
his follow^{ers}) was about to rise from the table: but
being apprehended by armed men (appointed to that
function) he was caried into the court next to the cas-
tell, and was there (in reuenge and punishment of
his unbeyelde youth) beheaded, with his brother Da-
uid, and Spalcolme Fleming, who next vnto his bro-
ther) was in greatest credit with him. Whose death
the king now entring into his adolescencie o^r yéars
(as we tearme it) of discretion, is said heauilie with
teares to lament, which the chancello^r (grieving to
see) did greatlie rebuke in the king such untimelie
and inordinate mourning, for the death of his and
the common-wealths enemie, whose life (said he)
would haue taken awaie all peace and tranquillitie
in the realme.)

After the death of the said earle, the state of the realme became moze quiet : for his uncle James Dowglasle baron of Abircroine that succeeded him, being a man of great stature, and verie fat, gaue himselfe to quietnesse, and liued but thye yerres after. The foresaid William had but one syster, that was called the faire maiden of Galloway, and was married to one William Dowglasle, sonne to this earle James before his decesse, that the heritage of shoud not be diuided : because the earldome of Dowglasle was intailed vpon the heires male, and the lands of Wigton, Balwanie, Annardale, and Dymont remained to him as heire generall. This earle William, after the decesse of his father earle James, began to war vnrule, and to follow the vnstoward maners of the other William Dowglasle latelie beheaded (as before ye haue heard) so that by support manie disobedient persons would not obeye the gouernour and chancelor, wher vpon sundrie great slaughters and oppressions were committed.

* Again (by the marriage of this earle William with his rich kinswoman) he did (besides his unrulie behaviour) aduance himselfe in pride, whereof grew secret enuie, and of that rofe open malice: but he counterunging sufficientlie with them, partlie by force, & partlie by subtiltie, maintained his people in those oppessions and robberies, in despite of the proudest: which occasioned the nobilitie to iudge, that the said earle was piniue of their misdemeanoz. Amongest which euill disposed companie, there was one John Gormacke of Atholl, who (when he had infected all the countrie about him with this miserable plague of roberrie) did set vpon William Rutenne (strife of Perth, and had almost killed him) because he had led a thiefe of Atholl to execution. But at the length (true men being alwaies better than thēues) the strife recovered the battell, and killed the capteine Gormacke, with thirtie of his companie, and put the rest to flight into the mounteins.

In the yere 1443, not manie daies after, the castell of Dunbryeton (which is not by strength to be subdued) was twise taken wthin a few daies: for Robert Semplier that was captaine of the inferior castell.

Fr. Thio

Buchanan,
lib. II.

1443.

stell, and Patrike Galbith capteine of the higher castell, did so diuide their gouernement of the said castell (being a thing of great circuit) that euerie one had a pecullar and seuered entrance into his stonie part without offence of the other. But yet these two (as most part of the realme of Scotland then was, and as it alwaies is most commonlie happeneth in the minoritie of the prince, when euerie one will be a king) wanted not their factions, whome they did follow: for Patrike was secretlie thought to fauour Dowglass, for which cause Simplicie, or (as some haue Simplicie) the other capteine perceiuing the part of the castell wherein Patrike ruled to be more negligentlie kept, than due: or the state of the time required, found opportunitie to expell Patrike from thence, and to cause all his furniture to be caried out of the same, conuertyng the said castell to his owne vse. In the end (the next day after) Patrike understanding thereof, and comming with foure vnarmed persons (to fetch awaie his furniture and household stuffe) entered into the castell; and first finding the porter alone, turned him awaie, then taking armes, expelled the others out of the towne next adioining, he shut them also out of the inferior castell, and got possession of the whole castell to himselfe.)

1444.
The king will
rule himselfe.

The king, after he came to the age of fouretene yeres, would not anie longer be vnder the gouernement of others, but took the rule vpon himselfe. The earle of Dowglass informed thereof, came to him at Striueling, and put himselfe and all he had to remaine at his pleasure: whereupon the king receiued him, pardoned all his passed misdemeanors, and admitted him to be one of his speciall friends and priuie counsellors in all his affaires. By his perswasion shortly after, sir Alexander Leuingson, & William Creichton being discharged of their offices, were also put off from the councill, and all their friends banished the court, and they themselues were summoned to appeere before the king: which because they refused to do, they were proclaimed rebels, and put to the horne. The earle Dowglass then for the old grudge he bare them, raised an armie, and harried their lands. In reuenge whereof, sir William Creichton spoiled the earle of Dowglass his lands, so that great trouble was raised through the whole countrie, and the lands of Strabroke, Abircorne, & the towne of Blacknes were burnt and destroyed.

1445. Lefle.

The earle of Dowglass ruled wholie about the king, & made Archibald his brother earle of Murray, by ioining him in marriage with a ladie of the house of Dunbar inheretrix thereof. Porouer, Hugh Dowglass was made earle of Dymont. Thus the earle of Dowglass aduanced his name, and ioined in friendship with the earle of Crawford, with Donald earle of the Isles, and with the earle of Ross, to the end that ech of them should be assistant to others. In this meane time, the earle of Crawford at the request of the earle of Dowglas, took a great preie of goods out of the bishop of Andrews lands in Fife, which bishop was called James Benedie, sisters son to king James the first: where through the earle of Crawford on the one part, and the earle of Huntley with the Ogilues on the other, met at Arbuth in set battell, where the earle of Crawford was slaine, and diuerse barons on his side, although the victorie and field remained with his sonne, the maister of Crawford, who succeeded his father, and was called earle Beirdie. On the earle of Huntleys side were slaine, John Forbes of Petledge, Alexander Berkleie of Gartulie, Robert Hartwell of Teline, William Curdoun of Burrowfield, sir John Oliphant of Aberdacie, and five hundred more on their side, and one hundred of the victors were also slaine, as Hector

Boetius sayth.

The same writer reporteth that the occasion of this battell did chance, through the variance that fell out betwixt the earle of Crawford eldest sonne Alexander Lindie, and Alexander Ogilvie or Ogilvie (as some write him) about the office of the bailiffewike of Arbuth, the which the maister of Crawford intreating, was displaced and put out by the said Ogilvie. Whereupon the maister of Crawford, to recouer his right (as he took it) got a power together with helpe of the Hamiltons, and with the same seized vpon the abbrie, and Ogilvie with helpe of the earle of Huntley, came thither with an armie to recouer the place againe out of his aduersaries hands, and so vpon knowledge hereof giuen vnto the earle of Crawford, he himselfe comming from Dundee vnto Arbuth, at the verie instant when the battels were ready to ioin, caused first his sonne to staie; and after calling forth sir Alexander Ogilvie to talke with him, in purpose to haue made peace betwixt him and his sonne, was thrust into the mouth with a speare, by a common souldier that knew nothing what his demand ment, so that he fell downe therewith, and presentlie died in the place: whereupon together the parties went incontinentlie without more protracting of time, and so fought with such successe, as before ye haue heard. The earle of Huntley escaped by flight: but Alexander Ogilvie being taken and sore wounded, was led to the castell of Fineluir, where shortly after he died of his hurts. This battell was fought the 24 of Januarie, in the yere of our Lord

1445.

The king thus ruled by the trope of the Dowglasses, the earle Dowglass sent to sir William Creichton knight, to deliuer by the castell of Edinburgh. But Creichton (saying that the castell was committed to his gouernement by the whole realme, and that the king had not anie thing to do therewith vntill he came to his full age) had all his goods withy with confiscat to the kings vse, with his castell of Creichton, which the kings people entered into and possessed. But least they should seeme to offer anie manifest wrong to the said Creichton, they gaue out the same edict (as a velle of their malice and enmie) which Creichton had before caused to be established and proclaimed. For he first of all others made a law, that whosoever did denie or resist the king, demanding the deliuerie of anie castell, should be in danger of treason; the breach and execution of which law did first come and fall by and vpon him, by whome that might be worthilie said (which is vsed to be spoken in common prouerbe) He is fallen into the snare which he prepared for others. Whereupon the Dowglass (since the castell would not otherwise be deliuered) sharply besieged the same by the space of nine moneths, which in the end Creichton surrendered into his hands, on certeine conditions to be performed. At which time also the said Creichton was reinued with the honor of the chancellorschip, although he neuer after intangled himselfe with affaires of the kingdome, hoping that in time to come (when the darke clouds of the wicked men, which had now ouerspread all things, were ouerblown) a better forme of gouernement would be brought in, as a certeine light to giue shine to the common-wealth.

James Stewart a worthie knight (not he that was surnamed The blacke) was slaine at Birkhepartrie, two miles from Dunbretton, by Alexander Lindie, and Robert Boid, whose crueltie not being satisfied with his blood, they laboured to bring his wife (great with child, & vpon point of deliuerance) withy in their danger. For the performance whereof, they sent a priest vnto hir, that (in haste and as it were troubled) should tell hir in what distress she now re-

Fr. Thin.

1445. I. Ma.
1446. Lefle.
Buchanan.
lib. 11.
Lefleus lib. 8.
pag. 279.

1446. Lefle.

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447.

sted, and that there was no means to relieue himselfe by anie waie (since euery place was beset with horse and footmen) vnlesse the escaped by boote to Robert Bold at Dunbretton, who further vpon oth promised him, that he would safelie bring him backe to his owne house.

The woman being credulous (and ignorant that Robert Bold was present at the death of his husband) and caried out of Cardusie into the Dunbretton castell, might easilie perceiue his selfe hardlie beset on euery side by the deceipt of his traitors, who (being so deceiued and overcome with feare & grieffe) was deliuered of child before his time, and (together with his sonne) died there within few houres after. Almoſt at the same time, Patrike Hepburne (gouernour of Valis) held the castell of Dunbar, where he had Jane Seimer the quene with him, to whom she fled for succour in the times of these tumults. Archibald Dunbar (supposing this to be a iust cause of anger) in the night did set vpon Valis the castell of Hepburne, which he took at the first assault, by beating of the watch, who being stroken with a great feare for the same, did (in few daies after) restore the same to earle Dowglaſſe, with covenant that all they which were within, should depart in safetie without anie danger.

Sir James Steward furnished the Blache knight, husband to the quene the kings mother, was banished the realme for speaking words against the misgouernement of the king and realme, wherewith he offended the earle of Dowglaſſe. As he passed the seas towards Flanders, he was taken by the Flemings, & shortly after departed this life. The quene his wife being aduertised of his death, died also within a while after, and was buried in the Charterhouse of Perth the fiftieth of Iulie, in the yere 1446. His name was Jane Summerſet, daughter to the earle of Summerſet. James the first married her (as before ye may read) in England. She had by him eight children, ten sonnes, and six daughters, which were all honorable married: the first named Margaret, to the Dolphin of France: the second Cleane, to the duke of Britaine: the third, to the lord of Tuerer in Zeeland: the fourth, to the duke of Austria: the fifth, to the earle of Huntley: and the sixth, to the earle of Spoyton. And by James Steward his second husband, she had three sonnes: John earle of Atholl, James earle of Buchanane, and Andrew bishop of Murray.

After the death of the quene, Hepburne deliuered the castell of Dunbar (to the king) being empty, and without companie. In August, Alexander earle of Crawford did put to death at Loathene John Levingston, an ingratefull person to him, since by his fathers helpe he had bene advanced to great riches, and to the kings affinitie and kinred. Some after, sir William Creighton, with the bishop of Dunkeld, and Nicholas Oterburne a canon of Glasco, were sent in ambassage vnto the duke of Gelderland, for his daughter called Marie, to be joined in marriage with king James. Their sute was obtained, and the ladie sent into Scotland noble accompanied with diuerſe lords both spirituall and temporall. At his arrivall she was receiued by the king with great triumph, and the marriage solemnized by the assistance of all the nobles of Scotland, with great banquetting, ioyfull mirth, and all pleasant intertainment of those strangers that might be.

In the yere 1447, there was a parlement holden at Edenburgh, in the which sir Alexander Levingston of Balenar late gouernour, James Dundas and Robert Dundas knights, at the porsute of the earle of Dowglaſſe were forſalted and condemned to perpetuall prison in Dunbretton, and James Levingston his eldest sonne, Robert Levingston trea-

ſure, and David Levingston knights, lost their heads: James before his execution made a terrible declaration to the standers by, declaring the instabilitie of fortune, and change of court, exhorting all persons to beware thereof, with cruell example of high estate, and wicked malice neuer suffered good men to gouerne long. In the same parlement, sir William Creighton was also forſalted for diuerſe causes, but principally for that his seruants would not deliuer the house of Creighton to the kings heralds, who charged them so to do. This forſalture was concluded in parlement by vertue of an act which the said William (when he was chancellor) caused to be made, and so being the first inuenter, was also the first against whom it was practised.

The yere next ensuing were sundrie incursions made betwixt Scots and Englishmen on the borders, Dunfrets was burnt, and likewise Antwerp in England: but shortly after a truce was concluded for seven yeres, great offers of friendship made by the Englishmen for to haue the wars cease on that side, because the warre betwixt them and France was herie hotlie pursued, and ciuill dissention disquieted the state of England, which was raised betwixt the two houses of Lancaster & Yorke. This yere there were manie meetings or parlements of the nobilitie, in which were lawes established for byiding the wicked facts of such as applied themselves to spoiling of other men; wherupon a long peace followed in Scotland: beside which, there were other lawes made for auoiding of treasons, and chieflie of such as touched the kinglie maiestie. This lawe of treason was afterward executed first vpon Dowglaſſe, which was author thereof. In this parlement were manie earles and lords created, thereof the chiefe were Alexander Seton baron of Gordon, who was made earle of Huntley, and George Leslie baron was made earle of Rothſaie, both men singularlie famed for their wisdom and valure.

The English borderers of the west marches fetched a great botie of cattell out of Scotland, notwithstanding the truce, in reuenge wherof the Scots invading England, wasted the countrie, burnt townes and villages, slue the people, & with a great preie of prisoners, goods, and cattell, returned home into Scotland. Herewith followed daile rodes and forraies made on both sides betwixt the Scots and Englishmen; and that with such rage and crueltie, that a great part of Cumberland was in manner laied waſt: for on that side the Scots chieflie made their inuasions; because that from thence the first occasion of all this mischief might seeme to haue had the beginning. When such things were certified to the king of Englands counsell, an armie was appointed forthwith to invade Scotland, vnder the leading of the earle of Northumberland, and of one Wagnus surnamed Redberd, a capteine of great experience, as he that had bene trained vp from his youth in the warres of France. The Scots, because of his long red berd, called him in scoone and derision, Wagnus with the red mane.

The Scots hearing of the approach of this armie towards their borders, leuied a power: George, or rather Hugh Dowglaſſe earle of Dumont by the kings commission, hauing the conduction thereof, who vnderſtanding that the enimies would enter into Annardale, he went thither with the said armie to resist their attempts. The Englishmen passing over the riuier of Sulweie and Annand, came to another riuier called Sarc, & there pitched downe their tents. And on the next day they began to rob and spoile the countrie on each side: but aduertised that the Scots were at hand with an armie, they that were thus gone forth, were with all speed called backe to the campe

James Levingston made an oration.

William Creighton condemned.

Incursions made. 1448.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 8. pag. 300.

1446.

Englishmen fetch boties out of Scotland. 1450.

The Scots invade England.

A knight named Wagnus

The earle of Dumont general of the Scottish armie

The English armie invaded Scotland.

Sir John Dennington.

Wallace of Craggie.

The earle of Dumont exhorteth his armie.

The battell is begun.

Wagnus is slaine.

The English men put to flight.

The number slaine.

Prisoners taken.

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camp by sound of trumpet, and forthwith their armie was brought into order of battell. Magnus with the red mantel was appointed to lead the right wing, and sir John Penneinton a verie skilfull warriour gouerned the left wing, in the which the Welshmen were placed. The battell on middle ward the earle of Northumberland and himselfe ruled.

The earle of Dymont on the other side ordered his battels in this wise. He appointed a verie balliant knight called Wallace of Craggie, with an hundred number of souldiers to encounter with Magnus. And against the Welshmen he placed the lord Harwell, and lord Robertson, with a chosen companie of lustie Scottishmen, and commanding himselfe in the battell on middle ward, had scarce set his people in array, when the trumpets in the English armie began to sound to the battell. He therefore exhorting his men to be balliantlie, put them in remembrance that they had put on armor, being thereto provoked by iniurie which their enemies had first offered them, whereupon they might conceiue good hope of victorie by the fauour of the righteous God, who giueth the upper hand for the most part to that side that hath iust cause to make warre. He willed them then to put all feare out of their hearts; and as they had force enough to vanquish their enemies that came thus to brag and threaten them with vltir destruction: so he brought them to the no lesse manlike stomache to deliuer their countrey by hardie fight from iniurie of the same enemies.

He had no sooner made an end of his speech, but that the arrowes came so thicke from the English archers, that the Scots began to looke about them, as it were to see which waie they might best escape by flight. But Wallace perceiuing their faintnesse of courage, with loud voice reppoured their cowardise, and with most pittie wordes exhorted them to remember their duties, and to follow the example of him their leader, whome they should pergeiue to haue follied to spend his life in defense of his countrey. The Scots herewith seemed to be so incouraged, that they rushed forward with great egerneesse upon the right wing of the Englishmen where Magnus stood, and so laied about them with speares, axes, and such like hand weapons, that with great slaughter they brake the Englishmen to breake in aie and to flee: Magnus herewith being more chafed than a frate, as should appere, pressed forward upon Wallace with great violence, and seeking to approach unto him that he might haue woken his griefe upon him, was inclosed among the Scottish troopes, and slaine with a few other of his friends and seruants that followed him.

The slaughter of this man, in whome consisted the small hope of victorie on the English part, put the residue of their armie in such feare, that they were not able longer to resist the Scottishmen, violent impression, but turning their backs fled amaine, whom the Scots pursued in chase verie fiercely, so that manie of the Englishmen died in the battell, but more now in the chase: for the tide being come in, staid manie of them that made their route to haue escaped thorough the river, whereby diuers that ventured into the water were drowned: & other that durst not take the water, were oppressed by the Scots that followed them. There died in this battell of Englishmen, to the number nere hand of three thousand, and amongst other, Magnus (as before ye haue heard) with eleven other knights of no small account and estimation. Of Scots were left living about six hundred. There were taken prisoners of Englishmen sir John Penneinton, and sir Robert Robertson knights, and the lord Perrie, sonne to the earle of Northumberland, who holpe his father to goe backe,

whereby he escaped by flight: & beside these, a great number of other were by the Scots taken prisoners, whome the sword and water had spared.

The earle of Dymont hauing got this honorable victorie, conuied the chiefest of the prisoners to the castle of Lochmaben, and after repaired to the court, where he was of the king iustallie receiued, honorable feasted, and highly rewarded. After this, the Scots that dwelled upon the borders, liued for a season in better quiet: for though the Englishmen wished to haue them reuenged for this losse and ouerthrow of their people, yet by reason of ciuill wars that thurke after followed, they were constrained to forbear to make anie further wars against the Scots. Till better occasion might serue. And for the avoiding of danger that might insue in time of this intestine trouble by foreign enemies, they sued to haue a truce with the Scots, which for the terme of three yeares was granted. In this yeare, William earle of Douglas, with a great companie of nobles and gentlemen, as the lords Hamilton, Craie, Salton, Seton, and Diphant; also, Calder, Argubart, Csmbell, Fraser, and Lander, knights, went into Italie, and was at Rome in time of the Jubile which was kept there that yeare. He left behind him to gouerne his lands in Scotland, a lough earle of Dymont that was his brother: but in his absence (by counsell of such as were about him) the king summoned the erle to appeare before him within 40 daies; & because he came not within that for time, he was put to the horne, & his lands invaded & spoiled.

Whereupon the king sent William Sentclare earle of Orades at that time chancellor first into Galloway, and then into Dotinglasse, where he appointed collectors to take by to the kings use the reuenues of the Dotinglasse. But when Sentclare was not of sufficient strength to performe what he would, because some of the most part creaced, though others embraced him, he returned home without doing anie thing. Wherewith the king greatlie moued, because he saw his authoritie contemned called all the Dotinglasses into law, and declared them publike enemies and detractors of his gouernement. And thereupon (providing an armie against them) he goeth into Galloway: where, at their first coming (since their capteins were all in prison) a small part of the armie (seeing the enemies dispersed into rougher parts of the countrey to hide themselves) turned backe to the king without anie thing done. Whereat the king highly offended (in that such wandering theues should so lightlie dare to contemne his power) followed them into their starting holes and caues, and with no great labor took the castle of Lochmaben, reducing the countrey of Dotinglasse (with extreme labor of his souldiers) to his subiection, at what time he leuelled the castle thereof equall with the ground.)

The earle aduertised hereof, with all speed returned home through England; and sent his brother James unto the king, to know his pleasure: who commanding the earle to see his countries (namelie Annandale) purged of theues and robbers, pardoned him of all offences, and receiued him into fauor againe, so that he was also euenly proclaimed the kings seruicant: but thurke after going into Scotland without the kings licence, to common with the king of England about the recouerie of losses suffered by the Englishmen by certeine inrodes (as he alleged) the king took the matter in verie euill part, for that he should come so to be had in contempt of the earle: and withall he mistrusted also, least there were some secret practises in hand to the prejudice of him and his realme: so that he assumed not a little towards the earle. Who being thereof aduertised, came

The earle of Northumberland escaped by flight.

1448. Buch. 1450. Lett. A truce for three yeares betwene England and Scotland.

The earle of Douglas goeth into Italie.

Fr. Thin.

Buchan;

The earle of Dotinglasse goeth into England without licence of the king of Scots.

The earle of
Dowglas
sueth for par-
don.

came in humble wise to the king, & besought him of pardon, if he had in anie wise offended him, assuring him that from thenceforth, he would neuer commit anie act that might tend to his maiesties displeasure.

The ennemith
those that
bare rule a-
bout the king.

The seeketh to
destroie the
L. chancellor.

The Dow-
glas con-
strained to
flee out of E-
denburgh.
He maketh a
part.

The earle of
Dowglas
presumeth of
assistance at
the hands of
his friends.
The Lord
Herres his
lands spoiled

The Lord
Herres han-
ged.

The confede-
rate misbe-
haved.

The king sen-
deth for the
earle of Dow-
glas.

1457.

Herewith the quene also and other noble men made sute to the king for the earles pardon, so that in the end he was receiued againe into fauor, but yet discharged of bearing anie publike office, which pinched him so sore (namelie for that his aduersaries William Chrichton lord chancellor, and the earle of Dkneie seemed to beare all the rule about the king) that he sought to dispatch the chancellor, procuring certeine of his seruants and friends to assault him on a morning as he was comming forth of Edenburgh, but yet he escaped to his castell of Chrichton, although wounded in dæd right sore, and with in few daies after, gathering a power of his kinsmen, friends, & allies, he returned againe to Edenburgh, and had destroied (as was thought) the earle of Dowglas at that present, if he had not shifted away the more speedlie, who being thus to his great græfe, and no small dishonor chased out of Edenburgh, deuised which way he might best be reuenged; and for the more easie accomplishment of his purpose, he procured the earles of Crawford and Ross to ioine with him in that quarell against Chrichton and other his complices, by force of which confederacie they covenanted to assist one another against the malice of the said Chrichton, and all other their aduersaries.

The earle of Dowglas hauing concluded this bond of confederacie, bare himselfe verie high, in presuming further thereof than stood with reason: and this was one great cause of the kings displeasure now passinglie increased against the said earle. An other cause was this: a sort of thieues and robbers brake into the lands of the lord John Herres, a noble man, and one that had continued euer faithfull to the king, taking with them out of the same lands a great botie of cattell. And whereas the said lord Herres complained vnto the earle of Dowglas of that wrong, because the offenders were inhabiting within his come; and yet could haue no redresse; he attempted to fetch out of Annardale some preie, wherewith to satisfie in part the wrong which had bene offered him by those linniers and robbers. But such was his euill hap, that taken he was with his retinue, and committed to prison, and shortly after by commandement of the earle of Dowglas he was hangod as a felon, notwithstanding that the king by his herald commanded the contrarie.

The king being sore offended herewith (as he had no lesse cause) passed ouer his displeasure with silence, till he saw time and opportunitie to reuenge the same: but in the meane season manie an honest man bought the bargain right deere, being spoiled of that he had, and other wise euill intreated, and yet durst not the meane sort once complaine for feare of further mischief: where the higher powers also lamented the great disorders daillie increasing; and yet were not able in anie wise to reforme the same, inasmuch as it was greatlie doubted, least the earles of Dowglas, Crawford, Ross, Murray, and other of that faction ment to pat the king besid his seat. Which doubt being put into the kings head, brought him into no small perplexitie, wherupon by courteous messages he sent for the earle of Dowglas; willing him to repaire to his presence, sojourning then in Striueling castell, which he refused to do, till he had assurance vnder the kings great seale for his safe comming and going (as some haue said.) And then about Shrouetide in the yeare 1457, he came to the court at Striueling; where the king

toke him aside, & in secret talke moued and requested him to forsake the league and bond of friendship betwixt him and the earle of Crawford, and other such his confederats.

There was a secret murmuring amongst a number, that this earle of Dowglas purposed to make a pzoofe on a day to get the garland beside the kings head. In deed by reason of his kinsmen and allies, he was of more puissance in the realme, than (as it was thought) stood with the suertie of the kings estate, vntill he were the more faithfull. He had at the same time two brethren that were also earles, as Archibald earle of Murray, and Hugh, or (as other haue) George earle of Dornock, beside the earle of Angus, and the earle of Forthune, that were of his surname and blood, with a great number of other lords, knights, and men of great possessions and liuings, all of the same surname, and linched in friendship and alliance with other the chiefest linages of all the realme. Hereto (by reason there had bene so manie vallant men and worthie captaines of the Dowglas one after another, as it had bene by succession) the people and commons of Scotland bare such good will and fauour towards that name, that they were readie to ride and go with them, they cared not whether, nor against whom. It is said, that the earles of Dowglas might haue raised thirtie or forty thousand warlike persons readie at their commandement, whensoever it had pleased them to call. In deed the Dowglas had euer the gouernement of all matters pertaining vnto the defense of the realme, so that the men of war had them still in all the estimation and honor that might be.

But now to the purpose, touching the conference had betwixt king James the second, and the earle of Dowglas: it chanced in the end (vpon what occasion I know not) that the earle answered the king somewhat ouerthwartlie, wherewith the king toke such indignation, that the earle hereupon was slaine by him, and such other as were there about him, on Shrouetide. Then after the earle was thus made a waite, his brethren made open warre against the king, and slue all such of his friends and seruants, as they might incounter with: inasmuch that those which travelled by the high waies, were in doubt to confesse whether they belonged to the king, or to the Dowglas. The Lord of Cadzow being in the towne of Striueling, with a great compaignie of the earle of Dowglas friends, in reuenge of his death incontinentlie burnt that towne, and did manie other great displeasures to the king and his subjects, setting forth proclamations against the king and his counsell, for the violating of the assurance granted (as before is said) to the earle of Dowglas.

And that, with such despite, as in the 6 kalends of Aprill, binding a wooden truncheon to an horse taile, they fasteneth to the safe conduct of the king and the nobles; which they forbore not to traile by and downe the streets (not sparing to recule the king) with bitter and heauie words of contumelie and exclamation. With which not satisfied, when they were come into the market place, they did with the noise of five hundred voices, and by the mouth of a crier, proclame the king and all such as were about him, faithbreaker & perjured, and such persons as were to be denoigned enemies of all goodnesse and godmen. And yet supposing this not a sufficient reuenge to quench the furie of their rebellious minds; they run with like rage, and with like order do spoile the countreies & possessions of all such as toke part with the king, and did likewise remained in the execution of their obedient hate. For they besieged the castell of Dalketh, binding themselves (as consiored and persured enemies of all vertue) not to depart from thence,

Earles of the
surname of the
Dowglas.

The lineage
and great al-
liance of the
Dowglas.

The loue that
the people
bare toward
the name of
the Dow-
glas.

The earle of
Dowglas an-
swereth the
king ouer-
thwartlie, and
is slaine.

1442. Buch.
His brethren
make warre
against the
king.

Striueling
is burnt.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. 11.

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thence before they had taken and spoiled the same: being grievously offended with John the lord of that place, because that he with the earle of Angus had secured themselves from the opinion & faction of the Dowglasles, whose furie (growing still to extremitie) toward such support (by the inclining multitudes) that the king was put to his shifts that he was determined to have left the realme, and to have fled by sea into France, had not James Benedic the bishop of saint Andrews caused him to staid, on the hope he had of assistance onelie by the earle of Huntley; which earle hearing that the Dowglasles had gathered an armie in the south against the king; raised another armie in the north to aid the king.

On the other side the earle of Crawford having assembled a great power, incouraged thair at Bzell thence, in purpose to stop the earle of Huntleys passage, where betwixt them was fought a fore battell; and the earle of Crawford chased into spinwin, for that many noble men, gentlemen, and commons were slain, and amongest other the earle of Crawford's brother was one: Hector Boecius testeth, that John Colclach of Bannamtown, whome the earle of Crawford had appointed to lead them that bare the battell axes, as I made terme them; the bilmen, in the left wing of his armie, fled of purpose in the hottest of the fight, so left the middle ward naked on the one side of the chiefest aid that the said earle had, and so the victorie by that meane onelie inclined to the kings standard, which the earle of Huntley had there with him. But howsoever it was, the said earle of Huntley had the honor of the field, who never the less lost diuerse of his men also, though nothing so many as his aduersaries did. This battell was fought the eighteenth of Maie, being the Ascension day, 1452.

The earle of Huntley the same day before the battell ioined, gave lands to the principall men of those surnames that were with him, as to the Foybesses, Jellies, Jounings, Ogilvies, Grants, and diuerse other. Which bountyfullnesse of the earle made them to fight more valiantlie. In recompense whereof the king gave to the said earle the lands of Badzenot & Lochquhaber. In the meane time, Archembald Dowglas earle of Murray burnt the peill of Straboggie, pertaining to the earle of Huntley, and harried the lands thereabouts. In revenge whereof, the earle of Huntley at his returning backe, burnt & harried all the lands of the earldome of Murray. In the meane time, at a parlement holden at Edinburgh, the earle of Crawford was denounced a traitor, and all his lands and goods deemed to be forfeited into the kings hands. James earle of Dowglas, James Lord Hamilton, the earles of Murray, and Ormont, the lord of Baluay, and manye other of that faction, were by publike proclamation made by an herald, commanded to appeare by a day to vnderlie the law. But in the next night that folloved the day of this proclamation, certeine of the Dowglasles servants that were sent priuie to Edinburgh, to vnderstand what was done there, fastened writings vpon the church doores, sealed with the Dowglasles seale in this forme. The earle of henceforth will neither obeie citation, nor other commandement. Beside this, in the same writings, they charged the king with manye heinous crimes, calling him a murderer, perjured, false, and a bloodsucker.

The king therefore assembled an armie, and went forth against them: but because the time of the yere was contrarie to his purpose, he could do no great hurt to his enemies, although he burnt vp their corne, and brake awaie their cattell. But the Dowglas seemed to passe little for the kings malice, and the earle himselfe married his brothers wife the countesse

Beatrice, & sent to Rome for a licence to haue that marriage made lawfull: but by the kings agents in that court, the earles suite might not be obtained. Wherefore he kept his still in place of his wife, and continuing in rebellion against the king, till next spring, and for the most part of the teares of two yeres next ensuing, he harried and spoiled the kings possessions; and the king on the other part fortified Arbroath; and all other the lands and possessions that belonged to the said earle of Dowglas or his friends: but shortly after, as the king passed through Angus, to go into the north parts of the realme, the earle of Crawford came and submitted himselfe vnto him, craving mercie in most humble and lamentable wise, and obtained the kings pardon thorough mediation of James Benedic bishop of saint Andrews, and sir William Creighton; but the said earle liued not past six moneths after, departing this life by force of an hot ague in the yere 1454.

The same yere, the king called a parlement at Edinburgh, in the which James earle of Dowglas, and his brothers wife the countesse Beatrice (whome he had taken to him by waite of a pretended & feigned marriage) Archembald Dowglas earle of Murray, George Dowglas earle of Ormont, and John Dowglas baron of Baluay, were forfeited & condemned of treason. The earle dome of Murray was given to sir James Creighton, or rather restored to him from whome it had bene wrongfullie taken by the vniuersall sentence of William earle of Dowglas, who had procured it to be assigned vnto his brother the forsaide Archembald, though the right remained in the said sir James Creighton. But yet when the said sir James Creighton could not keepe that earldome without enuie of diuerse and sundrie persons, he handled the matter so, that shortly after it returned againe to the kings hands. Whereafter at this parliament, George Creighton was created erle of Cathness, & William Haye constable of Scotland was made earle of Erroll. There were also diuerse created lords of the parlement, whose titles were as folow: Warrie, Halls, Wold, Lile, and Lene. After the breaking vp of the parlement, the king made a iourne against his aduersaries into Galloway, and with small adu brought all the castles of that countrie into his possession, and then turning into Dowglasdale, because the inhabitants thereof would not obeie him, he abandoned the spoile thereof vnto his souldiours, who practised no small crueltie against the inhabitants.

Whereupon the Dowglasles being driuen to their shifts, the lord James Hamilton of Cadzow was sent from thence into England to sue for aid, but in vain, for none there would be granted: whereupon returning to his friends, he counselled the earle of Dowglas to trust to his owne forces; and sith the same were farre superiour in number of men to the kings power, he gaue likewise counsell without delay, to set vpon the king, that the matter might be tried by chance of battell, the onelie meane to assure them of their liues and estates, for otherwise he saw not how any vnfeined agreement might be concluded, the matter being now passed so farre forth to an extremitie. But the earle of Dowglas utterlie (as some write) refused to fight against his soueraigne and true liege lord, if any other meane might be found. Whereupon diuerse great lords which were with him there on his side, being men of great wit, and no lesse experience, aduised him yet to keepe together his host, till by their trauell and assistance a peace were concluded, and pardon obtained for all parts: for if the armie were once broken vp, all hope was then past (as they alledged) for any indifferent conditions

The earle of Dowglas married his brothers wife Beatrice.

The earle of Crawford submitted himselfe to the king, and is pardoned. He departed this life. 1455. Buch.

1454. A parliament.

The Dowglasles forfeited, or as I may say) attainted.

Creations of noble men.

Dowglasdale given in spoile to the men of warre.

The counsell of the lord Hamilton.

10. Maior.

The lord
Hamilton
departeth
from the
Dowglas.

conditions of peace to be obtained.

Herewith also, the lord Hamilton being tiffer than the residue, had the Dowglas farewell, and so departed, concluding that he should neuer see so faire a day againe, wherein he might haue cast the dice for the whole kingdome. And being thus departed from the Dowglas, he repaired to the king as then lieng at the siege of Abircoyne, who sent him to the castell of Kollerne, there to remaine vnder safe keeping with the earle of Orkney, to whom the said castell belonged: but at length, the king did not onlie pardon the lord Hamilton of all passed offenses, but also receiued him into such fauor, that he gaue him his eldest daughter in marriage, as after shall appeare. But now vpon the withdrawing thus

The earle of
Dowglas his
companie
shrinketh
from him.

He withdraw-
eth into Eng-
land.

of the said lord Hamilton from the Dowglas, because the king had set forth an open proclamation of pardon to all those that would forsake the earle of Dowglas, the most part of the same earles companie departed from him, by reason whereof he fled into England, together with his brethren. The king lieng at the siege of Abircoyne, lost diuerse of his men, besides manie that were wounded; but yet taking first a strong tower, being one of the chiefest limmes of that fortreffe, shortly after hee wan the rest.

He innuadeth
Scotland.

The earle of
Dowglas dis-
comfited.
Archibald
Dowglas
earle of Mur-
rey slain.
Earle of Or-
mont taken.
Donald earle
of Ross.

The earle of Dowglas being withdrawne (as we haue heard) into England, within a while after got together certaine companies of men, and with the same returned againe into Scotland by the west borders, in hope to find friends in those parties: but such as the king had appointed there to defend the countrie, assembling themselves together, and setting vpon him, discomfited his people, slue his brother Archibald, and toke the erle of Ormont prisoner, being first sore wounded. The baron of Baluay escaped into a wood, and so got away. The earle himselfe also (as Hector Boetius saith) escaped by flight, and got vnto Dunstaffage, where finding Donald earle of Ross and lord of the Isles, he procured him (being of nature inclined and readie inough to follow such counsel) to make warre in his fauour against the king. And after he had once set him on worke, he got him backe againe into England. Donald wasted not onelie the kings possessions that lay nere to Dunstaffage, but also passing through Argyle, did much hurt in all places where he came. He innuaded also the Ile of Arrane, and chased the bishop of Elismore, confreining him to take sanctuary. This done, he entered into Lochgubair, & so into Murray land, where he burnt the towne of Inuerkes, and wan the castell by a guilefull traine.

The earle of
Ormont be-
headed.

The countes
of Dowglas
Beatrice sub-
mitteth hir
felte to the k.
The countes
of Ross.

In the meane time, the earle of Ormont after he was recovered of his hurts (as the said Boetius writeth) was presented to the king, and after he had remained in prison a certaine time, he was at length beheaded. Moreover the countesse Beatrice, after she saw no hope left that the earle of Dowglas should recouer his former estate, came to the king, and submitted herselfe, laing all the blame in the earle, who had procured hir vnto such vnlawfull marriage with him, being hir former husbands brother. The king receiued hir right courteously, and gaue to hir the baronie of Baluay, to mainteine therewith hir estate. Shortly after also the countesse of Ross fled from hir husband, & came to the king for feare of hir husbands crueltie, wherof partie she had already tasted. The king because he had made the marriage betwixt hir and hir husband, assigned hir forth sufficient reuenues also for the maintenance of hir estate. About the same time Patrike Thornton one of the kings seruants, but a fauourer of the Dowglas, slue John Sandlands of Calder the kings counsellor, and Alane Stewart at Dunbryton, for that

Patrike
Thornton.

they fauored the contrarie faction: but the king getting the offenders into his hands, caused him and his complices to die for their wicked offense committed. The vniuersitie of Glasgowe was founded about this time by one Turnbull, bishop of that see. In the yeere following, died William Haie earle of Erroll, and constable of Scotland: also George Creighton earle of Catnes, and William Creighton chiefe of that familie.

The vniuersi-
tie of Glasgowe
founded.
1455.
Death of no-
ble men.

In this meane while, the earle of Dowglas remaining in England, procured the Englishmen diuers times to make rodes into Scotland, wherby he lost (as the Scottish writers asseme) the loue of his owne countreimen, when they saw him thus ioint with the Englishmen, to the damage of his native land. At one time, Henrie earle of Northumberland, and the said earle of Dowglas innuaded the Pers, but taking little heed to themselves, and suffering their people to ride abroad to harie the countrie without order: Dowglas earle of Angus with a mightie armie of Scottishmen set vpon them, and put them to flight, slaying diuers, and taking to the number of seuen hundred prisoners. Thus (as should appeare) the earle of Dowglas in vaine sought to disquiet his countrie, for all his friends in Scotland continued faithfull to the king, who had granted peace to all other of the Dowglas and their complices: for it was Gods will the matter should be taken by without more bloodshed, that the right line of the Scottish kings might be preserved. [For as it appeareth] he was amongst the English innuading Scotland, subdued and taken by the barons Johnston and Cockpall, who presented him vnto the king, wherupon the king after a soyt banished him into the monasterie of Lendore, where he was bountifullie and honorablie receiued (according to his nobilitie) of the religious persons, in which place he liued manie yeeres, and then died.]

And though the almightie God might haue brought that to passe by other meanes, according as it should haue pleased his god will and omnipotent power: yet he chose this way, whereby the effusion of much blood might be auoided, which by ciuill battell had bene spilled, if the parties hauing their hearts filled with rancor & ire, had buckled together in battell. But the king vying the aduise of his kinsman James Benedie archbishop of St. Andrews, compassed his purpose in the end, dispatching out of the way such as he anie waies forth mistrusted, of which number namelie were the Dowglas, whose puissance and authoritie not without cause he euermore suspected. Many haue reported (as before is said) that in the beginning king James the second, through feare of the great power of these Dowglas, was in mind to haue fled the realme, but being recomfited by the counsell and authoritie of the said bishop James Benedie, he aduanced his studie to matters of greater importance.

Fr. Thin.
1454.
Lefcus lib. 8.
pag. 305.

James Benedie
archbishop of
St. Andrews,
chauncel-
lor to the
king.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan,
lib. 11.

The said Benedie turned the earle of Angus, being of the surname of the Dowglas, and brother to him by his mother, to take part with the king. He procured also diuers other of the same blood and surname, to renolt from the other confederats, and to submit themselves vpon promise of pardon vnto the kings merrie; and so inflebling the forces of such as were aduersaries to the king, in the end he had them all at his pleasure. It was thought, that so much as the Dowglas had their lands lieng so vpon the west and middle marches of the realme, (that no man might beare anie rule in those parts, but onelie they themselves) if they had happilie ioined with the Englishmen, considering the great intelligence betwixt them, which they had in all other parts of the realme, what by kindred and aliance, the realme might

The practice
of bishop
Benedie.

Great power
cause of suspi-
cion.

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might have fallen into great perill: for trulie it is a dangerous thing (as lo. Maior saith) for the estate of a realme to have men of great power and authoritie inhabiting on the borders and uttermost parts thereof. For if they chance (upon anie occasion given) to renounce their obedience to their naturall prince & supreme gonnor, the prejudice may be great and irrecoverable, that oftentimes thereof insueth; as well appeareth in the earles of March, and other before mentioned in this historie: and likewise in France by the duke of Burgognie, Visitaine, and Normandie: for till those countries were incorporated and annexed unto the crowne of France, the kings of that realme were oftentimes put to great hinderance through rebellion by them, whome they accounted for their subiects.

But now to returne where I left. After the Douglas were once dispatched, and things quieted, King James the second began then to reigne and rule reallie, not doubting the controulment of anie other person. For then he ordeined lawes for his people as seemed best to his liking, commanding the same to be kept under great penalties and forfeitures. And being counselled chieflie by the bishop of saint Andrews, James Benedie that was his uncle, and the earle of Dornie, he passed through all the parts of his realme, granting a generall pardon of all offenses passed. And so he ruled and governed his subiects in great quietnesse, and caused iustice to dwelle to be ministered on all sides, that it was said in his daies, how he caused the raly bush to keepe the colt. In the yere 1455, the king held a parlement, in which were made many good lawes made and established for the weale of all the realme, as in the booke of the acts of parlement is contained. He used the matter also in such wise with the principall captains of the Isles, and of the hie lands, that the same were as quietlie governed, as anie part of the low lands, the giving all obedience as well in paying such duties as they owed to the king for their lands, as also in readinesse to serve in the warres with great companies of men, as became them to do: speciallie Donald lord of the Isles and earle of Ross, who had before joined himselfe in confederacie with the earles of Douglas and Crawford against the king, and had taken into his hands the kings house, and castell of Inverness (as before ye have heard) naming himselfe king of the Isles.

Nevertheless, he was now at length reconciled to the king, and gave pledges for his good demeanour, and afterwards brought to the king three thousand men in aid at the siege of Roxburgh, whose reconciliation was after this manner. When this Donald perceived adverse fortune to besiege him on euerie side, he sent messengers to the king, craving peace and pardon for himselfe and for his offenses. Who comming before the king (and with many humble speeches, remembryng the many parts of clemencie which the king had used to the earle of Crawford, and such as followed his faction) they did so purge the fault of Donald (by transferring the same to the fatal rage and iniurie of the present times, and by promising in his behalfe that hereafter he should live most quietlie in dutifull obedience) that they moved the kings mind to have compassion upon him.

But yet the king answered in a meane sort betwene both, not utterly pardoning, nor flatlie reiecting him: for (saith he) there be yet manye thynges extant of his wickednesse, and he hath not given forth anie one token of a changed mind. Therefore, to the end that we may beleue the same to be true (which you have promised in his behalfe) hereafter to become a dutifull subiect and lo-

ving neighbour to us, and to those which are about him, he must with repentance (proceeding from an unfeigned long) crave pardon from us whome he hath grievously offended, and (with sufficient restitution) recompense those whome (by spoiling) he had injured: besides which also, he must with some worthy exploit wipe away the memoire and blot of all his former committed wickednes. And although I well know that no vertue doth more becomen a kingly maiestie than clemencie, yet we ought so to provide, that (measuring all things by the line of reason) the wicked war not so proud and rebellious (by overmuch lenitie and loose government) as the god may be excited to the honest performance of their dutie by favour and iustice. Therefore I will intioine a time to Donald, and the rest of his associates, wherein they may openlie shew some deeds of an altered disposition, and from henceforth we will so account of him, as his works and not his words shall iustifie him to be. But in the meane time, I will him to rest in quiet, leaving it in the power of him and his, whether he, and they, will hereafter be accounted (by due deserts) happy or miserable. Which said, the messengers departed, and Donald rested satisfied.)

In the meane while great dissention rose in England betwene the two houses of Lancaster & York; the king being principall of the house of Lancaster, was taken himselfe at the battell of saint Albons. But the quene with hir sonne the prince, and Henrie the young duke of Summerset, with divers other fled into the north parts of England, and sent to the king of Scotland to desire him of aid, who upon good advice taken with his counsell, for that king Henrie had ever kept well the peace with the realme of Scotland, and also for reuenge of his uncle the duke of Summerset his death, prepared an armie of twentie thousand men to passe into England: and in the meane time all the north parts of England, hearing that king James was ready to support the quene of England, joined with him, and passed forward into the south parts, constraining the duke of York to flee the realme, and so king Henrie intioined the government of his realme againe, and for that time concluded an agreement with the duke of York his aduersarie, which lasted not long.

The duke of York remembryng how ready king James was to prepare an armie in support of his aduersarie king Henrie, procured the borderers to make incursions upon the Scottish subiects, & would suffer no redresse to be had, nor daies of truce to be kept on the borders, as in time of peace the custome was. Whereupon king James raised a power, and in person entered with the same into England, doing great hurt by destroying divers townes, castels and peiles in Northumberland, the bishoppske and other parts, till at length upon faire promises made by the Englishmen, he returned into his owne country. [At this time, the art of printing was first intioined in the citie of Mentz in Germanie, but whether to great commoditie or discommoditie of learning, I leave to the iudgement of others, saith Lessleus.]

After this, king Henrie of England, perceiuing that the duke of York by the counsell of the earle of Marwick, ceased not to practise conspiracies against him, sent emissaries to king James, requirring him of aid against them, and promised therefore to restore unto the king of Scotland the lands in Northumberland, Cumberland, the bishoppske of Durham, and such like, which the kings of Scotland had held before. This offer was accepted, and by treaties and contracts accorded, sealed, and interchanged betwixt the two princes (as the Scottishmen alledge.) The yere next following, at the quene of Englands desire

The printer's
of Glasgow
printed.
1455.
Death of no-
men.

James of
Scotland.

General
pardon
granted.

r. Thin.
1454.
Lectus lib. 8.
pag. 305.

1455.
Parlement
held.

The Isles &
high land
quietly go-
verned.

Donald earle
of Ross, and
lord of the
Isles.

James Bene-
die archbish.
of s. Andrews,
here chan-
celor to the
king.

r. Thin.
Buchanan,
lib. 11.

The practice
of bishop
Benedie.

Great power
use of suspi-
cion.

Dissention be-
tweene
England.

King James
invaith
England.

Fr. Thin
Lectus lib. 8.
pag. 308.
The art of
printing first
intioined.

1458.

1459.

1461. I. M.
1460. Lefle.

marke belie-
ged and town.

Seven go-
verners cho-
sen.

A blasing
starre.

An herm-
phrodite, that
is, a person
being both
man and wo-
man.

A wicked
theefe that be-
sed to kill
young persons
and to eat
them.

His daughter
saileth to the
like practice.

Donald of the
Fles effronces
rebellith.

His words
going to con-
cution.

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James the
third.

The stout
mach of the
quene.

Donald be-
came mad.

Hector hath
continued
the Scottish
history.

He was killed
1461.
Henrie king
of England
by safe con-
duct cometh
into Scot-
land.

Edinburgh
castell taken
and broken
downe.

at kello, with the uniuersall consent and great re-
joicing of all the noble men, and other being there
present in the armie.

This done, they besieged the castell of Warks;
which likewise they took, and threw downe, and af-
terwards the king with the nobles of his realme
came to Edinburgh, to take order for the quiet go-
uernement of the realme. And because the king was
young, there were chosen seven regents to gouerne
both king & realme, as these, the quene his mother, 10
James Benedie bishop of S. Andrews, that was
sister sonne to James the first, the bishop of Glas-
coto, the earles of Angus, Huntley, Argyle, and
Dhenele. These, so long as James Benedie lived,
agreed well together about the gouernement of the
realme; but within a while after his decesse, they
fell at square, or rather before, as appeareth by Hec-
tor Boetius, who saith, that in the second yere of
this kings reigne, there was discord in betwix be-
twixt the quene and the archbishop Benedie, who
perceiuing that the woman sought to vsurpe wholie
the gouernement vnto hir selfe, withstood hir in that
behalf, in so much that it was doubted least the
matter would haue broken forth into some ciuill
warre, if the bishops of Glasgato, the lord Cra-
ham, Thomas Woid, and the chancelor. About the
same time, one Alane Beir, in hope to get the heri-
tage of his brother, John lord of Lozne took him,
and kept him in prison. But Colen Campbell earle
of Argile, taking great indignation with so pre-
sumptuous a part, gathered a power, and coming
against Beir, took him, and set his brother at liber-
tie, and brought the offender vnto Edinburgh, where
he died in prison. Moreover, shortly after Donald
lord of the Fles and earle of Ross, who had serued
obedientlie in the armie at Forburgh, and was (as
outwardlie appeared) well reconciled, began aneu-
to vse his old manners, spoiling & harrieng the whole
countrie of Atholl, and took the earle thereof, and
the countesse his wife captiues with him into the
Fles.

To repress his insurions attempts, the regents
together were preparing an armie; but therewith
came true aduertisements, that the said lord of the
Fles, and other the principall offenders of his com-
panie, were stricken through the hand of God with
a certene frensie or madnesse, and had lost all their
ships and spoiles in the sea, so that the earle of Atholl
and his ladie were reffored, and those frantike per-
sons were brought vnto saint Wides church in A-
tholl, for the reuerie of their health, but it would
not be. Donald himselfe was afterward slaine in
the castell of Inuerne by an Irishman that was a
minstrell. In the yere 1461, Henrie the first king
of England being vanquished by his aduersarie
Edward the fourth, purchased of king James the
third a safe conduct for himselfe and a thousand horse
to enter into Scotland; and hereupon he came to
Edinburgh, and was lodged in the house of the fri-
ers preachers, with his wife quene Margaret, and
his sonne prince Edward. There was also with
him the duke of Excester, and the duke of Sum-

merfet, with manie other of the English nobilitie.

And to the end this firme amitie thus begun,
might more increase, and be further strengthened;
the two quenes Margaret of England and Marie
(of Scotland) both French (by birth and nature) be-
gan to intreat of a mariage (hoping by amitie to
establissh that perfect amitie) to be solemnized be-
twene the daughter of James the second king of
Scots, and the sonne of Henrie (king of Eng-
land) being called prince of Wales, although none
of them as yet was above seven yeres old. Which
mariage, Philip duke of Burgognie (uncle to the
quene of Scots, and deadlie enimie to the quene
of England) labored by all means to hinder, by his
ambassador Cruthusius, a noble man and of great
iudgement; for this Philip did vse such bitter enimi-
tie against Reinold, grandfather to the son of king
Henrie by the mothers side, that he did depelie en-
uite anie god successe to happen to anie of that race,
whereby it might increase or flourish; and therefore
sought occasion by all deuise to hinder it: for whose
cause, and at whose request, the said mariage was at
that time rather deferred, than utterly broken off.
But the end thereof (which was greatly feared by
this Philip to be the consummation of the mariage)
was by the aduerser fortune of king Henrie utterly
disappointed. For (as after shall appeare) this Hen-
rie being encouraged (by the beneuolence of the
Scots towards him) and throughlie confirmed (by
the letters of his friend sent vnto him) dispatched his
wife into France to Reinold his father, to procure
that aid she could of hir friends beyond the seas, to
helpe to restore him to the kingdome: which tourne
succeeded not to hir in vaine, obtaining succor from
thence.)

The same time, king Henrie deliuered the towne
& castell of Berwik into the Scottish mens hands,
together by couenant thereby to haue the foresaid
safe conduct granted, or of his own voluntarie will,
to the end he might haue the more support and succor
amongest them, it is vncertaine by the variable re-
port of writers. Neuertheless, shortly after a truce
was taken betwixt king James and king Edward,
for the term of fiftene yeres, vpon that condi-
tions or promises made on king Edwards part I
find not. This truce was concluded in the moneth of
Maie, in the yere 1462, at the citie of Pothe,
whither had bin sent the bishop of Glasgato, the earle
of Argile, keeper of the priue seale, the abbat of Ho-
lie rod house, sir Alexander Woid, and sir William
Crawston knights, ambassadors and commissa-
ners for king James.

All things in this season were ordered in Scot-
land by the aduise and counsell of James Benedie
bishop of saint Andrews, a man of great wisdom
and policie, as well appeared in his prudent & sage
gouernement of the realme, as well during the mi-
noritie of this James the third, as also in the daies of
his father king James the second. Pierre de Bre-
zele, otherwise called le Seigneur de la Warrenne,
great seneschall of Normandie, was sent by the
French king Lewes the eleuenth, with two thou-
sand fighting men, to aid the part of king Henrie a-
gainst king Edward. This Brezele was one most
in fauour with king Charles the seventh, father vnto
the said king Lewes, and therefore (as manie did
suppose) he was appointed by k. Lewes (who greatly
loued him not) to be chiefe in this tourneie, to the
end his life might be put in hazard and aduenture;
notwithstanding, after some danger both of tempest
on the sea, and also of the enemies hands, he won
the castles of Hamburg and Dunsburgh, which he
cast to the ground, and after took in hand to keepe
the castell of Antwik, and being besieged therein,
Dd. ij.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.

The quene
went into
France for
aid.

Berwik de-
liuered to the
Scottishmen.

A truce for
15 yeres.

1462.

James Bene-
die the arch-
bishop gouer-
neth the
realme.

Monsieur de
la Warrenne
sent forth of
France to aid
the part of
Margaret
quene of
England.

He kept
Antwik cas-
tell, and is
besieged.

He is relen-
ed by the earle
of Angus.

Alias 13000.

sent for aid to the Scots.

George Dowgall earle of Angus as then war-
den of the marches, immediatlie raised a power of
23000, men, and comming with the same to the bor-
ders; chole fourth of all his numbers five thousand of
the most able horsemen in all his armie, and com-
ming with them to the castell about the middelt of
the day, toke the Frenchmen away with him into
Scotland: the English armie that lay there at siege
beholding the maner, and not once making profer
to fight with him. Some Englishmen there were,
that would faine have fought with the Scots; but
other (whose counsell was followed) were otherwise
minded, alleging that better it were to let them passe
without encounter, sith they left the castell void, than
to leopord upon the doubtfull chance of battell, for
though their number were not great, yet were they
piked and cholen men, able to atchieve a great enter-
prise.

1463.
The queene
mother died.

Adam Hep-
burns fami-
lie with
the queene of
Scots, mo-
ther to James
the third.

Alexander
duke of Alba-
nie taken on
the sea.

1464.
King Henrie
returneth into
England.

King Henrie
is imprisoned.

1466.

After this, the sixteenth of November, in the yeare
1463, the queene of Scots, mother to James the
third, died at Edinburgh, and was buried in the
college of the Trinitie, which she hir selfe had found-
ed. This woman, after the decesse of hir husband
James the second, lived somewhat dissolutelie, pro-
curring Adam Hepburne of Hales a married man to
keepe hir such familiar companie, as founded great
lie to hir dishonour: for that she could not within
the whole realme find some single man amongst all the
nobilitie, with whom she might have married, & in
some sort to have avoided the greater open slander &
infamie. In the same yeare, Alexander duke of Al-
banie, and brother to the king, was taken on the
sea by the Englishmen in the moneth of June, as he
was returning from his grandfather the duke of
Gilder: but the bishop of saint Andrewes James
Benedie, caused both the said duke and also the ship,
with all the goods there in being, at the time of the
taking of it, to be restored; for otherwise (as he flat-
lie protested) he would not keepe the truce any longer
concluded betwixt the two realmes.

The duke of Summerfet, in hope of great fauor
which he should find in England, perswaded king
Henrie to passe thither, and with a great companie
of Scottishmen he entered England; and manie
of the north parts resorted unto him: but at length,
at his comming to Cram, the lord Montacute with
a great power was ready to give him battell, and
there discomfited him and his whole armie. The duke
of Summerfet and the lords Hungerford and Koffe
were taken and put to death; the duke at Cram, and
the lords at Newcastell. King Henrie escaped verie
hardlie into Scotland againe, and there remained a
certain space after, till at length he thought to re-
turne into England in such secret wise, as he should
not have bene once knownen, till he might haue got
amongest his friends, which would haue supported
him: but such diligent watch was laid for him all
alongst the borders, that he was espied, taken, and
delivered to king Edward his aduersarie, who shut
him vp in the tower of London till he was at length
there made away, as in the historie of England ye
may see moze at large.

In the yeare 1466, that famous bishop James
Benedie departed this life, and was buried in the
college of saint Saviour, founded by him within
the towne of saint Andrewes in most sumptuous
wise. This prelat in prudent policie excelled all
other Scottish bishops, of whom anye writer maketh
mention. He kept the realme in good quiet, and ob-
serued the truce concluded with the Englishmen, to
the great weale and commoditie of the poore com-
mons. He was verie rich, as appeared by sundrie
buildings and workes which he left behind him, as

a memorie of his name. [Whereof the three espe-
ciall things for rarenesse and magnificence, were his
college of saint Saviour (wherein youth might be
trained to learning and religion) the other his sepul-
chre, wherein he was buried (being a statelie piece of
work, such as before had not bene accustomed for
bishops of Scotland) & the third was a ship of won-
derfull burden: all which three, the common people
affirmed were of one price, and stood him in like
charge.] Besides his bishopricke, he held in his hands
the commandarie of the abbey of Pettinweme,
which was worth unto him eight hundred crowns
by yeare. [Afterward, at the parlement holden in
October and Januarie, there were manie edicts
made for the benefit of the commonwealth, & espece-
lie for the estate of the merchants; at what time also
there was a proclamation made, that none of the
Englishmen should beare any office, nor receive any
benefice or benefit in Scotland.]

In the yeare 1469, on the tenth day of Julie,
king James the third, being as then about twentie
yeares of age, married in the abbey of Holie rood
house nere Edinburgh, the ladie Margaret, daugh-
ter to the king of Denmarke and Norwaie, which
ladie was at the same time not past twelue yeares
of age, some saie fixtene. Hir father the king of
Denmarke and Norwaie, in name of hir dowry,
transported and resigned to him James all his right,
title, and interest which he pretended to the out Isles.
The ambassadors that were sent into Denmarke
to conclude this marriage, and to conuie the bride
into Scotland, were these: Andrewus Budeir bishop
of Glasgow, the bishop of Dantine, the lord Avandale
chancellor of Scotland, and Thomas Boid earle of
Arrane, who had married the kings sister, and was
now in his absence run into the kings displeasure;
whereof his wife having intelligence, hearing of hir
husbands arrivall with the other in the forth, got
out of Edinburgh, & comming on shipboard to him,
gaue him to understand what displeasure the king
had conceived against him: who perceiving him-
selfe in that danger he stood if he toke land, retur-
ned backe into Denmarke, taking his wife with
him.

The king herewith was so offended, that he cau-
sed both the said earle and his father to be attainted
of high treason, and sent for his sister backe into
Scotland, causing a divorce in absence of hir husband
to be sued & gotten forth against them, marieng hir
afterwards to James lord Hamilton, to whom he
gaue the earldome of Arrane, which hir former hus-
band had in gift before. Of this marriage, those of
the house of Hamiltons are descended, & are nearest
of blood to the crowne of Scotland, as they pretend.
[For as saith Lesleus, lib. 8. pag. 316] if the line of
the Stewards faile, the crowne is to come to them.]
But now to shew farther what we find written con-
cerning the maner and cause of the banishment of
the afore remembred Thomas Boid, Giouan Ferre-
rio, in his appendix of the Scottish historie annexed
unto Hector Boetius lastlie printed at Paris in the
yeare 1574, agreeth not with that which ye haue red
before. For as he telleth the tale, the said lord Boid
being one of the gouernors of the realme, elected
thereto (as before ye haue heard) within short time
grew so far in fauor with the king, that he might do
all things with him at his pleasure, although his as-
sociats in authoritie did neuer so much go about to
hinder his deuises: by reason whereof, he seemed to
blurpe the whole rule & administration of the realme
into his owne hands, soze to the griefe of those his
said associats being ioined with him in like office.

Hereof the state of the common-wealth through
the dissention thus bred among the gouernors, was
brought

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 8.
pag. 314.

1470. Buch.
1468. Lesle.
1469.
Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 8.
pag. 315.

1469.
The marriage
of James the
third.

The king of
Norwaie re-
signeth his
title to the out
Isles.

The earle of
Arrane in the
kings displea-
sure.

The lord Has-
milton mari-
eth the kings
sister.

Fr. Thin.
Giouan Ferre-
rio in his ap-
pendix of the
Scottish historie.

The lord
Boid beareth
all the rule a-
bout the king.

Though be-
cause of a great
fault of agra-
ment in the

gouernors, e-
uill disposed
men war
bold to worke
muchie.

They that be
in authoritie
be ever subiect
to the spitefull
blow of en-
uies dart.

The lord
Boid is accus-
ed.

He refuseth to
be tried by
day of arraign-
ment.

He fleeth into
England.

He passeth in-
to Denmarke.

His batne
hope to ob-
taine pardon.

He goeth into
Ireland.
He is mur-
dered.

1468.
The a. u. a. a.
lamps sent

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Fr. Thin.
Lefleus lib. 8.
pag. 314.

1470. Buch.
1468. Lelle.
1469.

Fr. Thin.
Lefleus lib. 8.
pag. 315.

1469.
The marriage
of James the
third.

The king of
Denmarke re-
signeth his
title to the out-
rigger.

The earle of
Breane in the
kings displea-
ure.

The lord Has-
silon mar-
ries the kings
sister.

r. Thin.

Houan Ferre-
rio in his ap-
pendix of the
Scottish histo-
ry.

The lord
Boyd beareth
the rule a-
gainst the king.

Through de-
fault of agree-
ment in the

governing, &c.
will disposed
men that
hold to some
mischance.

They that be
in authority
be ever subje-
ct to the spitefull
blow of en-
mities dart.

The lord
Boyd is accu-
sed.

Hereafter to
be tried by
day of arraignment.

He fleeth into
England.

He passeth in-
to Denmarke.

His vaile
hope to ob-
taine pardon.

He goeth into
Italye.
He is mur-
dered.

1468.
The ambassa-
dors sent

brought into a miserable plight; for justice in most places wanted his due course, so as thieves and robbers taking boldness thereof, not onely upon the borders, but also elsewhere, began to exercise great outrage, to the breach of publicke peace, and namelie the inhabitants of the out-Isles fell to their wanted trade of pilfering, so that passing over in their long boats or barges, and landing here & there on the shore, they took prizes of cattell and other goods, greivous to their profit, and no lesse damage of the people that inhabited on the coasts over against them. In the north parts also, seditions tumults amongst the nobles, gentlemen, and people were raised, to the great disquieting of the whole countrie. Such disorders continued no small time, and because the said Thomas lord Boyd bare greatest rule about the king, the blame (as it commonlie happeneth) was imputed to him.

At length, when the king was grown to ripe yeares, and able to see to the administration of the common-wealth himselfe, he was admonished by certaine grave personages to have some regard, that such misorders as disquieted the whole state of the realme, might be reformed. Whereupon he called a parliament, in the which, whether through envie that the lords had conceived against the lord Boyd, or for that his doings no lesse deserved such complaint, was exhibited by generall voices of the states against him; that it was decreed by authority of the whole Assemblie, that he should come to answer in judgement such crimes whereunto he was charged; but when he refused so to do, and in contempt of the kings authority got together a power of armed men to defend him from iniurie; that might seeme (as he pretended) to be offered him: at length, the king was driven of necessity to make preparation for the sending of an armie to apprehend him by force. Whereof Boyd being advertised, fled into England, because he perceived himselfe not able to resist the kings power. The king assured that he was thus avoided out of his realme, banished him for ever, and seized upon his lands and goods as forfeited.

After this, when the said Boyd saw no hope to returne againe into the kings favour, and finding no great comfort among the Englishmen, he passed from thence into Denmarke, where he remained till the marriage was concluded betwixt the king, and the ladie Margaret, daughter to the king of Denmarke, as ye before have heard: and then in hope by occasion of this marriage to obtaine pardon, returned now in companie of the bride, and of those ambassadours that were sent to haue the conueiance of his wife that came to him on shipboard before he set foot on land, that the kings displeasure continued still towards him so greivous, that if he came on land, he should be sure to lose his head, he returned into Denmarke, and took his wife with him; as before is mentioned. Finally he went into Italye, where at length he was murdered by one, whose wife he went about to allure for the satisfieng of his sensuall lust. Before he was divorced from his wife the kings sister, he begot on his sonne, the which in the daies of king James the fourth, in a privat quarrell that rose betwixt him and another noble man, chanced to be slaine. Thus much touching the lord Thomas Boyd of Kilmarnocke out of Ferrerio, who also in report of the matter touching the marriage betwixt the king and the daughter of Denmarke, somewhat varieth from an other that writ thereof.

The ambassadours that were sent unto Christierne king of Denmarke & Norwaye in the yeare 1468, as the said Ferrerio affirmeth, were these; Andzew

bishop of Glasgowe, William bishop of Orkneye, Andzew lord of Anandale chancelor of the realme, Martine Wane the great almoner, & the kings counsellors, Gilbert de Keriche archdeacon of Glasgowe, David Treighton of Craufon, & John Shaw of Yallie. These ambassadours being dispatched into Denmarke in Julie, in the yeare aforesaid, came at length to Haffnen, where B. Christierne then remained, and were of him idollie received, & well heard concerning their sute, in so much at length, after he had proponed the matter to his counsell about the eight of September, it was agreed in this sort, that the ladie Margaret, daughter to the said king Christierne, should be given in marriage unto B. James of Scotland, and that the Isles of Orkneye, being in number 28, and likewise the Isles of Shetland, of which there are eightene, should remaine in possession of the kings of Scotland, till either the said king Christierne or his successors in name of the marriage should pay unto king James, or to his successors, the summe of fiftie thousand florens of the Acheine. This marriage was thought, by reason of this ingaging of those Isles, right profitable unto the realme of Scotland, because of the controuersie and variance which had continued long before those daies betwixt the kings of Scotland and Denmarke, about the right of possessing those Isles.

In the moneth of November next ensuing, after the marriage had bene consummate in Julie before, within the abbey church of Holie rood house (as before ye have heard) or in saint Giles church in Edinburgh (as other write) the thre estates were called to assemble in Edinburgh, where the queene was crowned, and the parliament holden, the most part of the lords remaining still in Edinburgh all the next winter: and in the summer following, the king and queene made their progresse into the north parts, and were honorablie received in the principall cities and towne where they came, and likewise by the nobles of the countrie, to the great reioicing of the whole realme. After their returning to Edinburgh, the king called a parliament in the moneth of Maie 1471, in the which among other things it was ordeined, that the lords, barons, and burroughs of the realme, should build ships and boats, and provide nets for fishing. Also it was ordeined that none should weare silks in dublet, gowne, or cloake, except knights, minstrels, & heralds; except they might dispend one hundred pounds in lands by yeare: and that the football and other unlawfull games should be debarred, and the exercise of shooting mainteined. James eldest sonne to king James the third, was borne the tenth day of March, in the yeare 1472, who afterwards succeeded his father, and was called James the fourth. Christierne B. of Denmarke, to congratulate the happy birth of this young prince being his nephew by his daughter, released all the right, title & claime which he or his successors might haue to the Isles of Orkneye and Shetland.

A strange comet or blasing starre (as we call it) appeared in the south, from the seventeenth day of January, unto the eighteenth of February, and was placed betwixt the pole and the pleiades, that is to say, the seven starres. A great ship built by Kenedie the late archbishop of saint Andrew, called the bishops barge, broke and was lost beside Banburgh, being fraught with merchandize, the twelfth of March. Many merchantmens servants and other passengers were drowned with hir, some escaped by boat, and were taken by the Englishmen, among whom was the abbat of saint Colme, who was constrained to pay unto his taker one James Bar four score pounds for his rancome, yet he could be sufficed to depart. The abbacie of Dunfermling being vacant,

unto Den-
marke as Fer-
rerio saith.

The marriage
concluded.
The Isles of
Orkneye and
Shetland
ingaged.

1469.

1470.

1471.

The like act
for shooting
was institu-
ted by king
James the
first. An. 1425.
John Maior

1472.

The right to
Orkneye and
Shetland
reign'd.

A blasing
starre.

1473.

A shipwreck.

Abbeies gi-
uen by vnlaw-
full means.

vacant, the couent chose one of their owne monks called Alexander Thomson, and the king promoted Henrie Creighton abbat of Dalley therunto, whom the pope admitted, & Robert Shaw parson of Spinto was preferred by the king vnto the abbacie of Dalley, and then in such wise began promotings of secular priests to abbasies at the princes request, and the laudable elections ancientlie vsed, made void: because the court of Rome admitted such as the princes made sute for and named, getting great rewards and notable summes of monie thereby, so that neither the bishops durst admit such as the couents elected, nor such as were elected durst pursue their right, and so the abbasies were bestowed vpon such as followed the court, and liued courtlie, secularlie, and voluptuouslie, to the great slander of religious men, which by the naughtie examples of their gouernours fell to the works of wickednesse, where vpon daile much euill increased, and vertue in all estates decayed.

The bishop of
S. Andrews
made arch-
bishop.

1474.

Primate and
metropolitan.
Twelue bi-
shops in
Scotland.

1476.

The lord of
the Isles at-
tainted.

1446. Lesle.
The king rai-
sed an armie.

The lord of
the Isles sub-
mitted him-
selfe.

He resigneth
Ros, Cantire,
and Knappden.

1477.
An inquisitor
sent from the
pope.

This yere in September, the indulgence of the see of saint Andrews was published by Patrike Graham bishop thereof, and the same see erected into the dignitie of an archbishops see, at the sute of the said Patrike, who gaue information to the pope, that because the archbishop of Yorke was metropolitan of Scotland, and that there was oftentimes warre betwixt the realmes of England and Scotland, the Scottishmen could not haue access to their metropolitane, specially in cases of appellation. And there, for the pope (as some write) thought it reason to make saint Andrews primate and metropolitan of Scotland, and ordeined that the twelue other bishops of Scotland should be vnder his primacie, who would not agree thereto; but promised the king by way of a taxation eleven thousand marks for his maintenance against the said archbishop: and the prelates sent to Rome about this matter. This yere was a great death in the realme of Scotland, so that where a parlement was called in September, it was prorogued untill the twelfe day after Christmas. In Ianuarie the parlement was holden at Edinburgh, in which John lord of the Isles and earle of Ross was attainted, partly for his owne euill dedes, but most specially for the defaults of his father Donald lord of the Isles.

In Maie, in the yere 1477, the king raised a puissant armie of the most able men vpon the north side of the water of Forth, to pursue the lord of the Isles both by sea and land. The earle of Crawford was made admerall of the armie by sea, and the erle of Atholl the kings vncle by his father was lieutenant of the armie by land. But such meanes was used by the earle of Atholl, that the lord of the Isles humbled himselfe to the kings pleasure, vpon certaine conditions; and therevpon in the beginning of Iulie next ensuing, the said lord of the Isles came to the parlement vnto Edinburgh, and there was the agreement made and confirmed betwixt the king and him: he resigned into the kings hands all the right he had to the earledome of Rosse, the lands of Cantire and Knappden, which earledome the king annexed to the crowne, and pardoned him and his seruants of all offenses and transgressions before that day committed, and inuested him anew in the lordship and seigniorie of the Isles, and other his lands not released, to hold the same of the king by the seruice of ward and reliefe. The king also gaue vnto the earle of Atholl for his diligence shewed, in reducing the said lord of the Isles vnto order, the lands and forrest of Clonzie.

There was an inquisitor called Husman this yere sent by pope Sixtus into Scotland, to examine by vertue of his commission Patrike Graham arch-

bishop of saint Andrews, whose examination and proses being sent vnto the pope, he pronounced him an heretike, schismaticke, and simoniacke, and declared him accursed, condemning him to perpetuall prison: and so he was degraded from all orders, cure, and dignitie of ecclesiasticall office, and William Schewes archdeacon of the same see was promoted in his place, to whome he was also committed to see him safely kept in prison. He was first sent vnto saint Colmes inch, and from thence to Dunfermling, and lastlie to Lochleuin, where he died, and was buried in saint Sarks Isle in Lochleuin. The said William Schewes was consecrated archbishop of saint Andrews on Passion Sunday in Lent, within Holie rood house, the king being present, and manie of the nobles of the realme. And there the said archbishop received the pall, as a signe of his archbishops dignitie, and so was confirmed primate and legat of the realme, notwithstanding the impediment made against Graham before by the bishops about the same.

This yere also Alexander duke of Albanie was committed to prison by the king his brother, within the castell of Edinburgh, through euill counsell, but he brake out and escaped to Dunbar, where he caused the castell to be furnished with all necessaries: and leaving his seruants within it, passed himselfe into France, and was there of the king honorable received, and louinglie intreated. In the beginning of Maie following, the king besieged that castell by his lieutenant the earle of Arundale, who lost at that siege three good knights, the lord of Rute, sir John Schaw of Sauch, & the lord of Craginwallase, with the shot of a gun, & John Kamele was slaine with a stone cast by hand. When they within saw they could not long indure, they left the castell and fled a waie by sea, and the earle of Arundale entered, and found it bold of all things thereof ante account was to be made.

Doctor Ireland being graduat in diuinitie at Paris, was sent from the French king vnto the king of Scots, to persuade him to make war vpon England, to the end that king Edward should not aid the duke of Burgognie. And moreover, he had in charge to moue for the pardon of the duke of Albanie, and shortly after returned with answer. The erle of Mar called John Stewart the kings poynger brother, this yere in the moneth of December, was taken in the night within his owne house, and conueied vnto Cragmiller, where he was kept as prisoner by the kings commandement, and after was conuict of conspiracie for withcraft which he should practise against the king: and herevpon in Cannogate beside Edinburgh, his veines were cut, and so he bled to death. There were manie and diuerse witches and sozcerers, as well men as women conuict of that crime, and burnt for the same at Edinburgh. The king sent ambassadors into England to make sute to haue the ladie Cicill, daughter to king Edward, ioined in marriage with his sonne James the prince, which was granted, and the marriage concluded to be solemnized, when the prince of Scotland should come to perfect age: as in the English historie it more plainlie appeareth. Doctor Ireland, with a knight, and another religious man, came againe to king James from the French king, to persuade him to make warres against England: and at length, king James and his nobles condescended to breake the peace, wherewith Thomas Spenser bishop of Abirden (that was full tenderlie beloued of king Edward, and had bene euer a mediator for peace betwixt the kings of England, France, and Scotland, & the duke of Burgognie) when he heard that warre would follow, he died through griefe of mind.

The archb-
shop is not
well handled.

Deprived.
1478. Lesle.

Put in prison

1478. Lesle

1479.

Will. Schewes
is consecrated
archbishop.

The duke of
Albanie im-
prisoned.

He escaped.

Edinburgh
besieged.

1479. Lesl.

Doctor Ire-
land sent vnto
the king of
Scots.

1479. Lesl.

1480.

John Ste-
ward a poy-
nger.

was put to
death.

A marriage
concluded.

1480. Lesle.

Bishop Spen-
ser died.

1481.
King James
sent an embas-
sage vnto R.
Edward.

R. Edward
sent a nauie
into Scot-
land.

Ships taken
and burnt.

The king of
Scotland pre-
pared an ar-
mie.

A legat im-
bited him.

In other na-
me sent into
Scotland.

Berkeley as-
saged by an
armie of Eng-
lishmen.

1482.

The duke of
Albanie com-
meth into
England.

The presump-
tuous demean-
our of the
Scottish nobi-
lite.

Thomas
Cochran.

Embasing of
come.

The kings
concubine na-
med Dailie.

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1483.

teine ambassadoys, which were Berpaldo Bernard Steuard, lord of Aubignie, marshall of France, and Peter Gallart doctor of both lawes, to renew the old league betwene this James the third, and the king of France: for which cause the king of Scots and the nobles assembled at Edinburgh, where (with the French ambassadoys) seeking all the rols of all the ancient leagues, they reconfirmed the same, with the seales of both parts set thereunto; which done, the Frenchmen (with whom were sent into France divers Scots) returned home. Amongest the Scots, one Robertson was the chiefe, a man famous for the feats of battell, and having imployed his service on the parts of the French in the Italian warres, which being ended, the said chosen soldiers following the conduct of Berold Steuard, went into England with Henrie earle of Richmond, after king, whose part they took against Richard at that time usurper upon the English, for which cause the earle of Richmond (when he was after king) did derelie love the Scots.

The seditions also, which a long time did burne in France, caused depple wars to grow betwene the king of France and the duke of Burgognie. Whereunto, when the death of Charles (the last duke of Burgognie, slain at Rants by the duke of Loraine) did set end: Charles the eight of that name, king of France (assembling a great armie) did applye all his force and devise to expell Alphonse out of the kingdome of Naples; who at that time succeeded happily unto him, by reason that Alphonse was then easilie removed. But after, when the Neapolitane people did revolt (from the French faction) to Ferdinand the son of Alphonse, there arose great flames of warre and sedition through Italie, ech part striving to support the strength of his owne. The administration of which warre against Ferdinand, was chieftie performed by the Scots, as principall capitaine of that armie, or at the least equally with the best. Of which Scots the chiefe were Alexander duke of Albanie, son to James the second king of Scots; John also duke of Albanie sonne of this Alexander, George Montgomerie lord of Loages, Bernard Steuard (who was after made viceroy of Naples, which office he wiselie manie yeres did execute) Robert Steuard marshall of France, Nicholas Scot, and others, whereof manie (for their worthy exploits) were by the French honorable rewarded with great possessions. Who also (as manie of the Scots before had done) planting themselves in Calabria, became the authors of manie ancient families. For though by the evill custome of common speech, they rekeine the name of Scot (as taken of their countrie) yet by the ensignes, and tokens which they had and bled, it may easilie be knowen of what families the Scots their ancestors did descend.

Wherefore it followeth by most certeine coniecture, that the ancient familie of the earles (to whom the of speech hath long obtained the surname of Scots) flourishing in Placentia, had their originall from the stocke of the Douglases, as the armes of them both do well witness: which kindred (besides manie other earles thereof) is at this day notable beautified by Christopher Scot, who (with singular pietie and learning) doth governe the church of Canabon. Again, there is another familie of Scots, commonly called the Scoties in Calabria, whereof Bernard Scotia and Horace his brother (the one a senator of Mantua, and the other a prelat) are both famous, as well for their vertue, as nobilitie; also Francis Scotia, lord of Aine and Mondone, and other nobles of the marquedome of Saluce, are descended from the Scots, with the large familie of the Schities (descended of James Orlando Scot,

which we have heard confirmed by the armes of that familie) are well advanced about Cremona, Mantua, and Verona, as are also the Paparons in Rome (so called for their armes and ensignes) whose ancestors to be of the Scottish nobilitie, is witnessed by a worthy monument thereof in the church of saint Martie the great, in which the father and the son called Paparons, being there buried, are both adorned with the ensignes of knight hood out of Scotland.)

The duke of Albanie, for that he understood there was poison given to him in drinke in the kings chamber, and therefore stood in feare of his life, fled from the court unto the castell of Dunbar, whereby ensued great discord. The king fearing the displeasure of his nobles, got him also into the castell of Edinburgh. The earles of Angus, Buchquhane, and others, left the king, and assailed the duke of Albanie. And the king through counsell of certeine meane persons (whome he had againe taken unto him, summoned the duke and other his assistants, to come to answer for such treason as he had to lay against them; & withall prepared an armie to besiege Dunbar, whereof the duke being advertised, fled into England, and afterwards being accompanied with the earle of Douglas, and a great number of Englishmen, invaded Scotland upon the west marches, where manie Englishmen were slain and taken by the resistance of the lords Cockpall, Johnston, and others, the duke was put to flight, and the earle Douglas taken and brought to the king, who because he was an aged man, and had bene long banished his countrie, was sent to the abbey of Lundoris, where he remained the rest of his daies, and at length, departing this life, was buried there.

The duke of Albanie for the losse of that armie, was blamed of the king of England, and thereupon taking a misliking, secretly departed over into France by the helpe of John Liddell, sonne to sir James Liddell knight, who afterwards lost his life for the same. The duke was well interteined in France by the king there: and finally running at tilt with Helmes duke of Orleans, was hurt with the splint of a speare, and thereof died. He left behind him two sonnes, John duke of Albanie, that was after governer and tutor to king James the first, and Alexander that was after bishop of Murray, and abbat of Scoone. This yere the lord Hume, Torrellis, Mithant, and Drummond, were made lords of the parliament. In the yere 1484, the king sent the archbishop of saint Andrews unto Rome, for certeine privileges which he obtained. And the same yere, pope Innocent the eight of that name, sent the bishop of Imola to treat of peace, betwixt Richard king of England, & James king of Scotland. James king of Scots, having not long before made divers incursions and rodes into England, and that to his profit, he sued thereupon for a truce, which came to passe even as king Richard wished, so that condescending to have a communication, commissioners were appointed for both parts to meet at Nottingham, the twentieth day of September next ensuing.

For the king of Scots there appeared Colin earle of Argile, the lord Campbell, the lord chancellor of Scotland, William bishop of Aberdeen, Robert lord Lile, Laurence lord Mithant, John Drummond of Stubbhall, Archemald Mutelew archdeacon of Lawden, and secretarie to king James, Lion king of armes, and Duncan Dundas. For king Richard, there came Richard bishop of saint Asaph, John duke of Norfolk, Henrie earle of Northumberland, Thomas lord Stanleie, George Stanleie lord Strange, John Greie lord Botwes, Richard lord Fitzhugh, John Gunthorpe keeper of the kings privie seale, Thomas Barton master of the rols, sir

Certaine noble families in Italie and Calabria spring from the Scots.

A peace concluded for three yeres.

Poison given.

The king is forsaken.

Lords are summoned.

Scotland invaded.

Earle Douglas sent into an abbey.

The duke of Albanie is blamed.

1484.

The archbishop is sent to Rome. The pope sent to treat for peace.

Commissioners appointed on the behalf of the king of England & Scotland, to treat for a peace at Nottingham.

The castell of Dunbar in the Englishmens hands.

An article for the castell of Dunbar.

An article for traitors.

An article for Scottishmen already being in England. An article for the wardens of the marches.

A clause to be put in safe conducts. An article for such as should serve either princes in warre.

Colleagues comprised in the truce.

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Thomas Britan chiefe iustice of the common pleas, sir Richard Katcliffe knight, William Catcliffe, & Richard Salkeld esquires. These counsellors in the later end of September, after sundrie meetings and communications had together, concluded (as followeth) a peace to be had betwixt both the realmes for the space of thre yeres, the same to begin at the rising of the sunne, on the 29 of September in the yere 1484, and to continue unto the setting of the sunne on the 29 of September in the yere 1487.

During which terme, it was agreed, that no one lie all hostilitie and warre should cease betwixt the two realmes, but that also all aid and abatement of enemies should be avoided, & by no colorable meanes or waie in anye case bled. The towne and castell of Berwikke to remaine in the Englishmens hands, for the space of the said terme, with the same bounds as the Englishmen possessed it at that season, when it was deliuered to the Scottishmen by king Henrie the first. It was likewise condescended, that all other castles, holds, and fortresses, during the terme of the said thre yeres, should abide in the hands of those that held them at that present, the castell of Dunbar onelie excepted. This castell of Dunbar was deliuered unto the Englishmen by the duke of Albanie, when he fled into France, and so remained in their hands at that time of concluding this truce.

Whereupon (by reason the Scottish commissioners had not authoritie to conclude anye full agreement for that castell, unless the same might be restored unto the king their maisters hands) it was accorded, that if the king of Scots, within the space of fortie daies next ensuing, did intimate his resolute refusall to be agreeable, that the said castell should remaine in the Englishmens hands about the space of six moneths, that then during that terme of six moneths, those that kept the castell for the Englishmen should remaine in quiet, and not be troubled nor molested by anye kind of meanes by the said king of Scots, or anye other by his procurement, so that they within the castell likewise abstaining from making anye issues or reffes upon the Scottish people. And if after that the said terme of six moneths were once expired, it should chance that anye warre arose for defending or recovering the said castell, yet the truce should indure for all other rights and possessions; notwithstanding that it might be lawfull to do what lay in anye of their powers, either for winning or defending the foresaid castell, as though no truce had bene concluded.

It was further agreed, that no traitor of either realme should be receiued by the prince of either realme; and if anye traitor or rebell chanced to arrive in either realme, the prince thereof to deliuer him upon demand made. Scots already abiding in England & sworn to the king there, may remaine still, so their names be certified to the Scottish king within fortie daies. If anye warden of either realme should invade the others subiects, he to whome such warden is subiect, shall within six daies proclaime him traitor, and certifie the other prince thereof within 12 daies. And in euery safe conduct this clause should be contained; Provided alwaies that the obteiner of this safe conduct be no traitor. If anye of the subiects of either prince doe presume to aid, helpe, mainteine, or serue anye other prince against anye of the contractors of this truce, then it shall be lawfull for him, to whome he sheweth himselfe enemy, to apprehend and attach the said subiect, going, coming, or tarrying within anye of his dominions.

Colleagues compysed in this truce (if they would assent thereto) on the English part were these: the king of Castile and Leon, the king of Arragon, the king of Portugale, the archduke of Austria & Bur-

gognie, and the duke of Britaine. On the Scottish part, Charles the French king, John king of Denmarke and Norwaye, the duke of Gelderland, and the duke of Britaine. The lordship of Roerne in the realme of Scotland, and the Island of Lundaie lying in the riuer of Suerne, in the realme of England, were not comprehended in this agreement. This concord, peace, and amitie thus concluded, was appointed to be published the first day of October, in the most notable cities and townes of both the realmes.

For the sure obseruation, keeping, & performance of this truce & league, there were appointed for conservators on the Scottish side, David earle of Crawford and lord Lindseie, George earle of Huntlye, lord Gordon and Badzenath, John lord Darncliffe, John lord Benedie, Robert lord Lile, Patrick lord Halse, Laurence lord Diphant, William lord Forthwikke; sir John Koss of Halkheid, sir Gilbert Johnston of Cypinkston, sir John Lumbie, sir John Ogilvie of Arrie, sir Robert Hamilton of Fin-galton, sir William Balze of Lamington, sir John Benedie of Blarhorne, sir John Wleemes, sir William Kockwen; Edward Stochton of Kirke patie, John Dundas, John Koss of Spountgrenan, esquires.

It was further agreed, that commissioners should meet at Loughmaben on the eighteenth day of November, as well for redresse of certeine offenses done on the west marches, as also for declaring and publishing the peace. On the English part, the lord Dacres, the lord Fitzhugh, sir Richard Katcliffe, sir Christopher Poxelbie, sir Richard Salkeld, or thre of them. For the Scots, the lord Benedie, the lord Mountgomerie, the lord Lile, John Partwell steward of Annandale, Robert Creighton of Sanquhar, or thre of them. Also, there were assigned commissioners to meet at Koidenborne for the east marches, the first day of December; and at Yaldan Stanke for the middle marches, on the fourth day of the same moneth. At which two places for Scotland, there were assigned to appere the earle of Huntlye, the earle of Angus, the earle of Argile chancelor of Scotland, the lord Auandale, the lord Seiton, the lord Diphant, the lord Stubbhall, with others.

For England, the earle of Northumberland, the lord Greshocke, the lord Scrope of Passan, sir William Gascoigne, sir Robert Constable, and other. The same commissioners had authoritie to assigne certeine persons, to view and declare the bounds and limits appertaining to Berwikke, according to the true meaning of the league. For the battell ground it was accorded, that the same should remaine without sowing, earing, building, or inhabiting, as it had done before. Shortly after the concluding of this truce, king Richard intreated for a marriage to be had betwixt the prince of Northsaie, eldest sonne to king James & ladie Anne de la Pole, daughter to John duke of Suffolke and to the ladie Anne his wife, that was sister to the said king Richard. For the concluding of this marriage, both the kings sent their ambassadoys againe unto Nottingham, where their treatie had such successe for that time, that the marriage was agreed upon, and writings thereof drawn, ingrossed, and sealed, and affiances made and taken by proctors and deputies on both parts. The foresaid young ladie was immediately called pryncesse of Northsaie, but by the short life of king Richard his uncle she shortly after lost that name.

King James within a while after the conclusion of this league and marriage aforesaid, for the expressing and declaring of his opinion touching the castell of Dunbar, whether he would be agreeable that the same should remaine onelie six moneths, or else during

Lozne & Lundaie date excepted.

Commissioners appointed to meet at Loughmaben.

Commissioners to meet at Koidenborne. And at Yaldan Stanke.

The battell ground.

A marriage concluded betwixt the duke of Northsaie and the ladie Anne de la Pole.

A peace concluded for thre yeres.

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The castell of Dunbar in the Englishmens hands.

An article for the castell of Dunbar.

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An article for traitors.

An article for Scottishmen already being in England.

An article for the wardens of the marches.

A clause to be put in safe conduct.

An article for such as should serue either prince in warre.

Colleagues compysed in the truce.

mission appointed the be of the of Eng. Scot. o treat eac at ighem.

King James
by letters sig-
nified his
mind con-
cerning the ar-
ticles of Dun-
bar.

King Richard
would not de-
liver the cas-
tell of Dun-
bar.

1486.

King Richard
overthrowne
by the earle of
Richmond.

An ambassage
sent into
Scotland.

The kings
answer.

His promise.

Fr. Thin:
Buchanan.
lib. 12.

1487.

A parliament.

No pardon to
be granted to
offenders for
the space of
seven yeares.

during the tearme of the whole truce in the English-
mens possessions, he wrote unto king Richard a
louing letter, signifieng unto him, that he was not
minded to take the recouerie of the said castell by
force of armes, but rather to leaue it in his hand,
during the whole terme of the truce. Nevertheless,
he instantlie required him for the bond of that loue
and familiaritie, which now by treatie and alliance
was spoyng by betwixt them, that he would redel-
uer the said castell into his hands; according as rea-
son might moue him thereto; considering the Eng-
lishmen had no right to it, being onelie deliuered to
them by traitors of their native countrie, without
anie reasonable cause, or commission lawfullie au-
thorised.

King Richard dalled in this matter with pleasant
letters and faire wordes feeding forth king James,
without minding to gratifie him in that sute, so that
as long as king Richard liued, king James could
neuer get it for anie thing he might do. In the
yeare 1486, Henrie earle of Richmond comming
out of France with a power of men, of the which
Bernard Stewart a Scottishman was chiefe cap-
taine, landed in Wales, and passing through the
countrie into England, at length incountred king
Richard, and slue him, so obtaining the crowne of
that realme. And after he was somewhat quietlie
established in the same, he came into the north parts,
where he remained the most part of the next sum-
mer, and regarding nothing more than to haue the
loue and friendship of his neighbors, & to be confeder-
at with the kings and princes joining next unto
him, he sent from Melbecastell one of his counsellors
Richard For bishop of Excester, and sir Richard
Edgcombe knight, ambassadors unto king James,
to treat a contract, and renew the bond of peace and
truce betwixt the said kings and their realmes.

These ambassadors were gladlie receiued of king
James, who declared unto them, that he bare great
fauor and loue unto their maister, and would be glad
to pleasure him in all he might: howbeit, that his
subjects were not of so good a mind towards the
English nation as he himselfe wished, and therefore
he willed them to be contented with a truce for seven
yeares, sith further he could not do, for doubt to of-
fend his nobilitie and subjects. But he promised se-
cretlie, that when those seven yeares were expired,
he would renew the same for the tearme of other
seven yeares, and so from seven yeares to seven
yeares so long as he liued. This he did, because he
perceiued that his people had him in such hatred, that
they would not consent to anie bond that he should
make. The ambassadors perceiuing his good mean-
ing toward king Henrie, confirmed the truce for
those seven yeares, and so returned home to king
Henrie, who was glad of that they had done.

In the meane time died the queene, a woman
of singular beautie and godnesse, who was suppo-
sed greatlie to mitigat the vnbridled force of hir hus-
band. At what time also in France died Alexander
the kings brother, leauing behind him two sonnes,
which were Alexander bozne of his first wife (daugh-
ter to the earle of Dkeneite) and John (bozne of his
second wife) being after made gouernor of Scot-
land. Immediatlie after that this truce was thus
concluded betwixt the two realmes, king James
caused the three estates to assemble in parliament at
Edenburgh the first of October in the yeare 1487,
in the which order was taken, that iustice shold
be holden through all the parts of the realme,
& that no pardons should be granted for anie great
crime that shold be committed for the space of seven
yeares to come, so that the king began to vse sharpe
execution of iustice in all parts, which was right dis-

pleasant to manie.

At the same time was an ambassadoz sent to the
king of Romans, for the calling in of a letter of
marque, which had bene granted against Scottish
merchants, at the sute and instance of certeine Hol-
landers and Burgognions, and was shortly after
hereupon renoked. After the parlement was en-
ded, the king remoued unto Striueling, leauing his
wife the queene, and hir sonne the prince at Eden-
burgh castell, whilist he keeping persons about him
of meane calling, gaue himselfe to take his pleasure
with women, & to gather by gold and siluer, great
lis to the offense of his subjects. Yet in the meane
time, now after the death of king Richard, whether
it was by trefon or appointment, the castell of Dun-
bar was deliuered to the hands of king James, and
that to his great ioy and high contentation; for he
that ruled his kingdome more with rigor than with
anie tractable meane of sauorable iustice, stood euer
in feare of some troublesome tumult that might be
raised by his owne people, if occasion were min-
stred either through hope of foren aid or otherwise.

So long therefore as the castell was in the Eng-
lishmens hands, he doubted least through practise,
some conspiracie should be contriued betwixt his
owne subjects and the English nation, greatlie to
the annoiense of his estate, & thereupon he was the
more desirous to reduce the same castell into his pos-
session. But the onelie meane to haue assured him-
selfe from the hands of such as sought his life, had
bene to haue changed his wilfull maner of govern-
ment, & to haue leamed unto such counsell as would
haue aduised him for the wealth of his whole realme,
and not vpon desire to please, haue maintained his
vndiscret opinions, to the wronging alswell of his
commons as of the nobles and peres of his realme;
for the nobilitie of Scotland, namelie the earles of
Angus, Argile, and Lenox, the lordes Hales, Hume,
Dummond, Greie, and others, perceiuing them-
selues oppressed by such as from base birth had risen
(without worthie deserting) to the degre of coun-
cellors, and therewith aduanced to so high authoritie,
as all things were ordered at their appointment,
conspired together, & determined by force of armes
to see a reformation in such a disordered maner of
gouernement.

But yet because it should not be thought that they
minded the destruction of their countrie, but rather
the advancement thereof, they made the lord James
duke of Roxfale sonne to the king (a child bozne to
godnesse and vertue) the chiefe capteine in this their
enterprize, and that in maner against his will; here-
by openlie protesting, that they minded and purpo-
sed the suppressing and confusion of an euill king, and
not the subuerfion of their native countrie. By which
their craftie imagined inuention, they thought to
remoue all suspition of their purposed vnt ruth and
shamefull disloyaltie. They had sent to the earle of
Dowglaste, who remained prisoner (as ye haue
heard) in the abbete of Lundois, and required him
to assist them in their begun enterprize, promising
that they would restore him againe to his lands and
former dignitie, and honoz him as principall of
their faction. But that noble, wise, and ancient
earle, being already schooled with troubles, and ha-
uing learned by experience (to his great grieve) what
such matter meant, refused to breake his ward, or to
assist them in anie wise, diuadung them from their
enterprize, because it seemed to him neither godlie
nor honozable, sithens both himselfe and his friends
had taffed for the like, great hinderance, which might
be an example to him and others to beware in time
to come.

The king being once informed of this rebellion
and

The king
sent to the
king of the
Romans.

The king gi-
ueth himselfe
to satisfie his
lust in keeping
women and
gathering
treasure.

After the deat
of king Ri-
chard, Dun-
bar is deliue-
red.

The meane
whereby king
James might
haue auoided
danger of deat
by his sub-
jects.

The conspi-
racie of the
Scottish lords
against king
James the
third.

King James
gathereth an
armie.

He sendeth
letters to the
kings of Eng-
land & France
Eugenius 8:
Buchanan.

The answer
of the rebels
to the kings
message.

They met in
a pitched
field.
The king is
put to the
worst.
His name.

Fr. Thin.

James the
fourth.

1488.

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and conspiracie against him, was soze disquieted in his mind, and to meet their mischievous attempts, gathered an armie. Yet before the using of anie force, he sent messengers to his sonne, and to the nobles with him, to trie if he might come to some agreement with them. He sent also letters to the king of England, & to the French king, requiring them to take some paines in the matter, to procure an attouement betwixt him and his nobles. And besides this, he wrote to pope Innocent about the same purpose, praiering him to intermeddle his authoritie by sending some legate into Scotland, to appease the troubles thereof. But the Scottish nobilitie, and such of the people as were vp in armes against him, were so desperatlie set, and wholie bent on reuenge, that no wholesome counsell nor medicinable aduise might appease their furious rage, so that for answer to his messengers; they sent him word, that if he would resigne the title of his crowne and realme, & depose himselfe of his whole regall dignitie, then they would come to some communication with him or else not. The like answer was giuen to the ambassadors of England and France, that were sent vnto them from the kings of both those realmes, which soze lamented the fortune of their friend and alie the Scottish king.

But Adrian the bishop of Romes legat came too late, as who should say, a day after the fate: for when their grounded malice and spitefull hatred conserued against him might not be qualified by anie manner of means, but that they were now comming forward with all their puissance to Strueling, where he then remained, he would not stae till the eyles of Huntie, Erroll, Atholl, Crawford, Rodus, Sutherland, Cathnesse, & Sparthall; the barons of Forbes, Ogillie, Grant, Fraser, and others, were arrived with their powers, amounting to the number of foure thousand men, with the which they were comming forth of the north parts to his aid: but rashlie and without good aduise he issued out of the towne, accompanied with the earles of Glenearne & Spontros, the lords Graham, Ruthuen, Sparthall, and certeine others, and forthwith ioined battell with his aduersaries at Banockesbozne, within two milles of Strueling.

Now when nothing might quiet them, at length they met thus in a pitched field, where after great slaughter & murther made of an huge multitude of people, the king being put to the worse, fled into a mill, whither being fiercelie followed and found therein, he was cruellie slaine, and vnrueuerentlie left stark naked. A notable mirror to all princes, that calling to remembrance such a miserable and most dolorous sight, they may take heed by what manner of persons they suffer themselves to be led and abused. For if this prince king James the third had not followed vpon a wilfull pretense, and obstinat mind, the counsell and aduise of vantage, and such as (being advanced from base degre vnto high authoritie) studied more to keepe themselves in fauor, than to giue true aduertisements, and faithfull aduise vnto their prince, he might haue reigned longer by manie daies & yeres, in great and high felicitie. [In which conflict was on the kings part slaine (as saith Buchanan) Alexander Coningham earle of Glenearne.] He was thus slaine nere Strueling, on the seventh day of Iune, the yere after the incarnation 1488, being also the 29 of his reigne.

Now then, after that the barons of Scotland had thus slaine their soueraine lord and liege king James, the third of that name: his eldest son James the fourth was crowned king of Scotland, and began his reigne the 24 of Iune, in the yere 1488, being not past sixteene yeres of age, who notwithstanding

that he had bene in the field with the nobles of the realme against his father, that contrarie to his mind was slaine; yet neuertheless afterwards, he became a right noble prince, & seemed to take great repenitance for that his offense, and in token thereof, he wore continually an iron chaine about his middle all the daies of his life. He was greatlie giuen to deuotion and prayer, visiting religious houses, and bestowing on them sundrie gifts. He gouerned his realme in great rest, peace, iustice, and quietnesse, riding him selfe in proper person diuerse daies and nights, to suppress and take thænes, robberies, and oppressors of his subiects in all parts of his realme, till he had brought the countrie to great quietnesse. He was learned and liberrall, and indued with manie other good vertues and qualitties.

Anon after his coronation, the earle of Lennox, and the lord Lile, with diuers other their assistants, notwithstanding that they had bene with him at the slaughter of his father, seeing that things went not as they wished, raised an armie, and caused the dead kings bloodie shirt to be borne afore them for a banner: and comming forwards toward Strueling against the young king; were ouerthrowne at Colmossie, where the Lennox men, and sundrie other of the barons, were slaine, as the lord of Kiltrucht, and other taken and hanged for their offences. The king called a parlement at Edenburgh, which was holden the sixt of October, where he being moued by clemencie, granted a generall pardon to all those that came in field at Strueling with his father against him, and appointed certaine one to haue special pardons there vpon under his seales. He likewise dispensed with the heires of them that were slaine with his father there in field, appointing them their particular dispensations vnder his seales, after the same manner. Further it was ordeined, that all iustices, shiriffes, stewards, balliffes, lieutenants, and other which had offices in heritage, and had bene with his father at the field, should be suspended from the same offices for the tennie of three yeres: and those which had offices for life, or for terme of yeres, should be utterlie excluded from the same.

Moreover, he took order that all such goods as had bene taken from landed men and burgeses, should be restored to them againe, except that which was taken from such landed men and burgeses as were in the field against him; for that was deemed a lawfull preie. It was also iudged that the death of his father came vpon him through his owne default, and that king James the fourth then reigning, and all his adherents and partakers in that field, were innocent and gilltesse of all slaughter made there at that time, and clealie acquit of all pursute and occasion thereof: the three estates granting to giue their seales to testifie the same, with the kings great seale of the realme, to be shewed vnto the pope, the kings of France, Spaine, Denmarke, and other princes their confederats. And for the ceasing of theft, reiffe, & such other great enormities, the king was appointed to ride in person once euerie yere through all parts of the realme. And certeine noble men were ordeined to exercise iustice in euerie shire next adioining to the places where they had their chiefe residence: and herevnto they gaue their othes to be diligent in the administration of iustice. These ordinances were right well obserued all the daies of James the fourth his life time, so that the realme was reduced to great tranquillitie, and gouerned in good peace and iustice. Furthermore, all gifts made by his father in preiudice of the crowne, were reuoked, from the second day of Februarie immediatlie preceeding his death, to the day in which he was slaine.

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King James
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The lordeth
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Eugenius &
Buchanan.

The answer
of the rebels
to the kings
message.

They met in
a pitched
field.
The king is
put to the
worse.
He is slaine.

Fr. Thin.

James the
fourth.

1488.

The king
was repen-
tant.
The king
wore an iron
chaine.
was giuen to
deuotion.
He was a
great iusticer.

He was lear-
ned.

The nobles
raise an armie
againe.

They were
ouerthrowne.

A parlement.

A generall
pardon.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan.lib.13.

* About this time was a monster boine of a strange forme, hauing from the nauill downeward the perfect parts of one man, not different from the right proportion of a man: but from the nauill vppward, it was double bodied, hauing all perfect parts answering euerie of those bodies, sundered to all actions and shew. This monster the king commanded to be diligentlie nourished and instructed, but chiefly in musike (wherein it profited verie much.) Further also learning diuers sorts of languages, whose seuerall wits and natures manifestlie appeared by diuers dispositions of their minds. For sometime they would fall out one with another, and when anie thing displeased them, they would most bitterly contend the one with the other: contrarilie, when anie thing happened to their liking or desire, they would consult and agree together as friends. In which this was to be remembrance, that if the legges or loines had bene hurt below, they both together felt the paine, but if they were pinched or grieved in any part above seuered from the other, then that bodie onclie felt the same which had that hurt done vnto it. Which different sence did more plainelie appeare in the death of the one of them: for when the one bodie died manie daies before the other, that which liued, did after by little and little consume, by the putrifaction of the other bodie then dead; which monster liued 28 yeres, and in the time of John the gouernor: of which thing we doubt not to write (more boldlie) sith there are men yet liuing of honest fame which saw these things.

Buchan.lib.13.

1486
A marriage
sought for
the king.

This king in the beginning of his reigne, to make his estate the surer, and more faithfull to reconcile the harts of such as had maintained factions against him, determined to marie the daughters of his aunt by two husbands, to two of those noble men: for which cause he married Cecelia Boid to Alexander Forbois, and Margaret Hammiton to Matthew Steward, by which in time there followed a most singular peace in the kingdome. Also an esquier, and an herald were sent into France, Spaine, and other places, to learne where the king might be a suter for some great ladie to ioinc with him in marriage. Whereouer beside these, there were sent honorable ambassadours into France, Spaine, and Denmarke, to renew the old amities & leagues betwixt those realmes and Scotland, as had bene used in the daies of this kings progenitors. His two yeres then, the duke of Nothle, and the earle of Mar, he caused to be brought vp in good nourture and vertuous exercise, appointing to them such livings for maintenance of their estates, as his father had assigned them.

For his counsell he chose a certeine number of the prelates, noble men, and barons of his realme, such as were thought most meet, taking this order, that six of them at the least should continually remaine about him, by whose aduise he should doe all things that touched the affaires of the realme: and in case any thing was done without their aduise, the same should be iudged void, & not to be obeyed, & this was inuolublie kept all his daies. When the esquier and herald were returned againe into Scotland, which had bene to visit strange countries, and made report of that they had sene, there was a parlement holden, in which it was ordeined, that the bishop of Glasgou, the earle Bothwell, and others, should go as ambassadours to sue for the kings marriage in place where it should be most expedient, and most to the kings liking. Great varlance rose betwixt the archbishop of saint Andrews, and the bishop of Glasgou, touching the preheminence of their iurisdiction, which drew the noble men into factions, till the king commanded the same to cease, and that they

Two archbishops
strive
for the prehe-
minence.

1491.

Should trie it by law before competent iudges.

* James Ogilvie knight of Aire, was sent ambassadoe to the king of Denmarke, to whom the king gaue in charge, that he should laboe to renew the old league that was betwene the Danes and the Scots, which he wisely executed and obtained, with certeine priuileges for the benefit of the merchants. By means whereof at his returne, he purchased such fauour of the king, as that he was aduanced to the title of a lord, in which the name of the Ogilvies was first increased with anie honorable title. The king about the same time took order for increase of some number of ships to be had in his realme, and that euerie haue towne should build some, as well for fishing, as to transport merchandize from place to place.

The lords and barons, and such other as would, were commanded to helpe the merchants toward the building of such ships: and for good example, the king caused to make certeine ships at his owne charges, which might be the trade of fishing. Whereouer, the king considering the ignorance that was amongst the landed men of his realme, when they should passe vpon inquests, he ordeined that euerie landed man should put his eldest sonne to schole, that he might learne perfectlie the lawes of the realme, and that vpon great forfeiture. Thus in the beginning of his reigne, diuers good lawes and constitutions were made, for the aduancement of the common-wealth, which he caused to be duly obserued and kept during his time. The pope sent a prototarie called Forman into Scotland, with a rose and a scepter of gold, to be presented vnto the king, desiring him to perseuere in godlinesse, honor, and vertue, as he had begun. The most part of this yere the king spent in riding abroad through all parts of his realme to see iustice ministered, speciallie in the north parts, where the people are commonlie furthest out of order.

There was shortly after some appearance of warres betwixt England and France, whereupon king Charles sent vnto king James, requiring him of assistance, if it came to passe that the English men did invade France: and further declared, that he had one with him called Richard duke of Poike, second sonne to king Edward the fourth, who had bene preserved now manie yeres secretlie by his aunt Margaret duchess of Burgognie, and therefore was iust inheritor to the realme of England, whom he would send into Scotland, praicing the king to assist him to recouer his rightfull heritage, the said realme of England. And shortly after hereupon, the said seized duke (whose right name was Perkin Warbecke, as in the English historie it appeareth) arrived in Scotland well and honorable accompanied, to trie what purchase he might make there for succors to attaine his pretended right to the crowne of England.

* After whose arrivall he was brought to the presence of king James, before whom he did lamentable bewaile (as he well could) the fall of the house of Poike, and his owne calamities: most humble and vehementlie beseeching him, to ransom the kingly blood from that contumelie. For answer wherevnto at that present time, the king bid him be of good heart, for he would worke, that he should find his sute not defrauded of all due effect, in obtaining succor in his distresse. Few daies after, the king assembling together his counsell, commanded this (counterfeit) duke of Poike to be brought vnto him, who now (more than before) did in this assemblie bitterlie complaine of his misfortune, shewing, that being borne to great hope of a kingdome (as the sonne of the noblest king of that age) he was left

Fr. Thin.
Lellous lib.8.
pag.332.Prototarie
made for
ships.
1492. Lell.Prototarie
made for
learning.1494. Lell.
A prototarie
sent into
Scotland
with a rose.
1495. Lell.
The king go-
eth on pro-
greffe.

1496. Lell.

Perkin was
becke.Fr. Thin.
Buchan.lib.13.Lellous lib.x.
pag.34.

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void of all helpe by the death of his father, & had like to haue fallen into the tyrannie of his vnkle Richard duke of Gloucester, before he could vnderstand what calamitie or misfortune might signifie.

But aided by diuine assistance, he (when his elder brother was murdered by his vnkle) was persecuted by the helpe of his fathers friends, and conueied away from the bloudie hands of the vsurping king Richard, who (not able in that kingdome, whose heire by right he was) to lead a bare and begged life, did so liue in forein countries, as he counted the condition of his brother (taken from those miseries by sudden death) to be happie in respect of his owne troubles and extremitie: for he was referred aliue to the scoone of fortune, not daring at the first to bewaile his calamitie amongst strangers, whereby he might moue their pittie towards him: yea (and after) when by little and little he came to open what person hee was, both noble borne, whose heire, and to whome allied, he was (to increase all his former miseries) more grieuouslie assaulted by the malice of fortune than before. For then he could not almost liue in safetie in anie place, because of the subtiltie of his enemies, who would haue bought his life (of those with whom he remained) priuillie solliciting them to discover his secrets, and (vnder the colour of feined amitie) to corrupt his true friends, to search out and discover his hidden friends, and to defame him amongst the common people.

Wherevnto shall not yet satisfi'd, they reuile (said he) the ladie Margaret his aunt, and imprison the nobles of England that seemed to saue his cause; notwithstanding all which (he vying the truth of his owne conscience against the slanders of hir and his enemies, and moued with pittie for the distresse of his kinsman) did with hir abillitie relieue his necessitie. But at length, when he saw no sure defense in a woman and widow (whose authoritie could not stretch to the command of hir people in that liberall sort as the would) he was diu'en to seeke the aid of other princes, and to request them to looke in to the misfortunes that might light vpon such great estates, and that they would not suffer kinglie blood (oppressed by tyrants) to lament in such extremitie. For yet he was not so base minded (although hee were in manie great miseries) that he would not hope at one time or other to be restor'd to his kingdome, by the helpe of such friends as he had in Ireland and England: adding thereto the helpe which he should haue out of France, whereof he had already made some triall by the singular beneuolence of the same king, hauing liberallie imparted manie benefites vnto him.

Whereto which, not supposing this to allure the kings mind to his fauor, he began by flatterie to extoll him, not douting but he (whose fauor had bene liberallie shewed to the distressed) would now diminish the same to him; but that he hoped that he would (for his singular humanitie to all banished persons, for pittie towards a miserable creature, for loue towards his kinsman, for necessities cause towards his friend, and for the nerenesse of league that ought to be among princes) succor and relieue him with men and monie, thereby to helpe him to the recouerie of his kingdome. Wherfore againe he importunately requir'd the king of aid in this extremitie, since the same was honorable to himselfe, acceptable to God, beneficiall for his realme, and a singular fame among other princes in ioining with them determined to restore him. Which if he might obtaine (and that the rather by his furtherance) he did liberallie promise alwaies to stand a most firme friend to the Scots, for whose cause he would spend his crowne and life.) Thus Perkin Warbecke did vse the matter in

such subtill wise, that king James either giuing, or seeming to giue credit to his wordes, after aduise and deliberation had and taken with his counsell, receiued him in honorable wise, naming and reputing him duke of Porke, and therefore promised him to aid him in all that he might. And shortly after, hee married him to his nere kinswoman the ladie Katharine, daughter to the earle of Huntleie, and moreover raised a great armie, speciallie of the borderers, and with the same hauing this pretended duke in companie with him, inuaded England, burnt towns spoiled houses, and took great booties and rich preies both of goods and prisoners, & allured with the sweetness of such spoile and gaine, waisted all the countrie of Northumberland, and had gone further, but that he could perceiue no aid comming in vnto this new found duke, contrarie to such golden promises as he had made, that as soone as they were entered into England, there would flocke vnto him both of the nobilitie and commons, and that in great numbers.

King James perceiuing no such matter, thought it better to retorne with assured gaine, than to tarie this new sprong dukes doubtfull and vn certaine victorie. And so hauing his people laden and pestered with spoile and prisoners, he drew backe into Scotland. The king of England aduertised hereof, made preparation for the raising of an armie, meaning to send the same against the Scots: but the rebellion of the Cornishmen, which chanced the same time about a taxe leuied then of the people, constrained him to imploy that armie to repress the enterprise of those rebels. Yet neuertheless he sent the earle of Surreie to the borders, that with the power of the countrie adioining, he might defend the same from the inuasions of the Scots, if they attempted to breake in: and so the earle laie on the borders all that yere.

King James then perceiuing that no maine armie came against him, inuaded effronces the borders of England, and laied siege to the castell of Northham, sending his light horsemen abroad into Northumberland, and the bishoppe of Durham, where they burned and spoiled all about in the countrie: but hearing that the earle of Surreie had raised an armie, and was comming towards them, they returned to the host lieng before Northham, where king James perceiuing he could not win the castell, notwithstanding he had done great hurt and damage thereto, he raised his siege, retired into his countrie, and left great companies on the borders for defense thereof. And so before the comming of the English armie, king James was returned. The earle of Surreie yet (as the English writers affirme) followed into Scotland, and took diuerse castells and towres, remaining within the countrie the space of six or seuen daies, and then came backe without battell or anie notable skirmish offered.

About the same time was one Peter Hialas sent ambassadoe from Ferdinando king of Spaine, to treat as a mediator for the concluding of peace betwixt the kings of England and Scotland, which Hialas travelled so earnestlie in the matter, that at length it was agreed, that certaine commissioners of both the realmes should meet at Melrosse, where for the king of England, doctor For, then bishop of Durham, with this Hialas, and other graue personages, met the Scottish commissioners. After long conference and much talk had, for the conclusion of a generall peace, finally nothing but a truce might be accorded for certaine yeres, though Hialas did what he possiblie might, to haue agreed them for all manner of matters, quarrels, demands, and causes, that sooner the same had bene, that a perpetuall peace might haue bene concluded, because he was chiefe sent

Perkin Warbecke married the earle of Huntleies daughter.

1495.

King James inuaded Northumberland.

1496.

1497. Lefle. King James returneth without prof-fer of battell.

Rebellion in Cornwall.

The earle of Surreie sent into the north.

1498.

The Scots inuaded the borders of England.

The earle of Surreie raised an armie.

The Scots raise their siege.

The earle of Surreie went into Scotland.

Peter Hialas an ambassadoe from the king of Spaine.

Commissioners met at Melrosse (as some say.)

A truce concluded for yeres.

The cause why Hialas was sent.

C. e. j.

for

for that intent.

The king of England required to haue the counterfet duke of Bozke (otherwise named Perkin Warbecke) deliuered to him: but king James (esteeming his honor more than anie earthlie thing) would in no wise seeme to betraie him that fled to him for succour, and with whom he had coupled one of his owne kinswomen in Marriage: but he was contented to covenant, that the same Perkin should be constrained to depart out of Scotland, and not to be further aided by him, or by anie other through his meanes or procurement. The king of Scots to keepe promise made in the said treatie of peace, and knowing himselfe to be abused by the said Richard, whom he had reputed to be berelie duke of Bozke (although he was not so) called him before his presence, and declared to him the great fauour and good will which he had borne towards him, putting him in remembrance that for his sake he had taken warre in hand against England, and invaded the countrie in hope of assistance by his friends within the land, where not one refozed to him.

And albeit he had married his néere kinswoman, yet might he not keepe longer warre with England for his sake onelie; except he might be sure of some aid through his means, whereof he could see no appearance. He desired him therefore to withdraw forth of his realme, either into flanders to his fathers sister the ladie Margaret; or into some other place where it pleased him to abide, and expected some better time more conuenient for his purpose. The said Richard gaue the king thanks, and obeyed his pleasure, departing thortlie after out of Scotland, and sailed into Ireland, from thence to transport into flanders. But finally making an attempt into England, he was taken prisoner in the abbete of Beaulien, together with his wife, whose beautie was such, as king Henrie thought hir a more meet price for an empero, than forouldiers, and therefore used hir very honorable, appointing hir to remaine in the court with the queene his wife, where she continued so long as the said king liued.

This yere, the peace being well kept betwixt England and Scotland, the same was nere at point to haue bene broken; by reason that the Englishmen which laie in garrison within the castell of Rosham, did make a fraie with certelne Scottishmen that came riding nere to the castell, as it had bene to haue vieted it. But although they ment no euill, yet diuerse of the Scottishmen were slaine, and manie wounded and soze hurt; so that king James having information thereof, was soze displeased there-with, thinking and saing, that there was no moze incertelne thing, than to haue peace with England. And here vpon he sent his herald Berchmount with sharpe and vehement letters vnto the king of England, making great complaint fo: this iniurie and wrong done to his subiecs, by those within the castell of Rosham. But receiuing most reasonable letters fo: excuse of that which was done, as well from the king of England himselfe, as from the bishop of Durham owner of the castell, he was indifferentlie well appeased & satisfied, so that he required to haue the bishop to come into Scotland vpon safe conduct to common with him, as well fo: the full quieting of this matter, as fo: other things which he had to talke with him of.

The bishop by licence of the king his masser, accomplished the Scottish kings request; so that coming into Scotland, he was received by him verie honorablie at apelloffe, where (after certeine talke had betwixt them for the appealing of this last displeasure) the king brake with the bishop for the hauing of the ladie spargaret, eldest daughter to Hen-

rie the seventh, as then king of England, to be giuen him in mariage: and further declared that he was minded to lend his ozatozs vnto hir father the said king Henrie, about the same matter. And forsomuch as he knew that the bishop was one that might do much with king Henrie, who highlie fauoured him for his singular wisdom and learning, he desired him to be a meane to further his sute, which if it were obtained, he trusted it should highlie rebound to the honor & wealth of both the realmes. The bishop considering herein as much as the king was able to tell him, did not onelie promise to do all that in him lay, but also encouraged him to lend his ozatozs with all speed, trusting that they should receiue a verie towarde answer.

king James following the bishops advise, anon after his returne into England, sent certaine persons ambassadores vnto king Henrie, to moue him to the effect aboue mentioned. These ambassadores were highlie welcomed, and verie well heard, so that to be brieue, their request seemed so agreeable to kings Henries mind, that the marriage was thorlie thereupon concluded (but not consummate betwixt the foresaid James king of Scotland, and the said ladie Margarett daughter to king Henrie) in the senententh yere of the said king Henries reigne. At the same time, when this marriage was so agreed vpon, a peace was also concluded betwixt the kings of England and Scotland, for the terme of their two liues. And to auoid that none of either of the said kings subiects that had offended the lawes, should be recetued into anie of their dominions; it was accorded, that no Englishman should come within Scotland, without his pynces letters supplicatorie vnto the king of Scots, nor anie Scottishman to come within England, without the like letters from his pynce, desiring safe conduct and passeport.

In the yere next ensuing, Robert Blakater the bishop of Glasgowe, Adam Hepburne the earle Bothwell, and other noble men of Scotland, were sent in ambassage from king James unto the king of England, for the perfecting of the foresaid mariage betwixt king James, and the ladie Margaret, eldest daughter to king Henrie, which earle by letters of procuracie and mandat, in the name of his maister king James, affied and handfasted the foresaid ladie Margaret in all solemne wise, according to the manner: which assurance and contract thus made, was published at Paules crosse in London, on the day of the conversion of saint Paule, in reioicing thereof *Te Deum* was song, and fiers made, with great feasting & banquetting throughout that citie. This done, the ambassadoes returned into Scotland, and then afterwards was great preparation made in England for the conuening of the said ladie into Scotland, and likewise great purueiance there for the receiuing of hir.

On the twentieth of June, king Henrie toke his tournie from Richmond, with his daughter the said ladie Margaret, and came to Colchester, where his mother the countesse of Richmond then laie. And after he had remained there certene daies in pastime and great solace, he toke leaue of his daughter, giuing hir his blessing with a fatherlie exhortation, and committed the conuenance of hir into Scotland vnto the earle of Surrie, and others. The earle of Northumberland, as then warden of the marches, was appointed to deliuer hir vpon the borders vnto the king of Scotland. And so this faire ladie was conueied with a great companie of lordes, ladies, knights, esquires, and gentlemen, untill she came to the towne of Berwik, and from thence vnto Lanbert church in Lamer moze withyn Scotland, where she was receiued by the king and all the nobles of that

An article for
Derkin war-
becke.

King James
reasoneth
with the coun-
terfeit duke
of yorke.

Derkin Warbeck went into Ireland to come into Flanders.

1499.
The truce
like to be broken.

King James
requireth to
talke with the
bishop of
Durham.

King James
purposeth to
be a sator for
marriage in
England.

The consummation of the marriage betwixt king James the fourth, and the ladie Margaret.

**The king of
Denmarke
commeth into
Scotland.**

He is restored
to his king-
dome by the
earle of Ar-
rane lieute-
nant to king
James.

The hie land
men obedts. it
to lawes.

1505, Leaf:
1504

1504.

Ft. Thin.

**A beuise to
get the king
monie.**

1506.

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that realme, and from the said place of Lamberton church, he was conuied unto Edinburgh, where the day after his conuining thither, he was married unto the said king with great and solemne triumph, to the high reioicing of all that were present.

The conformation of the marriage between king James the sixth and Margaret.

And verelie the English lords (as the earle of Shurreie and others) which gaue their attendance on the said ladie till the marriage and feast were ended) at their returne home, gaue great praise not onlie to the manhood of the Scots, but also to their manners and heartie intertainment. For aswell the noble men as the ladies and gentlewomen of Scotland at that present, were nothing behind the English lords & ladies in costlie apparell, maslie chaires, and other furniture, as well for themselves as their horses, and made great bankets to the Englishmen, and heliued them such iusts and other pleasant pastimes in honor of the marriage, so well, as after the manner of the countrie could be deuised. By reason of this marriage and alliance, men were in great god hope that perfect peace and sincere amitie should continue betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland a long time after: and verelie during the life of king Henrie the seventh, no cause of breach was ministred betwixt him and his sonne in law, but that they liued in great loue and amitie.

The king of Denmarke cometh into Scotland.

About this time, the king of Denmarke, through diuision that did rise betwixt him & his lords, was constrained to forsake his countrie, and to come for aid into Scotland, where the king receiued him louingly, and vpon his earnest sute, for that he was both his cosine and confederat, and also the rather, at the contemplation of the French kings request and perswasion, he prepared an armie of ten thousand men, the which vnder the conduct of the earle of Arrane, he sent with the said king of Denmarke to assist him against his aduersaries. The earle of Arrane according to his commission, attending the Danish king into his countrie, restored him to his kingdome and former gouernement, and so leaving him in peaceable possession thereof, returned with his armie againe into Scotland, with great honor both to himselfe, the king, and realme.

His restoration by the earle of Arrane to king James.

Shortlie after was a parlement called, during the which the queene was crowned, and manie good acts and constitutions made, especiallie touching the limiting of places where iustice should be ministred in the Isles and hie lands: whereby it came to passe, that the king was aswell obeyed, & his lawes were as duelie obserued and kept by the hie land men, as by those that dwelled in anie part of the low land. The king then being at peace with England, and iustice so ministred amongst his owne subiects, that they liued in great rest and quietnesse, certeine of his counsell (as William Elphinstone bishop of Aberdeen) deuised waies to win the king great profit and gaines, by calling his barons & all those that held anie lands within his realme, to shew their euidences by way of recognition: and if they had not writings to shew, according to the ancient instruments and lawes of the realme sufficient for their warrant, the lands should remaine at the kings pleasure.

The hie land men obedient to lawes.

1504. Leif.

Fr. Thin.

I desire to see the king name.

But when the king perceiued his people to grudge herewith, and not without cause, as with a thing deuised to disquiet his people and the whole countrie, of his owne courteous & gentle nature he easilie agreed with the possessors of such lands: for the which he purchased great loue amongst his people, & the detraiers of that ordinance wauing great hatred and malice. This yeare in Spate the king held his court of iustice at Lothow, and remouing it to Edinburgh, there continued the same, where the lord of Thorne-ton was committed for killing his wiife, and therefore

1506.

lost his head [at Edinburgh by the kings sentence.] Fr. Thin. There came an ambassado: this yeare also from the duke of Gelderland, to renew the league betwixt the king and the said duke. Also an herald came out of France, who brought newes which the king liked well.

This yeare also, the king caused a mightie ship to be made, the which was put forth into the reade the seventh of Iulie, and the king sailed himselfe into the Spate, an Island in the Forth, and was driven in againe with tempest: but the same ship was after appointed forth, and sent to the sea with sundrie valiant gentlemen in hir, to meet with the Hollanders which had taken and spoiled diuerse Scottish ships, and throve the merchants and other that were in the same ouer board. For reuenge whereof, Andrew Barton took manie ships of the Hollanders and killed certeine pipes with their heads, which he sent vnto the king for a witnesse how he had sped. A star like a comet appeared the tenth of August, giuing great light in the night season like to the sun beames.

A great ship made.

The Hollanders ships taken.

A bright star appeared in the skie.

Anthony Darcie.

A Frenchman named sir Anthony Darcie knight, called afterward Le sir de la Batotie, came through England into Scotland to seeke feats of arms. And comming to the king the fourth and twentieth of September, the lord Hamilton fought with him right valiantlie, and so as neither of them lost anie peece of honor. This yeare James prince of Scotland and of the Isles was borne in the abbey of the Holie rood house, the one and twentieth of Januarie, and on the thre and twentieth of the same moneth, he was baptised in the said abbey church. His godfathers were these, Robert bishop of Glasco, and Patrike earle Bothwell; and the countesse of Huntlie was his godmother. The queene, after she was brought to bed, was verie weake and troubled with great sicknesse, so that she lay in great danger: for recouerie of whole helth the king went on foot vnto saint Plinians in pilgrimage; and afterwards in Iulie, both the king and the queene went thither to visit the same saint.

1507. Prince James is borne.

The king went on pilgrimage.

Pope Julius the second sent an ambassado: vnto king James, declaring him protecto: and defendo: of the faith, and in signe thereof sent vnto him a purple dissem or crotone wrought with flowers of gold, together with a sword, hauing the hilts and skabbert of gold set with pretious stones, which were presented vnto him by the said ambassado:, and the abbat of Dunfermling, within the abbey church of Holie rood house. At that time the peace contracted betwixt the two kings of Scotland and England was there confirmed. The lord of Teruier or Camfire in Zealand (whose ancestors not long ago came south of Scotland) sent his messenger the bailiffe of Teruier to the king, who presented vnto him certeine great horses and other rich presents, in remembrance that he came of the Scottish race; and the king in recompense thereof, sent vnto the said lord his order, and made his ambassado: knight, reuarding him at his departing (which was in August) with right honorable gifts.

The pope declared king James protecto: of the faith.

Horses presented vnto the king.

The whole realme remained in such peace and quietnesse in these daies, that the king rode one day himselfe alone in post from Sterling, by St. Johns towne, and Aberdeen, vnto Elgin; and reposing a little part of the night in the house of maister Thomas Lesleie then parson of Angus, went to horse againe, and came to saint Dunhols in Kildie, by that time they were ready to go to malle. This was on the one & thirtieth day of August. About the latter end of September, the archbishop of saint Andrews, and the earle of Arrane, were sent ambassadors into France. They took ship the seven and twentieth of September. The seventeenth of Februarie, James prince

Peace and quietnesse in Scotland.

An ambassage into France.

Ge. H.

prince

Fr. Thin.
Lefleus lib. 8.
pag 345.

prince of Scotland departed this life at Striueling, and the bishop of Calloway also, who was appointed to be his gouernour.

¶ About this time, the K. (to tell you here, as faith Lesleus, a matter that to this day is remembred amongst the Romaine people with great laughter) created a certeine Italian (with whose wit and pleasant speech he was delighted) abbat of Tungland. This man (being a noble framer of deceit, & boaster of his wit) did on a time perswade the king, that he was so conuerfant in all hidden knowledge of naturall things, and in the secret science of Alchymie, that he could turne all other mettals into pure gold, if anie would beare the charge thereof. But after much time spent thereabout (with long looking of the king, and the nobilitie, to see the effect hereof) there was nothing done, but that their purses were emptied, and the vaine man was defamed by the breach of his promise. At length when he was fallen into the hatred and offense of all men, he did partlye to gather againe an opinion & report of his vaine glorie, and partlye to recover the kings fauor, giue out a rumour, that he would (by sleight) be in France before the ambassadoys (which were sent thither, and had leued from thoe to take their iourne) should come thither. For the performance whereof, he appointed a day for them to meet at Striueling, from whence he would take his flight, and begin his iourne. At what time, and to what place, manie resorted together, desirous to see this new bird; amongst whom (for recreations cause) came the king also.

What need manie words. This man fastening (which he had caused to be made of the fethers of diuerse fowles) vnto both his sides, liſted by himselfe from the castell of Striueling, into the aire to take his iourne: but this deceiver suddenlie fell headlong to the ground, not able to be holpen by the force of his wings: wherewith the people (vncertaine whether they should rebuke the follie of the man, or pittie his misfortune) stocked about him, demanding this winged abbat how he did: to whom he answered, that he had broken the bone of his thigh, and was out of hope to see anie more hereafter. To conclude, they all were like to die with laughing, to see him, which before would ſie like Icarus, did now lie like Simon Magus, with all his bodie almost broken in peeces. At length when euerie one had laughed their fill, this worthy abbat, to salue all the matter, referred the default of his sleight wholie to his wings, because they were not made of eagles fethers and such like, but onelie of pulens fethers; not met or accustomed to cut the aire with flight; and which by a certeine inward vertue (working according to the nature of those fowles) did draw the fethers downe toward the donghill (wherbyon those birds lue) as the adamant draweth iron.]

1508.
An ambassage
sent vnto the
king.

The kings
answer.

The 9 of Maie in the yeare after, the lord D'obigne, and the president of Molous, came from Lewes the French king as ambassadoys to declare vnto king James, that he ment to match his eldest daughter in marriage with Francis de Wallois of Aien, and duke of Angouleme; notwithstanding that Charles king of Castile that was after emperor, made sute for hir. Because therefore he ment not to conclude anie thing in such a weightie matter without consent of his confederats, of which he esteemed king James as chiefe, he required him of his aduise and counsell therein; who after aduilement taken, made answer, that albeit the king of France had sufficient counsell about him, yet sith he had desired his aduise, he would friendlie giue the same: which was that he should rather marie his daughter within his owne realme, with such as should succeed him, than to beſtow hir vpon anie forein prince, sith otherwile

some claime might be made in time comming vnto the crowne by such as should match with hir. And so with this answer, the president of Molous departed, reporting the same at his comming home vnto the French king, who thereupon followed his owne determination therein, confirmed and allowed thus by his confederat the king of Scotland.

The lord D'obigne took a sicknesse and died thereof at Corzophin, in the moneth of June, and caused his heart to be sent vnto saint Martin in Calloway; because he had vowed a pilgrimage thither whilest he remained the French kings lieutenant in Naples, where he had atchieved manie high enterprises against his enemies. His name was Bernard Steward, lieutenant of those men of warre which Charles the eight of that name king of France did send with Henrie earle of Richmond into England, when the same earle came against king Richard, whom he vanquished, and thereby got the crowne. And so after manie noble victories and valiant acts atchieved, this lord D'obigne ended his life in his owne countrie of Scotland, where he was borne. This yeare also in Maie and June, there were kept great iusts and tourneys in Edenburgh, by one calling himselfe the wild knight, who counterfeited the round table.

There were diuerse ambassadoys sent forth this yeare also, as the archdeacon of saint Andriew, and sir Anthony Darcie into France, and the bishop of Murray into England. The fifteenth of Iulie, the quene was deliuered of a daughter, which shortly after she had receiued baptisme, deceased, and the quene in that childbed was againe in great perill of death. The bishop of Glasgow died this yeare in his iourne to Jerusalem, the nine and twentieth of Iulie; James Beton succeeded him in that see. The thirtieth of Iulie, there was a great fraie betwixt the lord Marwell, and the lord Creighton of Sanchar, where the lord Creighton was chased with his companye from Dunfreis, & the lord of Dalziel and the young lord of Crauthlaie with diuerse other were slaine. The nineteenth of September was a great earthquake in manie places both of England and Scotland, namelie, the same was perceived in churches.

The king of England sent a gentleman with horses trimlie trapped with barbs of ſcale to be presented to king James, who thankfullie receiued them, and right honozable rewarded the messenger. The archdeacon of saint Andriew returned forth of France in a great ship called the treasure, which ship was cast away on the coast of England, and the archdeacon, and foure hundred persons that were in hir, were brought to the king of England: but the archdeacon in Nouember following returned home and came to Edenburgh. Adam earle of Bothwell and lord Hales departed this life at Edenburgh the seventeenth day of October, and earle Patrike succeeded him. Henrie the seventh king of England, passed out of this world the two and twentieth of April, in the yeare 1509, and his sonne Henrie the eighth succeeded him, after whose coronation king James sent an honozable ambassage of certeine lords and a bishop to congratulat him at his first entrance into the rule of his kingdome, as to the manner in such cases apperteineth.

¶ At this time, John and Andriew Barton (obteining letters of marque from the king against the Doxtingals preying on the borderers of Doxtingale) did take manie of their ships (landed with rich merchandise) which they brought into Scotland. Which kind of prizes being often made by the Bartons vnto the Doxtingals, gaue them cause graciouſlie to complaine to their king, of the wicked piracie of the Scots.

The lord
D'obigne
died.

This was
the king him-
selfe.

Ambassadoys
sent.

The archde-
acon of Glas-
gow died.

A bickering.

An earth-
quake.

Horses sent
vnto king
James.

The archde-
acon of saint
Andriew
came out of
France.

The earle
Bothwell
died.

1509.

King Henrie
the eighth suc-
ceeded his
father.

Fr. Thin.
Lefleus lib. 8.
cap. 250.

Scots
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Scots: but neither the king of Portingale with his counsell, nor his people with their force, could at anie time suppress the Bartons (defended with the Scottish letters of marque) but that he would invade, spoile, & carie awaie the Portingale ships, if he happened vpon anie of them. Touching which, because it shall not seeme to be a manifest iniurie by the Bartons to the other (and not rather a iust cause given by the Portingals) we haue here inserted the letters of our king James the first (as they be found amongst the records) written to Immanuel king of Portingale for this matter. In which it shall manifestly appeare, whether the fault were not mostlie in the Portingals or no.

James the first, king of Scotland,
to Immanuel the woort hie king
of Portingale.

Worthie king, friend, and deere cosine, certene yeares past, a Scottish ship laden with merchandize, & coming from the port of Sluis in Flanders, was invaded by two armed ships, gouerned by Portingals; whereof, the one was called John Wasque, and the other John Bret. Which ship (after certene of hir merchants slaine, manie wounded, manie taken prisoners, and the rest cast into a fisher-bote to be set on land at the next shore) was by them caried into Portingale: all which was done in the sight of the rest of the Lusitan ships, which at the same time did also loose out of that haven to passe into Portingale. The full truth whereof, Charles the duke of Burgonie, and earle of Flanders, vnderstanding (and moued not so much for the singular iniurie done to the Scots, as by the breach of the priuilege, & right of his harborowes) did signifie the same (knowing, and found by order of iudgement) to the king of Portingale, admonishing him, that belike he took order for such wicked deeds, and for the restitution of the hurt and losse: that he would indenuo, that all the Portingals (which frequented the marts of Flanders) should by sentence of iudgement, satisfie all the damages which the Scots had sustained. But the vntimelie death (of that iust and valiant man) did frustrat all his determination.

The king also our grandfather (when he had by his letters complained of that iniurie to the king of Portingale, and had not much profited) gaue forth letters of marque, that is, he gaue authoritie to John & Robert Barton, brothers & heires to that John, which was maister of that ship so caried away, to recouer so much of the Lusitans. Before the execution whereof, my grandfather died: after which (my father being yet verie yong) the whole state of the realme did suppose it best to alter nothing in forren causes, vntill he came to full age. At time (being of sufficient yeares) he did forbear to grant the vse of the said letter of marque, till he had first consulted with the king of Portingale thereabouts. Wherebpon (dispatching

an ambassadoe vnto him) our father also died (before we could againe heare anie answer from thence) leauing me a child not past thre yeeres old. For which cause, the gouernor of the kingdome iudged it best (during our minozie) to defer these letters of marque, vntill we came to ripet yeares; which was done, not without great grieve and complaint of those miserable and poore men.

Wherebpon, we also for these last two yeares (being now grownen to ripet age) are moued alwell to prouide, that other merchants which in that ship of Julian, haue lost their goods and kindred, as also to permit the heirs of the said John Barton (by way of letter of marque before granted) to haue power given them, onelie to take so much recompense of the Portingals. Whereof yet, we thought it meet, that they should not vse any of them, vntill we had first (by this Snadone our esquier) laid before your maiestie the whole order of the matter, which is the iudiciall knowledge of the piracie, the value of the losse, and the cause of our long silence, assuredlie hoping that you will not doe anie thing, in respect of your humanitie and byrightnes, but that which shall be good and iust. The which, if youdeme is yet to be deferred; we require your worthinesse to consider, that we cannot forsake our subiects, afflicted with so great iniuries, whome hereafter we refer to the law of all nations, for recouerie of their goods taken away, which thing ought not to seeme to anie man (by anie meanes) to be the violating of friendship, league, or consanguinitie, wherewith we haue bene linked. Wherefore, when that same shall happen, we desire your excellencie to take the same in good part (most worthie cosine and confederat king) to whom I wish long and happy life. From Edenburgh, the day before the Ides of Aprill, in the yeare, 1540.

The king about this time gaue liberrall possessions to Robert Borthuik, a notable artificer for making of field peeces and other guns; for the which liberalitie, he should make certene great peeces in the castell of Edenburgh, whereof there are manie yet to be seene in Scotland, with this superscription:

Maquina sum scoto Borthuik fabricata Roberto.

This summer the king went in pilgrimage vnto saint Duthois in Kosse, and the quene remaining at Holie rood house, was brought to bed of a prince, the twentie day of October, the which the third day after was baptised and named Arthur. Two great ships came forth of France to the king, fraught with guns, speares, and all other kind of munition for warre. Alexander, bastard sonne to the king, newlie made archbishop of saint Andrews, who had bene long in Germanie student there in the scholes with that famous clarke Erasmus Roterdamus, and had profited verie well, came from Flanders by sea into Scotland, and was ioyfullie receiued, because he had bestowed his time so well in vertues and learning.

The lord of Fast castell came ouer with him; who had trauelled through a great part of christendome: and mozeouer passing into Turkie, came to the emperour

Fr. Thin.
Lectus lib. 8.
pag. 373.

The king
went on pilgrimage.

A ship with
munition.
1540.

The archbishop
of saint
Andrews.

The lord of
Fast castell
went into
Turkie.

C. III.

perour

perour of Turkie at the citie of Caire, who reteined him in seruice, and gaue him god interteinement, so that he remained with him, till he heard that the liuing of Fast castell was fallen to him by lawfull succession; notwithstanding that when he departed out of Scotland, there were eight severall persons before him to succeed one after another, which in the meane time were all deceased. The 14 of Julie, Arthur prince of Scotland and the Isles, departed this life in the castell of Edinburgh. Two scorpions were found, the one quicke, and the other dead, in the orchard of the castell of Cragmiller, which thing was reputed for a marvellous great wonder, that arie should be seene within the Ile of Britaine. In the moneth of September, an vniuersall sicknesse reigned through all Scotland, whereof manie died. It was verie contagious, and they called it Stowepe gallant.

There came also a passing faire woman into Scotland about the same time, naming hir selfe Katharine Gordon, wife to Perkin Warbecke, that had named himselfe duke of Yorke, but at length being brought to the king, the confessed that she was, and so avoided the realme. In which meane while, the ladie Katharine Gordon hir selfe remained in England, and had right god maintenance, so that she lived there verie well and honorable manie yeeres after. Furthermore, the king upon the eighth day of Nouember comming from Edinburgh to the water of Kyle, took diuers misgoverned persons, & brought them to Jedworth, where the principall of the Trumbles, with naked swords in their hands, and withs about their necks met him, putting themselves in the kings mercie, which were sent to sundrie places to be kept in ward, with diuers other of those countymen, whereby the marches were more quiet afterwards; and from thence the king passed to saint Johns towne, where iustice were holden the residue of the winter.

The next yere in the beginning of Maie, the queene went from Dunfermling toward saint Dythois in Koffe, and was all the way right honorablie vsed and interteined. About the tenth of Julie, she returned to Edinburgh, where she found the lord Dacres, and sir Robert Duriie knight come thither as ambassadoes from the king of England hir brother, who were honorablie receiued. In the yere next insuing, in June, Andzew Barton being on the seas to meet the Dorringals (against whom he had a letter of marque) sir Edmund Halward lord admerall of England, and the lord Thomas Haward, sonne and heire vnto the earle of Surrey, were appointed by the king of England to go likewise to sea with certeine ships, and met with the said Andzew as he returned homewards nere to the Dolones, hauing with him onelie one ship and one barke.

The Englishmen at the first made signe vnto the Scots as though they ment none euill, saue onelie to salute them as friends; but getting within them, they set vpon them right fiercelie, and the Scots for a while did as valiantlie defend themselves, so that manie were slaine on both sides: but in the end the Englishmen got the vpper hand, wounded Andzew Barton the chiefe capteine of the Scots, that he died of the hurts that he there receiued, and the ship called the Unicorn, and the barke called Jennie Peruine, were both taken, with all the Scottishmen that remained aliue in the same, which were had to London, and stated as prisoners in the bishop of Yorke his house for a time, and after sent home into Scotland. King James was sore offended with this matter, and thereupon sent an herald with letters, requiring redresse for the slaughter of his people, and restitution of his ships, sith otherwise it might seme

to giue occasion of breach of the peace. But the king of England denied, that the slaughter of a pirat (as he toke Andzew Barton to be) ought to breake anie bond of peace, yet neuertheless he promised to send commisioners to the borders, that should intreat of that matter, and other eniymities chanced betwene the two realmes.

About this time was Alexander Hume the onlie gouernor of all the marches of Scotland (which before were accustomed to be diuided into thre parts) darelle beloued to king James, being a man of a fiercer disposition than was conuenient for the profit of the common-wealth. This man promised to the king (troubled with the cares of warre, and carefull to wipe awaie the reproch of late receiued by the English) that shortly he and his folowers with their kindred and aliances, would so bring the matter about, that the English should as greatlie lament for their losses, as they had now conceiued ioies of their victories. To the performance whereof, he gathered thre thousand souldiers, wherewith he entered England, and there spoiled seuen towne before anie succour might come to rescue them: but as he returned backe laden with booties of all kinds, his men (being accustomed to pilfries and robberies) impatient of delate, presentlie diuided the preie in the host, euerie one departing home to his owne as it was nereest vnto him. Yet Alexander did not disperse such as he might keepe together: but assembling as manie of them as would tarie, with a small companie abode the end of all things, alwaies hauing an eye to see if anie pursute were made after them. But when he perceiued no bodie to follow, and that there was no doubt of danger (passing the time more careles than before) he fell into the hands of thre hundred English laid in wait for him, who (taking the opportunitie of the time) did set vpon him and his, and (driving them into extreme feare) they killed and put to flight all such as they incountered. In which tumult diuers of the Scots were slaine, and two hundred taken, of whome George Hume, brother of the said Alexander (exchanged for Comarck, Heron, and Floyd, taken prisoners, and long reteined in Scotland for reuenge of the death of Robert Carr) was one, and the chiefe, whereby he departed quietlie into Scotland.)

The French king and the duke of Gelberland, perceiuing that the king of England was minded through procurement of the pope & others, to make them wartes, either of them sent ambassadoes into Scotland vnto king James, requiring his assistance against England: but king James minding to mainteine peace and concord betwixt the parties, sent an ambaddor vnto the king of England, desiring him in brotherlie and most louing wise to liue in peace and quietnesse, and not to make anie wars against his confederat friends, offering himselfe to agree and compound anie difference that was fallen betwixt the king of England and the said princes. The king of England, who had already sent aid vnto the ladie regent of the low countries against the duke of Gelberland, made such faire answer herevnto as he thought good with reason, and so dispatched the ambaddour backe againe to his maister, without anie more adoe in that matter, about the which he came for that time.

Much about these daies, there was called a prouinciall synod of bishops, abbats, and other religious persons at Edinburgh, in the monastrie of the Dominicke friers, Watomantie the popes legat being present. In which by the common voice of them all (although against the will of manie of them) it was ordered that benefices or priests livings (whose reuenues did partly exceed the value of 40 pounds) should pay

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.
lib. 12.

The king of
France requir-
ed aid against
England.

King James
persuadeth
to peace.

Fr. Thin.
Lescus. lib. 8.
pag. 356.

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The bishop of
Surrey came
home.

A young prince
borne in
Scotland.

The French
king sent to
persuade the
king of Scots
to warre.

fourteen
pikes of
Englishmen
taken.

gentle exer-
cised.

The queene
brought to bed
of a child.
1512. Lesc.
The league
renewed with
France.

Pursuants
sent into
England and
France.

1513. Lesc.
Dorow well
sent into
Scotland
ambassadoz.

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pay a pension of the tenth to the pope; and should give to the king (when he required) such summes as he liked to demand: which unto this day is called the *Walmanie monie* or tax. John lord Gordon, sonne and heire to Alexander Gordon erle of Huntlie, returned out of France, and was married unto the kings bastard daughter, in November following, in this present were 1512, of whom the house of Huntlie is descended.

Shortlie after came the bishop of Murray home, having bene at Rome, in France, and England, bringing with him from the pope, and the kings of France and England, manie good and pleasant letters: and with him came a cleark of Spaine in ambassage unto the king. This yere the eleventh day of April, the queene was delivered of a young prince in the palace of Linthgo, who was shortlie after baptised, and named James the first prince of Scotland, and of the Isles, that after succeeded his father in the kingdom. The lord Dacres, and doctor West came in ambassage from the king of England, and Monsieur de la Spot came with letters also from the French king, to persuade king James to make warre against England, promising him monie, munition, and all other necessarie provisions of warre. In his waie as he passed the seas towards Scotland, he had drowned three English ships, & brought seven awaie with him unto Leth for prizes, in the which were but three Englishmen left alive. Shortlie after, master James Ogilvie abbat of Dyrburgh came forth of France with letters of the like effect. After this Robert Barton went to the sea, and in Julie brought into Scotland 14 prizes of English men which he had taken.

About this season, the lord of Dymweldie was slaine in Edinburgh by two persons, which took sanctuary in Holie rood house, and so escaped. John erle of Atholl deceased the nineteenth of September, & Lion Harold king of armes deceased the first of October. Great mistrule was exercised on the borders in this season, and therefore the king assembled the lords in Edinburgh for reformation thereof; and while they were there, the queene was brought to bed of a child, which died shortlie after it was christened. There came a great ship into Scotland, which the king of France had sent unto the king, laden with artillerie, powder, and wines, & then was the league and band renewed betwixt Scotland and France. The same ship landed at Blacknesse the nineteenth of November. King James sent a pursuivant called Unicoine into France, and another into England called Flaie, which Flaie required a safe conduct for an ambassado: to be sent from the king his master unto the king of England: but this would not be granted.

Upon the said Flaies returne, Monsieur de la Spot was sent backe into France, and with him sir Walter Ogilvie, and a messenger whom the pope had sent into Scotland. On the sixteenth of March next ensuing, doctor West came as ambassado: into Scotland from the king of England, appointing that certeine commissioners should meet on the borders for redresse of all quarrels betwixt the two realmes, in the moneth of June next ensuing. And this appointment was kept, but no good could be done, as after shall appeere. The king sent Fournan bishop of Murray into France, to signifie unto the French king the message of the said doctor West, and other things. In the moneth of Maie, there came certeine ships out of Denmarke laden with guns, powder, armes, & other kind of munition. Also Monsieur de la Spot landed in the west part of Scotland the sixteenth of Maie, with foure ships fraught with wine and flower, and returned againe the nineteenth

of the same moneth.

The great Odonell of Ireland came to king James at Edinburgh, the first of June, offering his friendship and service to him before all other princes, and speciallie against the king of England; upon he was thankfullie received, honorable intertained, & richlie rewarded. And to the band of friendship being with him concluded, he returned into his countrie. The king prepared a great number of ships, the principall whereof were the Michaell, Margaret, and James. They made saile towards the sea the twentieth seventh of Julie; and the king sailed in the Michaell himselfe, till they were past the Island of Maie, James Gordon son to George erle of Huntlie being one of the captains of the same ship.

The commissioners met on the borders in June, according to the appointment: but because the Englishmen would not consent to make any redresse or restitution, till the fifteenth of October next, thinking by that delay and continuance of time, they should understand the state of their kings proceedings in France, and in the meane time redresse in their hands the Scottishmens goods which they had taken both by sea and land (as the Scottish writers affirme) the king of Scots being thereof advertised, sent Lion king of armes unto king Henrie then lying at siege before Teruine, with letters of complaint, commanding him that if king Henrie refused to accomplish the contents of his said letters, he should denounce warre unto him. Whereupon Lion arriving in the English armie with his coat of arms on his backe, about the middest of August, desired to speake with the king, and was within a short space by Carter chiefe king at arms of England brought to the kings presence, having his nobles and counsellors about him, where, with due reverence, & some good words first uttered, he delivered his letters, the tenor whereof insueth.

The tenor of the king of Scots letters.

Right excellent, right high, and mightie prince; our dearest brother and cosine, we commaund us unto you in our maist hartie manner, and received fra Rast Heralde your letters, quhar untill ye approue and allow the doings of your commissioners latelie being with ours at the borders of bathe the realmes, for making of redresse quhilk is thought to you and your counsell should be continuet and delaet to the fifteenth day of October. Als ye write slaars by se aught not compare personallie, but by their attourneys. And in your letters with our herauld Flaie, ye ascertain us ye will naught enter in the treux taken betwixt the maist christian king and your father of Aragon, because ye and others of the hale liege nether should noz may take peace, treux, noz abstinence of warre with your common enimie, without consent of all the confederats. And that the emperor, king of Aragon, yea and euery of you be bounded to make actuall warre this instant sommer against your common enemy. And that so to do is concluded and openlie sworn in Paules kirke at London, upon S. Markes day last by past. And farther haue denied safe conduct vpon our requestes that a seruitor of ours might haue redorted to

The kings
bald
maned.

The bishop of
Murray came
home.

A young prince
borne in
Scotland.

The French
king sent to
persuade the
king of Scots
to warre.

Fourteen
prizes of
Englishmen
taken.

Mistrule exer-
cised.

The queene
brought to bed
of a child.
1512. Lesle.

The league
renewed with
France.

Pursuivants
sent into
England and
France.

1513. Lesle.
Doctor West
sent into
Scotland
ambassado:.

1513

Munition for
warre sent out
of Denmarke.

Munition sent
out of France.

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us. lib. 8.
56.

Odonell pro-
fessed friendship
vnto king
James.

A nauis sent.

Commis-
sioners met at
the borders.

The English
men protect
the time.

A king of
armes sent
vnto Hen-
rie of Eng-
land.

to your presence (as our herauld Flaie reports.

Right excellent, right high, and mightie prince, our dearest brother and cousing, the said meeting of our and your commissionners at the borders, was peremptorily appointed betwixt you and vs after diuerse diets, for reformatioun before continuet to the commissionners meeting, to effect that due redresse suld haue bene made at the said meeting, like as for our part our commissionners offred to haue made that time. And for your part, no malefactor was then arrestet to the said diet. And to glose the same, ye now write that slaars by se need not comper personallie, but by their attourneis, quhilk is again law of God and man. And gif in criminall action all slaars suld naught comper personallie, na punition suld follow for slaughter, and then bane it were to seke farther meetings or redresse. And hereby apperes (as the deed shewes) that ye will nouthet kepe gud waies of iustice and equitie nor kindnes with vs.

The great wrongs and unkindnes done before to vs and our lieges we ponderate, quhilk we haue suffred this long time in bybearing, mainfwering, noundressing of attemptes, so as the bill of the taken of inhalding of bastard Heron and his complices in your contrie, quha slue our warden vnder trust of daies of meeting for iustice, & thereof was filat & ordeint to be deliuered, in slaying our liege noblemen, vnder color by your folks, in taking of others out of our realme prisonet and chanet by the crags in your contrie, withhalding of our wiues legacie promist in your diuerse letters for despite of vs, slaughter of Androis Barton by your awn commaund, quha than had naught offended to you nor your lieges vnredrest, and breaking of the amity in that behalfe by your deed, and withhalding of our ships and artillarie to your vse.

Quharbypon, eft our diuerse requisitions at your wardens, commissionners, ambassadors, & your selfe, ye wrote and als shew by others vnto vs, that full redresse suld be made at the said meeting of commissionners, and sa were in hope of reformatioun, or at the lest ye for our sake wald haue desist fra inuasioun of our friendes and coussings within their awne countreies that haue naught offended at you, as we first required you, in fauour of our tender coussing the duke of Gelder, quham to destroy and disinherit ye sent your folks, and dud what was in them. And right sa we latelie desired for our brother & coussing the maist christen king of France, quham ye haue caused to tye his countreie of Millaine, and now inuades his selfe, quha is with vs in second degree of blude, and hale bene vnto you kind without offense, and moze kindar than to vs.

Notwithstanding, in defense of his person we mon take part, and thereto ye be cause of others, haue giuen occasion to vs

and to our lieges in time by past, nouthet doing iustlie nor kindlie toward vs, proceeding alwaies to the utter destruction of our nearest friendes, quha mon do for vs quham it shall be necessar; in euill example that ye will hereafter be better vnto vs, quham ye lightlie fauour, manifestlie wronged your sifter for our sake in contrarie our wits: and saieng to our herauld that we giue you faire wordes, and thinke the contrarie. Indeed such it is, we gaue you wordes as ye dud vs, tristing that ye suld haue emended to vs, or worthin kinder to our frends for our sakes, and suld naught haue stopped our seruitors passage to labour pear, that they mought as the papes halines exhorted vs by his breuites to do. And therebpon we were contented to haue ouersene our harmes, and to haue remitted the same, though ether informatioun was made to our halie father pape Iulie, by the cardinall of Porke, your ambassador.

And sen you haue now put vs fra our gude beleue through the premisses, and speciallie in denieng of safe conduct to our seruants, to resort to your presence, as your ambassador doctor West instantlie desired we suld sende one of our councell vnto you vpon great matters, and appointing of differences debatable betwixt you and vs, furthering of pear if we might, betwixt the most christen king & you, we neuer hard to this purpose safe conduct denied betwixt Infidels. Herefore we write to you this time at length plainesse of our mind, that we require and desire you to desist fra farther inuasioun and utter destruction of our brother and coussing the maist christen king, to quham by all confederatioun, blude and alie, and also by new band quhilk you haue compelled vs latelie to take through your iniuries & harmes with out remedie done bailie vnto vs, our lieges and subiects, we are bounden and oblist for mutuall defense ilk of others, like as ye & your confederates be oblist for mutuall inuasiouns and actual warre.

Certifieng you, we will take part in defense of our brother and coussing the maist christen king, and will do what thing we trust may cause you to desist fra pursute of him, and fordeuit and postponit iustice to our lieges we mon giue letters of marque according to the amitie betwixt you and vs, quharto ye haue had little regard in time by past, as we haue ordaint our herauld the bearer hereof to say, gif it like you to heare him and gif him credence. Right excellent, right hie & mightie prince our dearest brother and coussing, the Trinitie haue you in keeping. Geuen vnder our signet at Edenburgh the twentie sirt day of Iulie.

King Henrie haning read the letter, and considered thereof with aduise of his councell, sent for the herauld againe, and told him that he had read and well perceived the contents of the letters which he had deliuered to him, and would make him answer with condition,

The heraulds
answer.

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The herauld
sent for.

The heralds
answer.

condition, that he would promise to declare the same to his maister. Whereunto Lion made this answer: Sir, I am his naturall subiect, and he is my naturall lord, and what he commandeth me to say, I may boldly say with fauour; but the commandements of others I may not, nor dare say vnto my soueraigne lord. But your letters sent by me, may declare your maisters pleasure, albeit your answer requireth doings and not sayings, that is, that you immediatlie should returne home. Then said the king: I will returne at my pleasure to your damage, and not at thy maisters summons. And herewith he caused an answer to be writtten to the king of Scots, in forme as followeth.

King Henrie his answer.

Right excellent, right high & mightie prince, &c. We haue receiued your writing dated at Edinburgh the twentieth day of Julie, by your herald Lion this bearer, wherein after rehearfall and accumulation of manie surmised iniuries, griefs and dangers down by vs and our subiects to you and your lieges, the specialties whereof were superfluous to rehearse, remembering that to them and euerie of them in effect reasonable answer founded vpon law and conscience, hath tofore bene made to you & your counsell; ye not onelie require vs to desist from further inuasion and vtter destruction of your brother and cosine the French king, but also certifie vs that you will take part in defense of the said king, and that thing which ye trust may rather cause vs to desist from pursute of him, with manie contriued occasions and communications by you causelesse sought & imagined, sounding to the breach of the perpetuall peace passed, concluded, and sworn betwixt you and vs, of which your imagined quarrels causelesse deuised to breake to vs, contrarie to your oth promised, all honor & kindness, we can not maruell; considering the ancient accustomed manners of your progenitors, which neuer kept longer faith & promise than pleased them.

Howbeit, if the loue and dread of God, mightinesse of bloud, honor of the world, law and reason had bound you, we suppose ye would neuer haue so farre proceeded, specially in our absence. Whether in the pope and all princes christened may well note in you dishonorable demeanour, when ye lieng in wait, sake the waies to doe that in our said absence, which ye would haue bene well aduised to attempt, we being within our realme and present. And for euident approbation hereof, we need none other proofes nor witness, but your owne writings heretofore to vs sent, we being within our realme, wherein ye neuer made mention of taking part with our enemie the French king, but passed the time with vs till after our departure from our said realme. And now percase ye supposing vs so farre from our said realme, to be destitute of defense against your inuasions, haue vttered the

old rancour of your mind, which in covert manner ye haue long kept secret.

Neuertheless, we remembering the bitterness of your promise, & suspecting though not wholly believing so much vntowardnesse, thought it better expedient and necessarie to put our said realme in a readines for resisting of your said enterprises, hauing firme trust in our Lord God, and the righteousnesse of our cause, with the assistance of our confederats & allies, we shall be able to resist the malice of schismatiks and their adherents, being by the generall counsell expresse excommunicate and interdicted; trusting also in time conuenient to remember our friends, and requite you and our enemies, which by such vnaturall demeanour haue giuen sufficient cause to the disherison of you and your posteritie for euer, from the possibilitie that ye thinke to haue to the realme, which ye now attempt to inuade.

And if the example of the king of Nauarre, being excluded from his realme for assistance giuen to the French king, can not restraine you from this vnaturall dealing; we suppose ye shall haue like assistance of the French king, as the king of Nauarre hath now, who is a king without a realme, & so the French king peaceably suffereth him to continue, whereto good regard would be taken. And like as we heretofore touched in this our writing, we need not to make anie further answer to the manifold griefs by you surmised in your letter: for so much as if anie law or reason could haue remoued you from your sensuall opinions, ye haue bene manie and oftentimes sufficientlie answered to the same: except onelie to the pretended griefs touching the denieng of our safe conduct to your ambassadoz last sent vnto vs.

Whereunto we make this answer, that we had granted the said safe conduct; and if your herald would haue taken the same with him, like as he hath bene accustomed to solicit safe conducts for merchants and others heretofore, ye might as soone haue had that, as anie other: for we neuer denied safe conduct to anie your lieges to come vnto vs and no further to passe, but we see well, like as your said herald had heretofore made sinister report contrarie to truth, so hath he done now in this case, as it is manifest and open. Finallie, as touching your requisition to desist from further attempting against our enemie the French king, we know you for no competent iudge of so high authoritie to require vs in that behalfe. Wherefore (God willing) we purpose with the aid and assistance of our confederats and allies to prosecute the same; and as ye doe to vs and our realme, so it shall be remembered and acquitted hereafter by the helpe of our Lord & our patrone saint George, who right excellent, right high and mightie prince, &c. Dated vnder our signet in our campe before Tirwine, the twelfth day of August.

This

This letter being deliuered vnto the Scottish herald, he departed with the same into Flanders, there to haue taken ship: but for want of readie passage he staid, and returned not into Scotland till Flodden field was fought, and the king slaine. For king James perceiuing all the Englishmens doings to tend vnto war rather than to peace, hauing taken order for the assembling of his people, immediately after he had sent forth his herald with commandement to denounce the warre, he determined to invade the English confines, and first besoze his maine force was come together, the lord Humes that was lord chamberlaine and warden of Scotland, the thirtieth day of August, hearing that the Englishmen had fetched a bottie within the Scottish ground, assembled a power, & followed them into Northumberland, but per he could returne he was forelaid [in Bowme house, or Bowme field] by the Englishmen, which breaking out of their ambushes, put the Scottishmen to the worke, and of them toke and slue manie.

Englishmen
fetched a bottie
in Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

Buchan. lib. 13.

These wars thus begun, the king determined to go to his armie (as it seemeth) not yet fullie assembled. Whereupon comming to Lincolne, he went to the church to heare euen-song; as the manner was. To whome, after he had entered the chappell, there came an old man, whose beare was somewhat yellowish red, hanging downe vpon his shoulders, his forehead high with baldnesse, bare headed, hauing his bodie couered with a blewish garment, girded with white, and verie reuerent in his countenance. This man seeking the king, passed through the companie standing there, and drew nere to the king. Who being now come vnto him (and with a certeine rude behaviour, leaning vpon the seat wherein the king was placed) in homelie sort saide vnto him: King James sent vnto thee, to giue thee admonishment that thou hasten not forward to the place which thou hast determined: which warning if thou dost despise, it shall succed ill with thee, and with all such as shall attend vpon thee. Further I am commanded to giue thee intelligence before hand, that thou eschue the familiaritie, custome, or counsell of women, and if thou dost otherwise, it shall succed to thy hurt and reproch. After which thus spoken, he mingled himselfe with the other companie, neither could after be found (the euen-song being ended) when he was sought for by the king: for he was neuer scene after that he had thus deliuered his message. Which seemed the more strange, because that manie which stood nere him (marking all his order, and desirous to haue heard more things from him) could not perceiue his departure; amongst which persons (of those that meant to haue asked him further questions) David Lindsay (a man of approued credit and vertue, verie well learned, and whose life was far estranged from lieng and fallshood) was one, who told this same to me (saith Buchanan) as a thing most certeine; or else I would haue ouerpassed it as a fable caried about by common report.]

King James
approched
nere vnto
England
with his
power.

The king of
Scots made
too much
hast.

Bozham.
The Bates.

In the meane time was the whole power of Scotland assembled, with the which king James approaching to the borders, and nothing abashed with the euill lucke thus at the beginning chanced to his people, purposed with greater aduantage of victorie to recover that detriment; and hereupon he made such hast, that he would not staid for the whole power of his realme, which was in preparing to come forward vnto him; but comming to the borders, he passed ouer the water of Tweed the two and twentieth of August, and entered into England, lodging that night at Wessham nere to the riuer of Tussell, and the next day laid siege vnto the castell of Bozham, and within short space wan the Bates, ouerthrowing the

Barnekin, & slue diuerse within the castell, so that the capteine and such as had charge within it, desired the king to delaie the siege, while they might send to the earle of Surreie already come with an armie into the north parts, covenanting if they were not rescued by the nineteenth day of that moneth, they should deliuer the castell vnto the king. This was granted: and because none came within the time to the rescue, the castell was deliuered at the appointed day; a great part of it was ouerthrowne and beaten downe. After this he wan the castles of Fould and Etell, & diuerse other places of strength, of which, part were ouerthrowne. He also toke manie prisoners, and sent them away into Scotland, and diuerse he assured: and thus he abode an eighte daies within England, till two parts of his armie were scaled & departed home from him, which they did vpon this occasion.

Barnekin.

Fourd and
Etell taken.

The king was determined & persuaded to haue besieged Berwik (beyond which he was now passed) since the same alone was more honor (than all the other places besides) if they wan it; the taking whereof they supposed not to be verie hard, because they were sure that the towne and castell were unfurnished of all things for the defense thereof. Whereupon, the king (deeming nothing too hard for his armie, especiallie, since the English were set on worke as much as they might in the French wars) being nourished in that vanitie (by his flattering courtiers) did leaue the same vndone at this time, meaning in his returne easilie to haue obtained it. But as they were yet at Fould, a herald of the English came vnto them, requiring that they would appoint a day and place, where and when both the armies might soine in battell. Whereupon, there was a counsell called amongst the Scots, in which it was agreed by the greater part, that the Scots should returne home into their countrie, least with so small a companie they might hazard the state of the whole countrie; especiallie, since that they had already sufficientlie obtained fame, glorie and riches, and to the bittermost satisfied the band of amitie with the French; for there was no iust cause, why they should number (so few) and for trauell (in ouerthrowing so manie forts) so much weakened, should now againe be laid open to so great a multitude of the English daile increasing with succors. For it was said at that time; that Thomas Halward brought into the field (besides the rest of his armie) 6000 of chosen and valiant souldiers from the English campe (in France) before Turweine.

Fr. Thin.

Buchan. lib. 13.

To which persuasion (to make the matter more strange) it was further added, that if the king did depart; the English iost of necessitie must be dissolved, and could not that yeare againe be repaired, because their souldiers were set from the furthest parts of the realme; and that if the king would needs fight, that he then should doe it in his owne realme, keeping the time & place in his power alwaies to be appointed. But when the French ambassador (and certeine other, sed with the French pensions) labored to the contrarie; the king being by nature fierce, and greedy of warre, was easilie persuaded to abste his enemie in that place. In the meane time, when the English came not forth (at the day appointed to them by the herald, which before had bene with the Scots) the noblemen of Scotland, taking occasion thereof, did afresh go to the king, declaring that their not comming to battell was onelie a traine and deceit, deferring the matter from day to day, to the end that their force might be increased; and the Scots diminished.

Wherefore said they, we should vse the like policie against them. For since they haue not attended the time

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tunc prescribed unto them; it is no shame to the Scots to retire into their countie without battle, or to fight within their owne limits. Of both which the wiser counsell were to follow the first; which if it be not liked, there is their good occasion offered to execute the other. For since the river of Forth (having his banks) is not passable, but at certain places hence (except it be by a bridge) some few may there resist a great multitude. Besides which, when a part of the English armie is passed the bridge, the same bridge may easilie (by engines placed therefore) be cut in sunder; so that there shall not be passage for anie more: by means whereof, the one part of them shall be subdued on the one side of this river, before that anie aid can come unto them from the other bank. The king liked neither of these devises and persuasions; but answered, that he would not suffer the English to depart (unsoughten with) although there were an 100000 against him. At which rash answer, the whole nobilitie was grievously offended.

Whereupon Archibald Doolglas earle of Angus (which farre excelled all the others both in pées and authoritie) laboured to turne the kings mind with all gentle persuasions, and began to make a more ample discourse upon the two former counsels giuen by the nobilitie. For he shewed that the king had fullie satisfied the request of the French, in that he had now turned the greatest part of the English armie before bent against the French, against himselfe and his owne people; and had so wrought, that those great armies should neither hurt France nor do anie iniurie unto the Scots, sith they were not able long to remaine in campe in those cold places, and in a barren countie unfurnished of all things (by the calamities of the last warres) and in which there was no corne; and if there were, it could not be ripened (the winter coming on so fast) in those northerne parts of the realme.

And where the French ambassadoz doth so much urge vs unto the battell, I suppose that the same should not seme either new or strange unto vs, that a strange man (which doth not respect the common euill of the realme, but the priuat commoditie of his owne nation) be ouer lauish in poisoning out the blood of other men. Besides which, his request is neuer impudent, to demand of the Scots that which the French king (a man of singular experience and wisdom) doth not iudge conuenient for his owne kingdom: or dignitie, if we be ouerthrowne. Neither should the losse of his host seme more light vnto him (although we are few in number) because that all they of Scotland (which excell in force, authoritie or counsell) are assembled here together, who being slaine, the rest of the realme would seme to be a preie to the victor. What: Is it more safe for vs, and more profitable to the eschewing of all danger, for him to fight at this present? No trulie. For if Letoes do suppose, that the English (by imagined meanes) may be either made needie of monie, or else wickered by de laie; what can be done more necessarie for the present state of things, than to compell the enimie to diuide his armie, to the end that we may ease the weight of warre against the French by one part of the host to be sent against vs, and still to hold them plate as it were alwaies to keepe them readie to set vpon vs, by removing to giue them cause to follow vs: For so I suppose shall the glorie and shew (which these men I feare rather valiant in words than deeds, do with their rashnesse so much pretend) be fullie answered. For that can happen more honorable to the king, than that we (by the overthrow of so manie castles, by the spoile of so manie countreies with sword and fire, and by the drying home of so great booties and preies) haue done that iniurie to them,

as that their countie shall not by the peace of manie pées recover his former estate: Which if greater profit may be looked for by warre, than in so great tumult of warres, with great praise and honor to vs, and with shame and reproch to our enemies, to obtaine quiet, ioined with gaine and glorie for the refreshing of our selues: Which kind of victorie (that is gotten more by words than by swords) chiefe belongeth to man, and of men speciallie to the leaders and captains, as such a glorie wherof the common souldiours may not shaker the part.

Which being thus spoken by Earle Doolglas, although all they which were present seemed (by their countenance) to giue consent thereto: yet the king (who had with other bound himselfe to fight with the English) receiued these counsels with contrarie cares; and in heat commanded Doolglas to depart home, if he were afraid of the enimie. Whereupon he conceiuing some vnkindnesse, and inwardlie beholding wherevnto all these things would come by the kings rashnesse forthwith burst out in teares. After which (as soone as he could settle himselfe thereto) he spake these few words. If (said he) my former life did not cleare me from the reproch of a coward, I knowe not with what reason or persuasion I might cleare or defend my selfe. For trulie so long as this my bodie was able to sustaine anie labor, I neuer spared to spend the same in the defense of my countreies helpe, and my soueraignes honor. But since I see their cares to exclude my counsell (which is the onelie thing wherewith I can now be profitable) I here leaue my two sonnes (who next vnto my countie are most deare to me) and the rest of my kindred (of whom I greatly account) as a certaine pledge of the truth and loue of my mind towards the, and the common helpe of my countie. And I pray God that he make this feare of mine to be false, and that I may rather be counted a lieng prophet, than behold those things which I feare will happen vnto vs. Which words when the Doolglas had said to the king, he departed thence with his companie. The rest of the nobilitie (because they saw they could not draw the king to their mind) took that place for battell which was next vnto them, to the end (seeing they were much inferior in number to their enemies, for there were 26000 fighting men in the English armie, as it was knowne by the scouts) to defend themselves with the benefit of the place, and thereupon got the hill next vnto their campe.)

In which meane time, the earle of Surrie, lieutenant to the king of England, hauing raised all the power of the north parts of England, came with the same towards the place where he heard that king James was incamped, and approaching within three miles of the Scottish campe in full sight of the Scottishmen, pitched downe his tents, and incamped with his whole armie. Although king James had great desire to fight with his enemies thus lodged in full view of his campe; yet because he was incamped in a place of great aduantage, so as the enemies could not approach to fight with him, but with great losse and danger to cast themselves away, he thought good to keepe his ground, speciallie because all those of the nobilitie, who were knowne to be of experience, did not hold with their aduise that counsell him to giue battell.

At what time the earle of Surrie had sent an officer at armes vnto him, requiring him to come forth of his strength vnto some indifferent ground, where he would be readie to encounter him, & name the earle of Huntlee, a man for his high valiantie ioined with wisdom and policie, had in most reputation of all the residue, affirmed in plaine words (besides that which Doolglas had before said) that

The power of the north countie raised.

The English campe in sight of the Scottish campe.

King James was minded to keepe his ground.

Paulus Iouius,

The earle of Huntlee his counsell.

Et. Tili.

nothing

This persua-
sions.

Foule wea-
ther.

nothing could be either more fond or foolish, than to fight at pleasure of the enimie, and to set all on a maine chance at his will and appointment; and therefore it should be good for them to remaine there in place of advantage, and with prolonging the time to trifle with the enimie, in whose campe there was alreadie great scarcitie of vittells, neither was it possible that they should be vittelled from the inner parts of the realme, by reason of the cumbersome waies for cartage to passe now after such abundance of continuall raine as of late was fallen, and not like as yet to cease, so that in sitting still and attempting nothing rashly without advisement, the king should haue his enimies at his pleasure, as vanquished without stroke stricken through disadvantage of the place, and lacke of vittells to susteine their languishing bodies.

And surlier beside the want of vittells, the foule and euill weather fore annoied both parties; for there had not bene one faire day, no scarce one houre of faire weather of all the time the Scottish armie had lien within England, but great cold, wind & raine, which had not onelie caused manie of the Scots to returne home, but also fore vered the Englishmen, as well in their iourne thitherwards, as also while they lay in campe against the Scottish armie. There was sending of messengers betwixt them to and fro, and the king had sent his quarell in writing to the earle of Surrie by his herald Blate the night before the battell, containing as followeth.

King Iames his quarell vnto the earle of Surrie.

Where it is alledged that we are come into England against our bond and promise, thereto we answer: that our brother was bound as farre to vs as we were to him, and when we were last before his ambassadors in presence of our counsell, we expressed speciallie in our oth, that we would keepe to our brother, if our brother kept to vs, and not else. We sweare that our brother brake first to vs, and of his breach we required him diuers times of amends: and latelie we warned him, as he did not vs per we brake. And this we take for our quarell, and by Gods grace shall defend the same at your affixed time, which with Gods helpe we shall abide. ¶ Thus was the king verie desirous to trie the matter by battell, although the wisest sort of his nobles wished not that he should do anie thing ouer rashly.

Prodigious
chances.

In here.

The buckle
leather of his
helmet gnawed
with mife.
The cloth of
his tent of
blodie colour.

There chanced also manie things taken (as we would say) for warnings of some great mischance to follow, which though some reputed but as baine and casual haps; yet the impression of them bred a certeine religious feare and new terror in his heart. For as he was in counsell with his lords, to understand their opinions touching the order of his battels, there was an hare start amongst them, which hauing a thousand arrowes, daggers, and other kind of things bestowed at him, with great noise and shouting, yet he escaped from them all safe and without hurt. The same night also, mife had gnawed in sunder the buckle and leather of his helmet where with he should fasten the same to his head. And moreover, the cloth or beile of his inner tent (as is said) about the breake of the day, appeared as though the drawie moisture thereof had bene of a bloudie colour.

Hereupon the king keeping himselfe within his tent, the earle of Surrie constrained by necessitie to seeke all waies whereby to traine the king downe from the hill where he was lodged, remoued his campe towards the hills of Floddon, where the king of Scots late incamped: and on the ninth day of September passed the water of Till at Whitwell bridge; the reuerward going ouer at Milford, putting themselves as nere as they could betwixt the Scottish campe and Scotland. King James perceiuing the Englishmen to passe the water, iudged that they had ment to win an hill that late betwixt them and his campe, and therefore to prevent them, he caused his field to be raised, and fier to be set on the litter & cabins which they had made of boughs, and so with all speed remoued to the other hill, being gotten thither per the Englishmen could perceiue him to be remoued out of his former lodgings, because the smoke of the fier which the Scots had made, covered all the countrie betwixt the two armies.

In the meane while were the Englishmen advanced to the foot of Floddon hill, hauing thereby gotten double advantage: for the Scottish ordinance could not much annoie them in marching upwards vnder the leuill thereof, and they againe might gall the Scots in shooting off at them, as they came downe towards upon them. For king James hauing disappointed the Englishmen of the hill, thought relie it should be an easie matter for him to ouerthrow them, which being put beside the place where they intended (as he thought) to haue camped, would neuer abide the countenance of his puissant armie, if he might attaine to iohne with them. Therefore the Scottish armie [after they had appointed the same into three wards, whereof (as saith Lelless) the earle of Huntlee and the lord Hume led the right wing, the left had the earle of Cratford and Pontroffe; and the king himselfe kept the middle ward, with the earles of Argile and Lennor] making downe wards, encountered with the English host nere to the foot of the mountaine called Brannton, and first sir Edmund Haward leading one of the out wings of the English armie, hauing with him three thousand men, being fiercelie assailed by the Scots on foot, hauing speares and long weapons, and also by certeine horsemen, was in the end discomfited, and his people beaten downe and put to flight, so that being of them for taken, he was constrained to follow. But yet he and diuerse other which escaped, ioined themselves to the next battell as well as they might. This so prosperous a beginning, who would thinke should haue turned to the losse of the Scots part, and advancement of the English side. But so it came to passe, for king James no sooner saw that wing of the English host ouerthrowne and discomfited, but that he deemed how all the whole power of the Englishmen had bene fleeing away: and therefore alighting beside his horse, and commanding those that were about him to follow, prepared himselfe to pursue the chase.

His captiues did what they could by words to remoue him from his purpose, declaring to him the dutie of a prince: which is not rashly to enter the fight, but to provide and see that euery thing be done in order: and whereas comming to trie the matter by hand blowes, he can do no more than another man; yet keeping his place as appertineth to his person, he may be worth manie thousands of other. The king nothing moued with these exhortations, breaking his arraie of battell, with a companie of noble men, rushed forward into the fore ward, where accomplishing the office of a footman, he found the Englishmen not fleeing, but manfullie standing at resistance,

The English
campe remou-
ed by the
earle.

The Scots
campe remou-
ed also.

Advantage
gotten by the
ground.

King James
his practice.

Fr. Thin.

Sir Edmund
Howard
hauing had an
fiercelie as-
sailed.

A good begin-
ning had an
euill ending.

King James
deceiued him-
selfe and alight-
ed from his
horse.

The captiues
god counsell
not regarded.

The kings
hardinckie
married all.

Sir Ed-
ward
Huntlee
did the day
of the reue-
gard.

King Jan-
es.

The lord
chamberle-
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resistance, so that there was a right hard encounter, and manie arrowes shot on euerie side, and great hurt done therewith.

At length sir Edward Stanlie with the rereguard of the Englishmen came fiercelie downe from the hill of Bannerton, upon the backe of the kings armie, wherem they fought cruellie on both parts for a long space; but at length the victorie inclined to the Englishmen. For the king himselfe was there beaten downe and slaine, with all that whole battell which first entered the fight. The other part of the Scottish host, whereof Alexander Hume lord chamberlaine had the gouernance, although he saw where the other Scottishmen were in danger, and closed in on euerie side, yet would he not once remoue one foot forward out of the place (where he stood) to aid them. Whereouer, the lacke of discretion in the king, which would needs run upon his owne death, amazed the minds of all men, and brought them into such perplexitie, that they knew not what to doe; but looked one upon another without stirring to or fro, as those that were in despair now after the death of their king to recover the victorie, which by so strange a chance seemed as it were slipped out of their hands.

Howbeit, the lord chamberlaine bare the most blame, for that he did not cause a new onset to be giuen. But it happened well for the Englishmen: for if king James had ordered himselfe wiselie in this battell, or that after he was slaine, a new furie had moued the Scots to haue renewed the fight in reuenge of the kings death, as had bene expedient, the victorie vndoubtedly had bene theirs (as was thought by men of great vnderstanding.) Whereupon the Englishmen reuembryng how manifestlie Gods goodnesse appeared towards them in this battell, confessed themselves long after bound to God for their safetie and deliuerance out of that present danger. The fight began about foure of the clocke in the after noone, and continued thre houres, in the which fiftene thousand men were slaine on both parts: and of that number a third part at the least was of Englishmen (as was credible reported) but (as our English writers affirme) there died of Englishmen not past fiftene hundred.

But yet the Scottishmen hold, that there died more of the Englishmen than of their nation at this field, and that manie thought it was not the bodie of king James which the Englishmen found in the field, and took it for his; but rather an other Scottish mans corpse, called the lard of Bonehard, who was also slaine there. And it was affirmed by sundrie, that the king was seene the same night aliuie at Kelso: and so it was commonlie thought that he was liuing long after, and that he passed the seas into other countries, namely to Jerusalem to visit the hole sepulchre, and so to dye for the residue of his daies, in doing penance for his former passed offences: but he appeared not in Scotland after as king, no more than Charles duke of Burgognie did appeare in his countries after the battell of Pance, although his people had the like vaine opinion that he escaped from that discomfiture aliuie.

But now to returne to the truth of the matter where we left. In the night following after this terrible battell, the residue of the Scottish armie returned homewards the same way they came, waisting and spoiling the English borders as they passed. At their comming home, euerie man spake euill of them; for that as towards and naughtie persons, they neither fought to reuenge the death of their noble king, nor yet to succour their fellows that were beaten downe and slaine before their faces. But namely Alexander Hume lord chamberlaine was reprobous; as cause of all that mischiefe, which beha-

ued himselfe not as a captaine, but as a traitor or enimie to his countrie. * Upon the honor of this victorie, Thomas Hayward earle of Surrie (as a note of the conquest) gaue to his seruants this cognifance (to weare on their left armie) which was a white lion (the beast which he befoze bare as the proper ensigne of that house) standing ouer a red lion (the peculiar note of the kingdome of Scotland) and tearing the same red lion with his pawes.]

Thus haue you heard how thorough rashnesse and lacks of skilfull order, the Scottish armie was ouercome, and that worthy prince king James the fourth brought to his fatal end, on the ninth day of September, in the twentie and fift yeere of his reigne, and thirtie and ninth of his age, which was in the yeere from the incarnation 1513. For his politike gouernment and due administration of iustice, which he exercised during the time of his reigne, he deserued to be numbred amongst the best princes that euer reigned ouer the Scottish nation. All theft, reiffe, murder, and robbrie ceased in his daies, by such rigorous execution of lawes penall as he caused to be exercised through all the bounds of Scotland: insomuch that the sauage people of the out Isles soyled themselves through terror and dread of due punishment to liue after the order of lawes and iustice, where other wise of themselves they are naturallie inclined to sedition, & disquieting of each other. To conclude, men were in great hope, that if it had pleased the hie determinate power of almightie God to haue lent to him longer life, he should haue brought the realme of Scotland to such a flourishing estate, as the like in none of his predecessors times was yet euer heard of.

There died with him in that infortunate battell, of noble men (beside others of the meaner sort) the archbishop of saint Andrews his bassard sonne, the bishop of the Isles: the abbats of Inchaffreie and Kilmennie: the earles of Montrose, Crawford, Argyll, Lennox, Glencair, Cathnes, Castelles, Bothwell, Arrell high constable of Scotland, Adell, Atholl, and Morton: the lords Louet, Forbois, Cluesston, Ross, Fenderbie, Saintcleare, Marvell, and his thre brethren, Daunlie, Sempill, Bothcliffe, Bogonnie, Arskill, Blackater, and Colwin: knights and gentlemen of name, sir John Motglas, Cuthbert Hume of Fast castell, sir Alexander Seton, sir Darnie, maister John Grant, sir Dunkin Catwifield, sir Sander Lowder, sir George Lowder, maister Marshall, maister Key, maister Elliot, maister Calwell clerke of the chancery, the deane of Clesster, Spache bene, Spache Cleue, with manie others.

* This James the fourth was of a firme bodie, of iust stature, of most comelie countenance, and of sharpe wit, but altogether vnlearned, as the fault of that age was. But he did diligentlie applie himselfe to an old custome of the countrie, cunninglie to cure wounds, the knowledge whereof in times past was a thing common to all the nobilitie, being alwaies vsed to the warres. He was easilie to be spoken vnto, gentle in his answers, iust in his iudgements, and so moderat in punishments, that all men might easilie see he was vnwillinglie drawn vnto them. Against the detraction of the euill, and admonishment of the good, there was such worthinesse of mind in him (confirmed by the quiet of a good conscience, and the hope of his innocencie) that he would not onelie not be angrie, but not so much as vse a sharpe word vnto them. Amongest which vertues, there were certeine vices crept in by the ouermuch desire to please the people, for whilest he labored to auoid the note of couetousnesse (objected to his father) and sought to win the fauour of the common sort (with sumptuous feasts, gorgeous shewes, and large gifts) he fell into

Fr. Thin.
Buchan, li: 13

The sauage
people refoi-
med them-
selues.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan, lib. 13;

that powerie, that it seemed (if he had lived long) that he would have lost the fauor of his people (worne in old times) by the imposition of new taxes. Wherefore his death was thought to haue timelie happened vnto him.)

James the first.

An assemble at Striueling 1513.

The king crowned, and the queene appointed regent. Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 13.

Debate.

The duke of Albanie sent for.

Monsieur de la Bautie is sent into Scotland.

An assemble had at Striueling.

The great disquietnesse reigning in Scotland during the minority of James the first.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 12.

After the death of that worthy prince king James the fourth, slaine at Banrton (as before ye haue heard) his sonne James the first succeded him: for after the returne of those that escaped from the said field, the queene assembled the lords and estates of the realme together at Striueling, where the 21 day of September 1513, his sonne the foresaid James the first, a child of one yeere, nine moneths, & ten daies of age, by vniuersall aduise and consent was crowned king, and his mother the queene appointed regent of the realme, vsing the counsell of the reuerend father James Beton archbishop of Glasgowe, the earles of Huntlie, Angus, and Arrane. This gouernement the queene obtained by reason of hir husbands testament, who making his last will (before that he went to the warres) did appoint the rebv that the whole administration of all things should remaine with hir, so long as she continued a widow: the which though it were against the custome of the countrie (being the first example of a womans gouernement amongst the Scots) yet it seemed tolerable to most men (giuen to peace) especiallie since there were not men sufficient at that time for honor and experience to take that charge in hand, by occasion of the great slaughter of the nobles at Flodden field, which gouernement she did not long inioy.]

For shortly after they fell at variance amongst themselves, about the bestowing of those benefices which were vacant by the deaths of those persons which had bene slaine at the field; by reason whereof, some of them writ letters secretlie into France to John duke of Albanie, willing him to come into Scotland to be tutor to the king, and gouernor of the realme, as he that was next of blood to the king, and nearest to the crowne, in case the kings children deceased without issue. He therefore sent monsieur de la Bautie into Scotland, who in companie of the earle of Arrane, the lord Fleming, and Lion the herald (which long had bene in France) landed on the west coast the third of Nouember. And shortly after, the said monsieur de la Bautie deliuered his letters to the queene and lords, who thereupon met at saint Johns towne, and there by vniuersall consent it was accorded, that the duke of Albanie should be admitted tutor and gouernor to the king & realme, and that the same should be confirmed in parlement by the three estates which should be kept at Edinburgh, the thirtieth day of March next, for the same intent.

To rehearse the troubles and great disquietnesse that chanced, during the minority of this king; the rough lacke of due administration of iustice, and by discord & variance daile rising amongst the lords & peeres of the realme, a man might haue iust cause greatlie to wonder thereat, and in weiging the same throughlie, no lesse lament the oppression done to the poore commons in that wicked and most miserable time, when iustice seemed to sleepe, and rapine with all the other sorts and rabble of inuiolent violence invaded hir emptie seat, triumphing ouer all as a conqueror. During the times of which disorder, there was (amongest those which preyed and spoiled others) a great captaine of the same faction, called Macrobert Struan, who (ouerrunning Atholl and the adioining places) was accompanied for the most part with eight hundred theues, and sometime more. Which Struan was at length (whilest he spoiled euerie man at his owne pleasure, and at that time remaining with his uncle John Creichton) taken by

wait laied for him, and enforced to depart with his life.]

The queene sent louing letters vnto the king of England hir brother, requiring him of peace. Whereupon a truce was taken betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, for the space of one yeere and a day. In the beginning of Februarie, the king of England, hearing that a parlement should be holden in Scotland, for the bringing in of the duke of Albanie to be tutor, wrote to his sister that she should in anie wise impeach and staie his comming thither; declaring how dangerous it was, not onelie for hir, but also for hir sonne to haue him gouernor, which was to succede, if hir son were once out of the way. But the chiefest cause that moued the king of England to labour, that the duke should haue nothing to do in Scotland, was (as manie thought) for that he knew how the duke, in fauour of the king of France, would set himselfe an enimie against England, with all the force he might make or procure.

Now shortly after that the peace was concluded betwixt him and the king of France, he sent a letter also, requiring him not to suffer the duke to passe into Scotland, for the reason first alleged. But notwithstanding the labor that king Henrie made to the contrarie, it was concluded by the states in parlement assembled in Edinburgh, at the time prefixed, that sir Patrike Hamilton, and Lion king of armes should be sent into France, to procure the duke to come into Scotland, being now confirmed tutor and gouernor, according to the lawes of the realme in such cases prouided. Whereupon, in Aprill then next following they toke the seas, and passed into France, accordingly as by the states had bene deuised.

This yeere came a legat into Scotland from the pope, with certeine priuileges granted to the king and realme. The thirtieth of Aprill was the queene deliuered of a prince in the castell of Striueling, which was baptised by the posulat of Dunfermling, and the archdeane of saint Andewes, and infantlie confirmed by the bishop of Cathnesse, by the name of Alexander. During the time that the queene lay in childbed, great discord fell out betwixt the lords of the west parts, and the other lords of the realme: but shortly after the queene called an assemble at Edinburgh the twelfth of Iulie, where they were all well agreed. And herewith two of the cleargie were sent into England for peace. And the 28 of the same moneth, maister James Ogilvie abbat of Dunburgh, and sir Patrike Hamilton, and Lion the herald came forth of France with articles in writing from the king there, and the duke of Albanie; by the which the dukes comming was excused, because the king could not want him, till some end were had touching the warres betwixt him and the king of England, which was concluded in October next following.

This yeere, the first of August, the queene married Archibald Douglas earle of Angus, and immediately after in saint Johns towne toke the great scale from the bishop of Glasgowe, that was chancelor of the realme. Whereupon the said bishop got him to Edinburgh, where manie lords assisted him; and kept out the queene and hir new husband, so that they might not enter there: whereof great discord rose within the realme amongst the nobles and peeres of the same. In the peace contracted betwixt Lewis the twelfth of that name, king of France, and Henrie the eighth king of England, no mention was made of the realme of Scotland: for the which the Scottishmen thought great salt in the French king, seeing that for his cause the warre had bene attempted betwixt them and England. The same yeere, about

The king of England wrote to his sister.

The duke of Albanie confirmed tutor by parliament.

1514. A legat from Rome. The queene deliuered of hir second son Alexander.

The marriage of the queene mother. The great scale taken from the bishop of Glasgowe.

A peace concluded betwixt England & France.

The decease of the bishop of Aberdeen.
Monsieur de la Bautie.
1514.
The castell of Dunburgh taken.
The popes bulls published.
1515. Lefle.
Contention about the inuening of the sea of saint Andewes.
1515. Truce betwixt England and Scotland.
The duke of Albanie his arrival in Scotland.
The duke of Albanie received into Edinburgh.
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Monsieur de
la Bontie.

1514.

The castell of
Dunbarton
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The popes
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1515. Lesle.

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1515.
Truce be-
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The duke of
Albanie his
arruall in
Scotland.

The duke of
Albanie recei-
ued into E-
denburgh.

bout the twentieth fift of October, William Elphing-
ston bishop of Aberdeen, and lord keeper of the priuie
scale departed this life at Edenburgh. He had bene
a faithfull counsellor to James the third & to James
the fourth, by whose helpe he founded and indowed
the college in the old towne of Aberdeen, for the in-
crease of learning & vertue, which hath flourishid with
good wits of students euer since, till these our daies.
The 20 of Nouember, Le sire de la Bontie receiued
the castell of Dunbar in the name of the duke of Al-
banie, at the hands of the deane of Glasgow brother
to the bishop of Murray, called Fozman. Shortly
after, John Hepborne the prior of saint Andrews
then elect archbishop of that see, besseged the castell
of saint Andrews, and wan it by force from the kee-
pers of it, which were appointed to defend it in the
name of Gawin Dotalgasse, wherewith the queene
and the earle of Angus were highlie offended. The
twelfth of Januarie, being a verie darke & windie
night, the earle of Lennox, and the maister of Glen-
carrie undermined the nether groundsoile of the ca-
stell gate of Dunbarton, & entered thereby into the
castell, & so toke it, putting out thereof the lord Er-
skine. Shortly after (that is to say) the fifteenth of
that moneth, a great assemble was made betwixt
the earles of Angus and Arrane, the one to haue
fought with the other, which was the cause and be-
ginning of great trouble that ensued.

The same day in Edenburgh were the bulls pub-
lished, which Fozman the bishop of Murray had pur-
chased at Rome, for the obtaining of the archbishop-
rike of saint Andrews, the abbasies of Dunferme-
ling, and Arbroth, through supplication of the queene
and duke of Albanie. From which bulls the prior of
saint Andrews appealed, pretending title to the arch-
bishops see by election and general gift of the lords
of the realme; and herupon got together his friends
in Edenburgh, as the maister of Hales and others.
And on the other part, the lord chamberleine, and di-
uerse of the bishop of Murreis friends got the kings
letters, by vertue whereof they proclaimed the said
maister of Hales, and the prior of saint Andrews
rebels, with all their assistants, putting them to the
horne: wherupon they were constrained to depart
out of Edenburgh. And in date following, the pri-
or went vnto Rome, there to iustifie his apeale.

The foure and twentieth of Februarie, a parle-
ment was assembled at Striueling; but because the
lords could not agree amongst themselves, it was
prologed till the comming of the duke of Albanie,
which was looked for to be in Scotland, in Aprill; or
at the furthest in date next ensuing, as he had sent
word by sir John Striueling of the Heir, that was
latelie come from him with letters vnto the lords
and peres of the realme. The fifteenth of Maie, truce
was proclaimed betwixt England and Scotland, to
indure for thre yeares, or thre moneths (as saith
Lesleus) but the same day at six of the clocke in the
afternone, the Englishmen entered the borders of
Scotland vpon the water of Kyle, and forraied the
countrie, doing great hurt therein, notwithstanding
the truce. The seventeenth day of Maie, John
duke of Albanie, tutor and gouernor of Scotland,
arrived at the towne of Aire, with eight ships well
appointed, and furnished with men and all kind of
necessarie prouision for his estate.

From thence taking the sea againe, he sailed a-
longst the coast till he came to Dunbarton, and there
came on land, & on the next day passed forth to Glas-
gow, where all the westland lords receiued him with
great semblance of reioicing for his arruall. The
fir and twentieth day of Maie, he was receiued into
Edenburgh, a great number of lords meeting him
on the way. The queene also came from hir owne lod-

ging and met him, to do him honoz. Sundrie con-
ceipts, pageants, & plaies were shewed by the burgeis-
ses, to honoz his entrie in the best maner they could
deuise. Shortly after his comming to Edenburgh,
there came thither forth of all parts of the realme,
the lords and barons, where they being assembled
in counsell, he toke vpon him the gouernement of
the realme, which he promised to vse by their aduise,
so that they would adist him in setting forth of iu-
stice and good orders, which they undertooke to do.

Hereupon was the parlement, which had bene
prologed till his comming, summoned to be kept at
Edenburgh the twelfth of Julie, in the which diuerse
acts were concluded and made; and the lord Dum-
mond was adiudged in the dukes mercie, for stri-
king Alon king of armes. The duke pardoned him
of life and honoz, but his lands and goods remained
in the kings hands: notwithstanding, he was after-
wards restozed to the same againe. In this parle-
ment also, the duke of Albanie was confirmed by
the thre estates of the realme tutor and gouernor to
the king, the scepter and sword being deliuered to
him: his oth also was taken by the lords, and theirs
giuen to him, that each of them should be faithfull to
others, and namlie to their king and soueraigne
lord, and also should mainteine iustice to the utter-
most of their powers, for the aduancement of his
honoz, and suertie of the realme.

In the meane time, whilest this parlement was
in hand, the gouernor was aduertised that the king
should haue bene conueied forth of the realme se-
cretlie into England: wherupon he suddenlie de-
parted in the night time from Edenburgh, with his
men of warre in good order, & came to Striueling,
where the king, with his brother Alexander, laie with
the queene; which castell, together with the kings pr-
son, and the other within it, were deliuered to him
the third day of August: wherupon he committed
them and the castell to the keeping of foure lords of
the realme, whereof the earles of Eglington and
Montrose were two. The lord Hume, because he
had assised the earle of Angus and the queene a-
gainst the gouernor, was denounced a rebell; and
the earles of Lennox & Arrane, with manie others,
were sent to his houses to seize the same into the
kings hands. In the castell of Hume was laid gun-
powder by a traine, wherby diuerse of them that en-
tered first into the castell were burned.

The lord Hume himselfe got him into England,
and soze disquieted the marches, so that no day of
truce was holden, neither on the east nor middle
marches. The twelfth of August, the queene, the
earle of Angus, and his brother George Dotalgasse,
went from Lemptallon vnto Berwik, and from
thence passed to the nurrie of Caudream; where-
upon aduertisement being giuen to the R. of Eng-
land, and his pleasure therein knowne, the fir and
twentieth of that moneth she was receiued by the
lord Dacres, & conueied to Harbottell castell, where
she remained till she was deliuered of a daughter,
called Margaret Dotalgasse, afterwards married to
the earle of Lennox, as in place conuenient it shall
further appeare. There was no Scottishman at this
time receiued into England with hir. The gouernor
perceiuing the rebellion of the lord Hume, passed to
the borders with his Frenchmen, where the fir of
October, the said lord Hume came & submitted him-
selfe to the gouernors pleasure, and his brother Alex-
ander shortly after did the same, and they were both
deliuered to the earle of Arrane, who was appointed
to keepe them in safetie within the towne of Eden-
burgh.

But the twelfth of October next ensuing, the said
earle of Arrane departed from thence in the night
ff. ij. season,

A parlement
summoned.

The king de-
liuered to the
keeping of cer-
taine lords.

The lord
Hume de-
nounced a re-
bell.

The birth of
the countesse
of Lennox.

The lord
Hume sub-
mitted him-
selfe.

The earle of Arrane fled away.

The lord Hume and other convicted of treason.

The old countesse of Arrane purchaseth her sons pardon.

A commotion betwixt the earles of Murreie and Huntieie.

Lion king of armes slaid by the lord Humes.

A truce concluded betwixt England & Scotland.

The earle of Arrane estones renoueth from the gouernour.

The earle of Lennox farmeth Dunbretton.

The earles of Lennox and Arrane take a respite. For man re-

season, with those his prisoners, scaling their waies on foot. Whereupon, the gouernour causing the parlement to be holden that was summoned to begin the seure and twentieth of October, the said lord Hume, maister William Hume, and David Hume, were convict of treason by all the states, to lose their liues, lands, and goods. This parlement was proroged till fiftene daies after, within which time the earle of Arrane was appointed to make appearance, or else it was agreed that they should proceed against him in like manner. And in that meane space, the gouernour went to besiege the castell of Hamilton, where that noble aged labie, the old countesse of Arrane, daughter to king James the second, & mother to the earle of Arrane, and aunt to the duke by his fathers side, caused not onelie the castell to be surrendered at the dukes pleasure, but procured also the earle of Arrans peace, which earle, the twelfth of November next ensuing, came with the bishop of Glasgowe into Edinburgh, and there submitted himselfe to the dukes will.

About the same time, certeine lords took part with the earle of Murreie the kings bastard brother, and the earle of Erroll, against the erle of Huntieie, and raised a commotion; so that being got into Edinburgh, there was much adoe, & the towne greatly disquieted. The gouernour lieng in the abbey, came into the towne, and took the earles of Huntieie, Erroll, Murreie, and others; and committed them to ward within the castell, while he tried the cause: and finding that maister William Haie being with the earle of Murreie had raised that sturre, he sent the same Haie into France, there to remaine during his pleasure, and forthwith the said earles were set at libertie. Lion king of armes appointed to go into England with letters to king Henrie, was stopped at Caldstreame by the lord Hume, who took his letters from him, and kept him prisoner, till Alexander Humes mother, that remained prisoner in Dunbar, was exchanged for him. The eighteenth day of December, Alexander duke of Kossie the kings brother departed this life at Striueling.

The seventeenth day of Januarie, a truce was taken betwixt England and Scotland, till the feast of Pentecost next. This truce was agreed upon at Colbington, by certeine commissioners, appointed on either part there, to treat for peace. For the realme of Scotland were these: Monsieur de Plaines the French ambassadoz, archdeacon of saint Andrews, maister Gawin de Dunbar, and sir William Scot of Baluerie knights. The Englishmen comprised for their part, the earle of Angus and the lord Hume within the compasse of this truce. In the meane time, the earle of Arrane departed from the gouernour againe, and repaired to the west parts, where he confederated himselfe with certeine lords, notwithstanding that sir James Hamilton, and the lord of Cander remained pledges for his good demeanour within the castell of Edinburgh. The earles of Lennox, Glencarne, and other caused the castell of Dunbretton and diuerse other to be furnished, and took the castell of Glasgowe with the kings great artillerie that laie within it, and spoiled the same.

The gouernour advertised thereof, raised an armie & went to Glasgowe, where, by the laboz of the bishop of that place, an appointment was taken, so that the castell was deliuered into the bishops hands. The earle of Lennox came in to the gouernour, and took a new respite, and about the beginning of March next following, the earle of Arrane and the lord Hume did the like. For man the archbishop of saint Andrews, against whom the prior of saint Andrews did stand (as ye have heard) for that same benefice, to

the great disquieting of the realme, by such partakings as chanced thereabout among the lords, came now to the towne of Edinburgh, and resigned all the thre benefices, whereof he had purchased bulls of the pope, that is to say, the archbishopricke of saint Andrews, the abbacies of Arbroth and Dunfermling in the gouernours hands, to bestow the same at his pleasure: who by the counsell of certeine lords, to satisfie such as claimed interest to the same, and pacifying of all debates, bestowed them as followeth.

First, the said archbishopricke he gaue to the said Forman with the abbacies of Dunfermling, and to maister James Hepburne he gaue the bishopricke of Murreie, and benefices worth a thousand marks by the yeare unto the prior of saint Andrews for a recompense; the abbacie of Dunburgh he gaue unto maister James Ogilvie, and the bishopricke of Aberdeen (then vacant) unto Alexander Gordon, and to the archbishop of Glasgowe called Beton he gaue the abbacie of Arbroth, assigning to the earle of Murreie a large pension out thereof. One of the Hamiltons was made abbat of Kilmanning [and George Durballe was made prior of the knights of the roads.] And thus he bestowed the benefices which had bene vacant ever since Flodden field, unto diuerse lords, or to their kindred, that by such liberalitie shewd towards them, all debates and discords might cease, which had happened amongst them, speciallie about the bestowing of the same benefices. This was done in the moneth of Februarie.

Shortlie after, the gouernour, by counsell of the lords, to the end the realme might come to a perfect quietnesse, and the noble men united together, received into fauor the earle of Angus, & maister Patrick Pantoun secretarie, who for his cause had bene kept as prisoner in Inche gailie. He likewise received the lord Hume, and his brother, pardoning them all their offences past. And in parlement holden the six of Aprill, they were restored to all their lands, heritages, fees, and honors. About that time, the lord of Stralwen in Atholl committed diuerse great offenses and crimes, for the which he was taken by the earle of Atholl, and beheaded at Lograith by the gouernours commission.

All this while, the parlement was not dissolved but upon prorogation, and so the same began againe the first day of Iulie, at what time the king of England, at request of his sister the queene of Scotland, wrote letters to the lords now assembled in parlement, requesting them to expell the gouernour forth of the realme. But all the lords and states with vniuersall consent sent Albanie the herald with letters to the said king, excusing them, that they might not in anie wise satisfie his desire therein, the same being against reason and the lawes of their countrie.

In the moneth of September, the gouernour commanded the lord Hume, with his brother maister William Hume, and David Iar of Fernihurst, to be arrested and bestowed in severall places, that better rule might be kept upon the borders: but they lieng now in ward, sundrie informations were giuen by against them: and thereupon, the eight of October, the said lord Hume and his brother were convict of treason, for assisting and mainteining of the theues upon the borders, and other crimes; for the which he was beheaded: and on the morrow after, his brother the foresaid William Hume was likewise beheaded, and their heads were set upon the Tolbuth in Edinburgh: David Iar was spared.

Alexander lord Hume left yet three brethren in life, who were all by the injuries of those times greatly afflicted with diuerse misfortunes. For George, being banished for the slaughter of a man, remained

signeth his tie to the archbishops se.

Bestowing of benefices.

Fr. Thin.

1515.

The earle of Angus and others received into fauor.

The parlement began to gaine.

The king of Englands letters to the lords.

The lord Hume and others arrested and committed to ward.

The lord Hume beheaded.

Fr. Thin. Buchan lib. 14.

The duke of Albanie with the boyers. Another parlement. The duke of Albanie second person of the realme.

The gouernour asketh licence to go into France.

The earle of Lennox in ward.

Monsieur de la Baule made swarden of the marches.

1517. Ambassadors from France.

An ambassage into France.

The gouernour goeth into France.

Gouernours appointed to the kings pension.

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remained in England amongst his friends. John abbat of Jedburgh was banished beyond Lake. David the younger brother, which was prior of Col-dingham two yeares after the death of his brethren, was (by James Hepburne, the husband of his sister) slain by a traine, under color of a meeting and par-
le, whereunto he was called; whome all men did pittie, because he was a harmlesse yong gentle-
man, of a singular wit, and folwlie betrayed by those of whom he ought not so to haue bin intrapped.

Shortlie after, the duke rode to Jedburgh with a great companie of men, & staid the great robbing & reaving which had bene used on the borders, & left there good wardens to keepe good rule in those parts, and so returned to Edinburgh. The third of Nouem-
ber, another parliament was holden, in which it was decreed, that the gouernor should be deemed and re-
puted for second person of the realme, notwithstanding the claime made by his elder brother Alexan-
der Stewart, that was begotten on the daughter of the earle of Mkeneie, which was alleged to haue bene first married to their father the duke of Alba-
nie, before he was married to the earle of Bullognes daughter, on whome he begot the gouernor. Where-
upon this Alexander made protestation to be heire to his father; but they were afterward agreed, and Alexander renounced his title in his brothers fauor, and was made bishop of Purreie, and abbat of Scone. At this parliament, the gouernor required licence to go into France, and to be absent there six moneths; but this sute was not granted till Aprill following.

At the same time was the earle of Lennox put in ward within the castell of Edinburgh, till he had caused the castell of Dunbretton to be deliuered unto one Alane Stewart in the constables name, & then he was set at libertie. In the moneth of December, Monsieur de la Bantie was made warden of the east marches in stead of the lord Hume, and kept daies of truce: which procured such hatred, that it cost him afterward his life. In the moneth of Ja-
nuarie, the gouernor went to saint Johns towne, and there held his seat of iustice, where the lord Fle-
ming for the time was made great chamberlaine of Scotland, with all the fees thereof. In the yeare 1517, there came ambassadors from Francis the new French king, to desire, that the ancient league might be renewed betwixt him and the king of Scot-
land, their realmes, dominions, and subjects.

For this cause, all the lords of the realme were as-
sembled at Edinburgh, where, by them it was con-
cluded, that the gouernor himselfe should passe the seas into France; and also that the bishop of Dun-
keld, the secretarie, and the maister of Glencarne as ambassadors should go thither: the which the thir-
teenth of Maie, went a shipboard, and by the east seas sailed thither, and the gouernor took ship at Peter-
marke beside Dunbretton the seventh of June, tak-
ing his course by the west seas, and so passed into France, where it was agreed, that he should haue remained but onelie foure moneths, he hauing ap-
pointed the bishops of saint Andrew and Glasgou, the earles of Huntlie, Argile, Angus, and Arrane, to gouerne in his place, whilste he was absent. Al-
so he ordeined Anthoine Darcie, or Monsieur de la Bantie lieutenant of the borders.

He also had caused the king to be brought into Edinburgh castell, within the which he should remaine in the keeping of the earle Marshall, the lords Cr-
spin, Worthwike, Kithen; of the which, two at least should be alwaies present. The queene that re-
mained as then in England, after she understood that the gouernor was departed towards France, returned to Edinburgh the twentieth of June, but

she was not suffered to see the king till August fol-
lowing: at what time, for feare of the pestilence to be crept into the castell, he was removed to Craig-
miller, where the queene oftentimes came vnto him; but at length, through some suspicion conceived, least the queene might conueie him away from thence in-
to England, he was closelie brought vnto the cas-
tell of Edinburgh, in which he was kept after, ac-
cording to the order taken in that behalfe.

* Much about this time in the which these things were done, John Gordon (the eldest sonne of that Alexander earle of Huntlie, which for the praise of his singular godnesse obtained the surname of good) returning out of France (whither a little before he had sailed with the gouernor) was singularlie welco-
med and interteined of all men, who going vnto his owne people (in the north parts) was bogged with such grievous sicknesse that he died therewith, and by his father (to whom he should by course of nature execute the same office) shortly after buried in the abbey of Kilrossie, with a goodlie tombe erected on him by his said father. The death of which John gaue (for manie causes) manie grieues vnto manie persons: but amongst other the chiefest to his father, who liued not long after his sonne. Which Alexander when he died, left the said earldome to his nephew, sonne of his sonne John; who because he was but ten yeeres old, was committed to the earle of Angus, to be instruc-
ted in all godnesse of maners answering to the ex-
cellencie of that wit wherewith he was indowed.

This earle Huntlie adorned with excellent sweet-
nesse of maners and pleasantnesse of wit, the earle of Angus would neuer so verie hardlie suffer to de-
part out of his companie. For which cause when the erle of Angus, for certeine suspicions of treason was banished Scotland into England, he attempted by all deuises and persuasions to intice the child to haue gone with him: but the yong boie could not be allured with anie flatteries or persuasions to submit himselfe to the least note of reproch, in forsaking his king and countrie. Wherefore when the earle of Angus was departed into England, the child listning by his craning hands to the king, did grant himselfe and all he had to the king and his countrie, whome the king receiued with all kind of humanitie; and provided that he should be instructed in euerie sort of vertue and learning, that was to be desired in such a prince; because the said child was borne of his sisters mariage.

The lords and other nobles highlie offended (as well for the death of the lord Hume, as for that they saw Anthoine Darcie lord Bantie the French ad-
uanced to greater credit than themselves, and not onelie to be made warden of the marches, but also capteine of Dunbretton, the strongest fort of Scot-
land) began to raise tumults in the land. For Wil-
liam Cockburne (uncle of Comarck Landon) who (expelling the gardians of the pupill) did keepe the cas-
tell of Landon, assisted with the helpe of David Hume lord of Woodburne (whose sister the said Cockburne had married) first began a commotion in those parts. For when they saw that all means were taken from them openlie to reuenge the same, and to set vpon Bantie, they determined to performe the same (with some secret deaile) by lieng in wait for him.

For the castell of Langton or Landon, being kept in the possession of Woodburne (and such as took his part against the king) he the said Woodburne appointed subtil fellows secretlie to enter the castell, and to reteine it in the kings name. After which, this Woodburne feining a counterfeit anger (for he was a man full of all subtiltie) that this castell was so inuicible taken from him, and kept to the

The king re-
moued.

The doubt
which the
Scotts had in
the queene.

Fr. Thin.
Lectius lib.9.
pag.386.

Buchan. lib.14

Lectius lib.9.
pag.387.

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.Thin,

1515.

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Thin.
chan. lib.14.

The duke of
Albanie visit-
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The duke of
Albanie se-
cond person of
the realme.

The gouer-
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cence to go in-
to France.

The earle of
Lennox in
ward.

Monsieur
de la Bantie
made warden
of the mar-
ches.

1517.
Ambassadors
from France.

An ambassage
into France.

The gouer-
nor goeth into
France.

Gouernors
appointed to
the kings per-
son

1517.

Monsieur de la Baucie
saine by the
lord of Wood-
burne.
Fr. Thin.

A parliament
called.

The lord of
Woodburne
indicted.

The earle of
Arrane com-
meth into the
Pers.

The maister
of Hales.

The bond of
league be-
twixt Scot-
land & France
Captaine
Doyes.

1518.

The abbat of
Glenluce.

The Scots
cull bled at
the French
kings hands.

The bishop of
Aberdeen a
builder.

kings behofe, he laid siege to the castell (as though he went about to recover the same with all the power he could) to the intent that Baucie might be intited to come thither to raise the siege. For which cause Baucie (supposing in truth that the castell had bene kept to the use of the king) hastening the rescue thereof, came forth of the castell of Dunbar to assemble the men of the countrie to raise the siege, as lieutenant of the borders, he was chased by the said lord of Woodburne and other so fiercelie, that in the end he was slaine, and foure Frenchmen with him: his head was cut from the shoulders, and set vp in the towne of Duns [upon the castell of Hume] the nineteenth of Januarie.

The lords regents were herewith meruelouslie offended, & chose the earle of Arrane to be warden of the borders in de la Baucies place, who was also chosen to be prouost of Edinburgh: wherewith the earle of Angus was highlie displeased. But the erle of Arrane, not seeming to passe much thereof, took George Dohglas the said earle of Angus his brother, and Marke Har, committing them to ward within the castell of Edinburgh, because of the fauor he bare vnto the said lord of Woodburne & his complices. Moreover, for due punishment of the murder of the fore said de la Baucie, there was a parliament called the nineteenth of Februarie next, in the which, David Hume lord of Woodburne, and his three brethren, William Cockburne & John Hume, with diuers other their partakers, were indicted for the besieging of the castell of Langton, the slaughter of monsieur de la Baucie, and for the setting vp of his head, intercommuning with the Englishmen, and diuers other misdoings.

Immediatlie after the end of this parliament, the earle of Arrane came into the Pers, with a great armie, and hauing with him the kings great artillery, ment to haue besieged such places as would haue resisted him. But at his being in Lotoder, the heires of the castell of Hume were brought vnto him, which on the next morrow he received, and put men within it to keepe it, as he did in Langton and Woodburne, which he received at the same time. The maister of Hales was also sought for at that time, that he might haue bene apprehended to answer the slaughter of David Hume, prior of Coldingham, whom he had slaine traitorously. A litle before this parliament, the bishop of Dunkeld was returned from the French king with a bond of the league renewed betwixt Scotland and France. And at that same time was one captaine Doyes a Frenchman sent forth of France, with a certeine number of men, to recue the castell of Dunbar into his keeping, which accordingly he did, the same being deliuered vnto him.

The earle of Lennor, who had bene with the gouernor in France, returned home into Scotland, & with him came a French herald from the king with letters, and maister Walter Stewart abbat of Glenluce came likewise from the gouernor. And about that time, because the queene and lords were aduertised that the French king had contracted new bonds of peace and amitie with the king of England, without making mention of Scotland, they thought themselves cull bled, being his confederat friends, and therupon sent sharpe letters to the king of France, and to the gouernor, by Albanie the herald. In the moneth of June, maister Gouen Dunbar, archdeane of saint Andrews, and cleark of the register, was preferred to the bishops see of Aberdeen that was vacant by the death of Alexander Gourdon.

This Gouen founded an hospitall in Abberdeen, and indowed the same with lands for sustentance of

twelue poze men, with a prouost to haue care ouer them. He also builded a faire bridge, with seven arches ouer the water of De beside Abberdeen, and purchased lands for the perpetuall upholding thereof. He also builded two steeples in the cathedrall church, with halfe of the crosse church, and a faire palace for the small prebendaries, called the chapelins. Moreover, he bestowed manie rich & pretious ornaments vpon the same church of Abberdeen, as copes, chalices, and other such like things, which remained there long after. Manie right commendable works were accomplished by this diligent prelat, greatlie to his praise and high renoume; for he spent not the fruits of his benefice in vaine, but on such maner of buildings.

The seventeenth of June, there rose great stir in Edinburgh, by the falling out of the earle of Rothes, and the lord Lindsey, about the inticong of the thiristewke of Fife, by reason whereof, they were put in ward, the one in Dunbar, and the other in Dunbreton. About the beginning of August, the queene remaining in Edinburgh, understood that the earle of Angus hir husband, as then sojourning in Dohglas dale, had taken a faire gentlewoman in those parts, and kept hir as his concubine; for the which ad the conceiued such hatred against him, that there was neuer no perfect loue betwixt them afterwards. In the beginning of Februarie, there came a cleark as ambassadoz from the French king with letters, concerning the concluding of the truce betwixt Scotland and England, which message the lords made small account of, because the king had omitted to comprehend Scotland in the league which he lastlie made with England. The seventh of June, a mad man in Dundee slue in his mad fit a ladie of inheritance, a nun, with two other women, the one of them being great with child, and also two men.

The king of England wrote letters vnto the French king, desiring him to staie the duke of Albanie, that he might not come into Scotland; and furthermore, he laid thips of warre in the pale vpon the seas to watch for his coming, and to take him by the wate as he should passe. In September the king was remoued forth of the castell of Edinburgh vnto Dalkith, for doubt of the pestilence, which was suspected to be in the castell of Edinburgh. And from Dalkith the erle of Arrane rode to Edinburgh to haue bin estones elected regent & prouost of that towne: but he misde his purpose, for the towne men would not suffer him to enter, but repelled him backe, so that diuers were hurt on both sides.

Heretupon, great dissention rose betwixt the said earle of Arrane, and the earle of Angus, because of his repulse in that sute: whereby the whole realme was diuided into partakings, so that sundrie slaughters thereof ensued, as of the prior of Coldingham, and six of his men marthered, by the lord of Woodburne at Lamerton, the first of October. About the same time, the king returned to the castell of Edinburgh, and in the towne there were remaining at the same time the earles of Angus, Erroll, and Craibford; the lord Glames, and other; the bishops of saint Andrews, Abberdeen, Rheneis, and Dublane, with diuers abbats and other prelates. And in the towne of Glascow was the bishop of Glascow chancelor, with the earles of Arrane, Lennor, Eglington, and Castels; the lords Rothe, Sempill, the abbat of Dalkeith, the bishop of Galloway, and other noble men of the west. Thus the lords were diuided, and would not take anie order for the good gouernment of the common-wealth.

In December, monsieur de la Fafot, and a French cleark called Corbell, with an English herald called Clarencour, came from the kings of France and

Contention
betwixt the
erle of Rothes
and the lord
Lindsey.

The cause of
the hatred be-
twixt the
queene and
hir husband.

1519. Lelle.

1519.
A mad man.

The king of
England se-
th to keepe
the duke of
Albanie forth
of Scotland.

The earle of
Arrane.

Dissention
betwixt the
earles of Ar-
rane and
Angus.

The peace
proclaimed.

1520.
A variance be-
twixt the earle
of Angus and
the lord of
fernhurst.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. li. 14.

The lord
Hume's head
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1520.
A variance be-
twixt the earle
of Angus and
the lord of
fernhurst.

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and England, with an ambassadoz also from the gouernor, with a conclusion of peace taken for one yere, betwixt Scotland and England: who comming to Edinburgh, were receiued by the earle of Angus, and the other lords there with him, the which sent for the chancelloz & the earle of Arrane to come thither; but they would not come arie nether than to Linlithgo. The ambassadoz therefore toke in hand to persuaue, that an assemblie might be had in Striueling: but the earle of Angus would not come there. Neuerthelesse, the said ambassadoz went thither, where the earle of Arrane and his partakers, as the chancelloz and others, receiued them thankfullie, and proclaimed the peace, according to the treatie which they had brought, and so with courteous answer and great rewards licenced them to depart. But in their returne toward England, the earle of Angus with a great number of men met them at Carlawerok, reproouing them that pelie for their demeanour, and for taking their answer of the chancelloz, so that they were not a litle afraid, least the earle in his displeasure would haue vsed some outrage toward them; which otherwise than in words it should appere he did not.

The peace
proclaimed.

1520.

Variance be-
twixt the earle
of Angus and
the lord of
Fermihurst.

In Januarie, about the keeping of a court at Jedburgh, there was raising of people betwixt the earle of Angus on the one part, and Andrew Bar the lord of Fermihurst, in whose aid, James Hamilton came with foure hundred pers men: but the lord of Selsford then warden, assisting the earle of Angus his part, met Hamilton at Bello with a great companie, and when they were lighted on foot, and should haue foughten, the pers men left sir James Hamilton, the bassard of the earle of Arrane, in all the danger, with a few of his owne men about him, so that with much paine he was horried, and escaped in great danger into Hume, with losse of foure of his seruants which were slaine: and on the other part, there was an Englishman slaine called Rafe Kar, that came in aid of the warden. On the morrow after, the lord of Fermihurst, as baliffe to the earle of Arrane, of that regalltie, held his court at the principall place of the forrest of Jedburgh, and the earle himselfe held his court likewise in an other part of the same land, three miles distant from the other.

The thirtieth day of Aprill, the lord of Woodburne, and masser William Dowglass, heliole made prioz of Coldingham, with their partakers in great numbers, came to Edinburgh to aid the earle of Angus, who was within the towne, against the earle of Arrane, and James Beton the chancelloz, who were also there. But now by the continuing of these furors, which entered by force at the heather bove, and slue the masser of Mountgomerie, sonne of the earle of Glentworth, and sir Patrick Hamilton knight, the earle of Arrane, and the chancelloz, were constrained to forsake the towne, & to passe through the north foch. To reuenge this contumelie, the Hamiltons besieged the cell of Spairhoeke (which is the castell of Cunningham) but they shortly returned backe without doing any thing against them.

The one and twentieth of Iulie, the earle of Angus being in the towne of Edinburgh, George Hume, brother to the late lord Hume beheaded, came thither with the lord of Coldingham, brother to the earle of Angus, and David Hume of Woodburne, and a great companie of gentlemen: and others, and passed to the Wodmuth, where they remained, till the heads of the lord Hume, and of his brother William were taken vponone before the place where they were taken off a facill, and this was done in presence of the prioz of the same being. The next day they went to Linlithgo, and from thence to Striueling, in hope to haue found the chan-

celloz, and some other of that faction there. But missing of their purpose, they returned to Edinburgh againe, and causing soleinne funerall obsequies to be kept in the blacke friers, for them that slought those heads, with offerings and bannets, they afterwards returned home to their owne dwellings, without attempting any other thing for that present.

In Nouember, the duke of Albanie arrived in Scotland on the west parts, at an haueu called Graysch, the nineteenth of the same moneth; and on the thye and twentieth he came to Edinburgh, accompanied with the quene, the archbishop of Glasgow chancelloz, the earle of Huntly, and manie other lords, knights, barons, and gentlemen; and within six daies after their comming thither, the prioz and bailiffs were depozed, because they had bene chosen in fauour of the earle of Angus, and other appointed in their romes. Then was there a parlement summoned to be kept at Edinburgh, the six and twentieth of Januarie next following; and on the ninth of Januarie, a generall summons of foisalture was proclaimed at the market crosse in Edinburgh, where in were summoned the earle of Angus and his brother, the prioz of Coldingham, the lord of Woodburne, the lord of Dalehouse, John Summerwell of Catwastre, and William Cockbozne of Langton, with their complices, to make their apperance in the said parlement, to be tried for sundrie great offenses by them committed.

Masser Gawin Dowglass bishop of Dunkeld, hearing of this proclamation, fled into England, and remained in London at the Sauoie, where he departed this life, and is buried in the church there. He was a cunning clearkie, and a verie good poet: he translated the twelue booke of the Aeneidos of Virgil in Scotch meter, and compiled also The palace of honor, with diuerse other treatises in the Scottish language, which are yet extant. The earle of Angus fearing the sentence of foisalture to be laid against him at the parlement, procured his wife (although there was small liking betwixt them) to labor for his pardon to the gouernor. Whereupon it was agreed, that the earle, and his brother George Dowglass should passe out of the realme into France, and there to remaine during the gouernors pleasure: and so they departed into France, and remained there all the next yere following.

The king of England, hearing that the duke of Albanie was arrived in Scotland, and had taken the rule vpon him, doubting lest he should persuaue the Scottismen to assist the French king, against whome, by persuation of the emperoz he ment shortly to make warre, sent his herald Clarenceur into Scotland, to require the duke to depart from thence, alledging, that it was promised by the king of France at the last cōtreatie betwixt them, which chanced the summer before, that he should not come into Scotland. And moreover, whereas the king of England was uncle vnto the king of Scots, he considered with himselfe that by nature he was bound to defend his nephew, as he ment to do; and therefore he thought it not reason, that the duke being next to the crowne to succeed, if ought came to the young king, should haue the gouernement of him, least he might be made awaie, as other young kings had bene. He further complained, that the earle of Angus should be sent out of the realme, so that he could not enjoy the companie of his wife, after vnto the same king of England.

Clarenceur had therewith continuement, that if the duke refused to depart out of the realme of Scotland, he should intimate a defiance with open warre against him: which the said Clarenceur did declaring his message vnto the duke from point to point

The duke of
Albanie re-
turneth into
Scotland.
1521. Buch.

The prioz of a
bailiffs of E-
dinburgh de-
posed.
A parlement
summoned.

1521.

Gawin Dow-
glass bishop
of Dunkeld
fleeth into
England.

The earle of
Angus fear-
eth the sen-
tence of fois-
alture.

He and his
brother ban-
ished.

Clarenceur
an English
herald sent in-
to Scotland.

The king of
England dou-
teth to haue
the duke of
Albanie go-
uernor to the
king his ne-
phew.

Warre de-
nounced by
Clarenceur
against the
duke of Alba-
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9. Lelle.

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15.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. li. 14.

The lord
Hume's head
taken downe.

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of.

The dukes
answer.

point at Holle rood house, as he had in commande-
ment. To whome the duke answered, that neither the
king of France, nor the king of England should
state him from comming into his countrie. And as
touching the king, who was as yet young in yeres, he
loued him as his soueraine lord, and would keepe
him, and defend both him and his realme against all
other that would attempt to inuade the same, accord-
ing to his conscience, honor, and dutie. And as tou-
ching the earle of Angus, he had used towards him
all clemencie and mercie, notwithstanding his guilt
demerits, and that principallie for the quenes cause,
whome he would honor as mother to his soueraine
lord. This answer being reported vnto the king of
England, contented him nothing at all, and there-
fore prepared to make warre.

1522.

The death of
the archbishop
of saint And-
rewes.
James Be-
ton succeeded
him.

A tur in E-
denburgh.

The emperor
commeth into
England.
Scots and
Frenchmen
banished south
of England.
The earle of
Shrewsburie
inuaith
Scotland.

Fr. Thin.
Lectus lib. 9.
pag. 409.

The tenth of Aprill, there came seuen great ships
into the Forth, vnto Inchkeith, to haue spoiled the
ships, and inuade the coast there: but they were so
foully resisted and kept off, that they were not suf-
fered to do anie great exploit, and so they returned
without prey or prise. In this season, Andrew For-
man bishop of saint Andrewes deceased, and bishop
James Beton archbishop of Glasgow, chancelor of
Scotland, was remoued to saint Andrewes, & made
abbat also of Dunfermling, and the archbishopricke of
Glasgow was giuen a young man one Gawin Dun-
bar, that was the kings scholemaster. In the mo-
neth of Maie, there was great adoe in Edenburgh,
by the falling out of the seruants of the earles of
Gurrey and Erroll, with the seruants of the earle of
Huntleie, by reason whereof, the whole towne fell to
partakings; but the duke comming suddenlye from
the abbey of Holle rood house, staid the matter, and
committed the said earles vnto ward within the cas-
tell.

The emperor came into England, and perswaded
the king there to moue warres against the French
king, and so not onelie the Frenchmen but also the
Scots were commanded to quod out of England,
their goods confiscated, and they conueied south
of the land, with a white crosse sowed vpon their vpper-
most garment. In Iulie, the earle of Shrewsburie
was sent by the king of England vnto the borders,
with commission, to raise the power of the north
parts to inuade Scotland, who vpon the sudden en-
tered and came to Kelfo, where he burnt one part of
the towne, but the borderers of the Mers and Den-
dale, not being halfe so manie in number as the o-
ther, set vpon them, slue, and toke manie prisoners,
and so constrained them to returne into England
with small honor.

The gouernor after this (when he saw the Eng-
lish querrun all the borders of Scotland) called a
parlement at Edenburgh, the kalends of August,
to cure the same wound. Beside this, the French fear-
ing them selues (because of a prepared and well fur-
nished nanie of the English which did euerie waie
coher and keepe the sea) sent manie (and those wise
and of excellent knowledge) vnto the gouernor, to re-
quest him that he would either by counsell persua-
de, or by authoritie inforce his Scots to take armes
against the English. After which (the matter being
with great consultation and manie reasons tolled
in argument to and fro) it was decreed by common
consent of the parlement, that a chosen number of
souldiers should be prepared, to defend the borders
from the inuasion of the enimie, & (the more strong-
lie to repell the English force) it was concluded,
that the children of such as were slaine in that expedi-
tion, should be freed from all charges or troubles
that might light on them during their minority:
and further, that the wines of all such which had wife
lands (during their liues & fell in that conflict) should

after the death of their husbands keepe the same for
the terme of five yerres.)

The duke of Albanie, hearing of the great prepa-
ration that the earle of Shrewsburie made, to raise
an armie of foure score thousand men to inuade
Scotland, he likewise (as it was before decreed) sent
vnto all the earles, lordes, and nobles of the realme,
willing them to raise all such power as they could
make in defense of their countrie, which they did. And
so being assembled, the duke with a mightie armie of
Scotishmen and certeine Frenchmen, with great
artillerie, marched forward, till he came to the water
of Clike ouer against Carleill: and perceluing that
the English armie came not then forward, he did
what he could to persuaue the noble men to enter in-
to England: but as they were in counsell together
about that earnest motion made to them by the duke,
a certeine graue personage said to them in this ma-
ner.

My lards, hither we be come by the commande-
ment of my lard gouernor duke of Albanie, and albe-
it we be readie to defend our alone natie realme,
contrarie the inuasion of our auld enimies of Eng-
land, yet neuertheless it seemeth not good, nor for
the wele of our realme of Scotland, to passe with-
in England with our armie to inuade the same at
this time. And the earnest persuasions quibll the go-
uernor makes to vs to do the same, proceeds ala-
nerlie for the pleasure of France. It appereth to be
sufficient enough for vs so lang as the king our sou-
reigne lard is within age to defend our alone realme,
and not to inuade: otherwisse, we may put the haile
countrie and nobilitie thereof in hazard of tinfall:
for king James the fourth brought the realme of
Scotland to the best that it euer was, and by the
war it was brought to the worst almost that might
be: for by that warre, was he and his nobilitie tinte,
quibll Scotland sare laments. Wherefore by mine
advice, let vs go to the gouernor, and know of him
the cause why he would persuaue vs to inuade Eng-
land.

When they all came to the gouernors tent, and the
earle of Arrane, an auncient wise man spake for
them all, and said: My lard gouernor, by your will
and commandement, here is assembled the mass
of the nobilitie of Scotland with their power, vpon
a pretense to enter within England. My lards
heere would know the cause and quarrell why this
warre is begun, gif it might please your godnesse, it
should well satisfie their minds. The duke staid a
litle space, and said: This questioun would haif bin
demanded per now; for well you know, that I for-
uerie lufe I beate to the realme of Scotland (of the
quibll I haue my name, honor, and lignage) haife
passed the seas from the noble realme of France, in-
to this realme of Scotland. And great cause there
was for me so to do, to bring you to a unitie, when
ye ware in diuision, by reason thereof, your
realme was like to haue bin conquered and destrui-
ed. And also the king of France, by my suites and
intercession, will some with you in aid against the
English nation: and when this warre was deter-
minate in the parlement, you made me capteine, au-
thorizing me to inuade England with banner dis-
played. Then was no demand made of the cause or
quarrell, and that I haif done, is by your assent and
agreement, and that I will iustifie. But to answer
your demand, we thinke you haif tuff cause to in-
uade England with fire, sword, and blood, gif ye be
not forgotten, and without you will beate vpon
and repare for euer. If ye know that this realme of
Scotland is our inheritance, as a portion of the
world allotted to our nation and auncellors whome
we succeed. Then there may there be better warre,
than

The duke of
Albanie raise-
th an armie
to inuade
England.

The words
of a counsellor.

The earle of
Arrane decla-
reth to the go-
uernor the
minds of the
lords.

The dukes
answer to the
earle of Arrane.

The gouer-
nor words
to the pessi-
mists replie.

Means made
for peace.

The lord Da-
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1522.
The replie of
a wise coun-
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than to mainteine this our naturall inheritance: Is it not daillie sene, the great inuasions that the Englishmen on vs make, the great manslaughter and murders, with thefts and spoiles that they do daillie: Is not this one cause of warre: To defend the countrie is the office of a king, the honoz of noble men, and the verie seruice of chualrie, and the dutie naturall of the communitie: for I thinke it a iust quarrell, gif we might conquer the realme of Englaund, and annex it to our owne realme, for the great iniuries and wrongs done by that nation to vs and our predecessors. For sene the begining of our habitation in this Ile of Britaine, the Englishmen and we haue ener bin enemies, and vs haif they ener hated, and yet haue we euer withstand them. Suppose, we at the last battell of Floddoun field by chance lost our soveraigne lord, & diuerse noble men, quhilk was rather by treason of the lord chamberlaine, than otherwise, who would not relieue the kings armie when he might. And yet I thinke we wan the field, quhilk murder all the noble men ought to reuenge. Therefore I would that you suld couragiously aduance your selues in this quarrell to get honoz, and so be reuenged.

1522.

The replic of
a wise coun-
sellor.

Then one wise man that was president of the counsell, answered the gouernoz, saying: My lord, fortune of weir is led by him that all leides, and he strikes the stroke, we can warke na meracles, & here are the lords of Englaund readie to encounter vs. And gif we invade their realme, surelie they will fight, for their power fall increase daillie, and ours will diminish. And gif God graunt vs the victorie (as I trust he sall) yet haue we not won the field, for readie comming is the earle of Argyll, with a mikell dread in fraunce (as ye knaw well) with an great puissant armie, and there is na doubt, but the king of Englaund will send oʒ bring another armie gif we suld chance to get the first battell. And gif we get the secound field, that will not be without great losse of manie nobles, by reason whereof, the realme shall be weaker. And gif we be overcome how manie suld be slaine, God knawes. They that sic are woorthie to be reputed as traitors to the king, and so by wilfulnesse and fule hardnesse, the realme may be in ieopardie to be bridone. I say, while the king is within age, we ought to moue na weir, least by weir we may bring him to destruction.

The gouer-
noz answers
to the presi-
dents replic.

Then said the valiant gouernoz: Where is an puissant armie of Scotland, gif we returne, we sall incourage our enemies. Therefore sene you thinke it not gude to invade, my counsell is that we campe still on the bordures, while we see what the Englishmen pretends to do against our realme. To the which the nobles consented, and laie still there in campe certeine daies after. After this conference had betwixt the nobles and the gouernoz, the quene as then being not with them, but aduertised of all the proceedings and determinations, sent word to the gouernoz, and desired him that there might be a treatie of peace had, and she promised to get the warden of the English marches to come to the gouernozs campe, upon pledges, wherunto the gouernoz condescended. Whereupon, the lord Dacres, warden of the west marches of England [with Thomas Musgraue] came vnto the gouernozs campe, and thither also at that time was the quene hir selfe come, and so vpon the eleuenth of September, an abstinence of war was taken and couenanted, that in the meane time the duke and quene should send ambassadoys into England, to treat and conclude a resolute peace.

Dacres made
for peace.The lord Da-
cres.

In the moneth of October next ensuing, there were three ambassadoys sent into England, accord-
ing to the agreement in the last treatie, but there were so hard and extream conditions proponed on

the king of Englands behalfe, that the same could not be accepted, as being contrarie to the honoz and weale of the realme of Scotland, as the Scottishmen toke the matter. And so those ambassadoys returned without agreement or conclusion of peace; whereupon followed great trouble betwixt them of the borders of both realmes. The earle of Northumberland was made warden of the whole marches, but shortly after, he began to make sute to be discharged of that office, & ceased not till he obtained it: and then was the earle of Surreie made generall warden, and the lord marquisse Dorset warden of the east & middle marches; the lord Dacres continuing still in his office of wardenship ouer the west marches.

About the first day of March, the said lords came to the borders, about which time, the duke of Albanie considering that the warres betwixt Scotland and England were trisome to the nobles of the realme, because the same wars were taken in hand chieftie to serue the French kings turne, therefore he passed by the west seas into France. And in the beginning of March, where he was verie hartlie and gladlie receiued of the king, his request was graunted to haue five thousand horsemen, and ten thousand footmen of Almaine, to be transported into Scotland: and doubted not, if he might haue this granted, but that with that power, and the assistance of the Scots, he should be able to ouerthrow the king of England in battell, or else to driue him out of his realme. But the French king neither beleued this vaine brag, nor yet might spare ante such power, hauing warre at that time both against England, and the emperor: neuertheless, he promised him some aid, whereupon the duke abode and waited for the same a long season. In the meane while, the lords of Scotland caused certeine noble men to lie vpon the borders mo-
nestlie, in defense of the same against the Englishmen, daillie looking for support from France. Cuerie companie remained their moneths, and then departed home as the custome is, and thus they continued still till September following. Much hurt was done on either part, and diuerse houses were overthrowne and destroyed both in England and Scotland.

During which time, the king of France prepared certeine ships, with men, and munition, to passe with the duke of Albanie into Scotland. But the king of England, to catch him by the way, had laid a great naute of ships in the pase on the seas, as he should make his course. But the duke imbarquing himselfe with his people at Wess in Britaine, sailed by the west parts of Scotland: and the one and twentieth day of September landed at Birkowbyc in the west part of Scotland; he brought with him (beside a good number of Frenchmen) Richard de la Pole, a man of great parentage, borne in England, and banished his countrie. While the duke was on the sea making saile toward Scotland, the earle of Surreie, with an armie of twentie thousand men, entered into Scotland, and comming to Edinburgh, burned the towne and the abbey. [But Lesleus, lib. 9. pag. 407. saith it was Jedburgh which the earle burnt.] It was thought they ment to haue passed further, but the Scottishmen assembling themselves against their inuasions, they were constrained to returne with losse (as some Scottishmen haue written.)

* In this place, Buchanan (before he commeth to the parlement assembled by the duke of Albanie after his returne out of France) writeth in this sort. We haue shewed (saith he) how miserable the state of Scotland was the last summer (through the dissention which was amongst the nobilitie) by the English (with all kind of slaughter) spoiling the places bordering nere vnto them, and besetting the

The earle of
Northumber-
land made
lord warden.The earle of
Surreie.The lord
marquisse
Dorset.
The lord Da-
cres.The duke of
Albanie goeth
ouer into
France.
His request.His vaine
brag.

1523.

The borders
watched.The duke of
Albanie re-
turneth into
Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of
Surreie in-
uadeth Scot-
land.

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan,
lib. 14.

the sea on euerie side, whereby we might be out of hope of all forren aid. For the deuise of the enimie tended to compell the fierce minds of the Scots (abated with such euils) to conclud a league with him; wherewith the Scots were not behind (by reason of the French faction) that by the means of the quene there might be a perpetuall truce taken betwene them. For when the lord Hume was (by death) taken away, the Dowglasse banished, and all the rest of the nobilitie rather met for companions than leaders in battels; such as had withdrawen their mind from the French, applied themselves to the quenes faction.

Whereupon the (to gratifie his brother, and to wrest all the gouernement into his owne hands) did (dissembling his greedie desire to rule) persuaue them, to deliuer their sonne (almost now past childish yeares) out of the hands of strangers, and themselves from the yoke of other mens bondage. For the quene did well foresee, that preparation and succor was made, and did come against his husband, whome before she had begun to hate extreamelie. The king of England also did commend and prefer to the Scots the counsell of his sister, by manie letters sent, and with faire promises offered; because he had none other mind, but that a perpetuall friendship might alwaies remaine betwene the adioined kingdoms; the which, as he had at other times desired; so now he mostlie wished it, not for aue commoditie to himselfe, but to the end that all men might well perceiue that he would embrace, defend, and as much as rested within his abilitie, seeke the commoditie of his sisters sonne by all the means he might. And if the Scots would persuaue themselves to breake the league with the French, and ioine in amitie with the English; they should shortly well understand, that the king of England did not seeke after soueraintie, glorie, power, or honor; but onelie studied for a concord amongst themselves, & a league betwene their nations. For which cause, he would bestow his onelie daughter Marie vpon James the king of Scotland; by which marriage, the Scots should not be subject to the gouernement of England; but contrarie, the English vnder the rule of the Scots. For by that means, besides the quenching of great hatred betwene the nations (and intercourse of merchandise, exchange of mutuall courtesies and ioinings in affinitie) there should be an indissoluble knot made for the honor of the whole Island.

And with this, they (for England) remembred the profit and disauantage that might rise to the one from other, by the friendship or hatred of either kingdom, and the benefit that they might loke for from their English neighbours, more than by anie possibilitie they might obtaine from their French confederats. For on the one side, the English and they were borne in one continent, brought vnder the same influence of the heauen, and so like in all things, in tong, in maners, in lawes, in decrees, in countenance, in color, and in lineaments of bodie, as that they rather seeme one than two nations. On the other side, the French are not onelie different from them, by naturall soile and clemencie of the heauens; but more seuered from them in order and forme of lining, being further such a people, as if they were enimies vnto them, they could not greatlie hurt them; and if they be their friends they can not greatlie helpe them. But the English are at hand with men, munition, and monie; when the French, being so far off, are onelie with allurements, inforcements, and for their owne commoditie drawen to take their part. Besides which, there can be no succor from France but by sea, which the enimie may easilie stop; and so the Scots not able

to be succored by them. But from the English they may haue aid by land with speed, and no man can hinder them thereof. Wherefore they should consider how discommodious for the dispatch of their affairs) and how vnapt (for the defense of themselves) it should be, to hang all the hope of their succor vpon the fauor of the wind, and to place the most suertie of their estate in the vnconstant friendship of the vn-certaine elements. For (if neuer before) yet at this time the Scots might not onlie perceiue in thought but feele in deed what helpe is to be hoped (in present dangers) from absent friends, when that the English can not onelie helpe you now, but at this instant do also keepe away your promised and long expected aid, which they haue so besieged vpon the sea, that you can receiue no benefit or helpe from them.

After that these things were thus laid abroad for the knitting of the English league, as there were not a few which gaue consent to that motion, so were there manie that stillie argued to the contrarie. For in that assemblie, there were manie pensioners of the French faction, who (increasing their priuat commoditie by the publike detrimment) did vtterlie abhor from all peace; besides whome, there were also some, which suspected the facilitie of promise in the English; especiallie, since the whole estate of England did then chiefele hang vpon the backe of Thomas Wolseie the cardinall, an euill and ambitious person, and who referred all counsels and consultations to the amplifying of his owne priuat authoritie and dignitie; and for that cause, applied that and all other things to euerie blast of fortune. All our men although they were moued by diuerse reasons (as the varietie of diuerse wits bred diuerse minds) did yet with like enuie tend vnto one end, which was alwaies to defend the French league; for they denied, that the same sudden liberalitie of the enimie, could anie way sort to their benefit; since this was not the first time that the English had vied that policie to intrap vntuarie men: as did Edward the first, who (swearing and binding himselfe with all bonds of law, when he was chosen an arbitrator to cease the strife of the kingdom of Scotland) did with great iniurie make a king of Scots at his pleasure; and of late also, Edward the fourth king of England (when he had promised his daughter Cecillie to the sonne of James the third) did (the maid being readie for the marriage) dissolue the same, by taking occasion of warre through our ciuill dissensions. According to which, the English do now also seeke none other matter, than casting a vaine hope before vs to gouerne them, to bring vs into right seruitude; and (when we are destitute of all forren helpe) to oppresse vs with all the power of their kingdom.

Neither is that true also (wherein the chiefe strength of their speech consisteth) that the aid of our neighbors nere at hand, is better or surer to vs than further friendship. For how may we loke for anie good from those our neighbors, since commonlie amongst neighbors there neuer want occasions of dissention; which oftentimes chance bringeth forth, and the stronger (hauing small or no occasion) will manie times seeke to offer: at what time, he which is greatest in armes, must & will appoint lawes of agreement as seemes best to his liking. Beside, there was neuer yet so sacred or firme a bond of amitie betwene adioining kingdoms, which was not oftentimes broken, either by offered or sought occasions of displeasure & breach: neither is it to be hoped, that the English will abstaine from offering violence vnto vs; that haue not spared the blood of so manie of their owne kings. For the sanctitie of leagues, & the religion of an oth, and the faith of compacts and

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David Car.
Dunelm castle
besieged.

The earle of
Dorrie with
an armie of
foure thou-
sand men.
The marques
Dorset appoin-
ted to keepe
Berwick.

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English haue
killed one, the
Scots haue
murdered ten
as the course
of their histo-
ries will well
prooue.

The Scots
and French
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and covenants, are in trith firme bonds of amitie amongest the good: but amongest the wicked, they are nets to intrap others, if occasion of commoditie be offered for breach of them. All which benefits and injuries, doe dwell in people, whome nerenesse of bounds, conuersation of language, and not unlike manner of life hath ioined together.

And if all these things should be far othertwise, yet there be two things which we ought speciallie to foresee and provide for; whereof, the one is, that we spend not our time in baine by chiding and disagreement, as persons drawn into diuerse factions; the other, that we reject not our old friends (for this new alliance) before we haue heard what they can say; especiallie in such a cause (as this) which may not be determined, but by the consent of the parliament. Upon which, the French followers did earnestlie stand, that there should not anie thing be done therein; and therefore sent certeine of the French aid as ambassadoes about the cause. This thus ended, and the comming of the gouernour spread abroad, the same made manie glad, confirmed the doubtfull thereof, and withiothers (that were inclined to the English part) from the same opinion they were of.]

The duke immediatlie after his arriual came to Edinburgh, where he caused all the lords of the realme to assemble in that towne, where he declared the great loue and affection that the king of France bare to the realme of Scotland, insomuch as hearing of the slaughters, murders and burnings, practised by the Englishmen, he thought that he felt the same done vnto him, reputing himselfe one of their members. And for reuenging thereof, he would be partner with them as their member: for more credit whereof, he shewed the kings letter, confirming his declaration. He therefore exhorted them to assemble an armie, in reuenge of injuries & wrongs done to them and their countrie; for he had brought with him munition, men, and artillerie to the furtherance thereof. Hereupon it was concluded, that the armie should assemble at Doboglas dale the eightieth of October: the which conclusion they kept, and from thence they marched to Caldreame vpon Twed, and sent ouer the water certeine of their great artillerie, with a companie of Frenchmen and Scots, by the guiding of David Car; and being got ouer, they lay siege to the castell of Marke, which was kept by sir William Lisle capitaine thereof, hauing with him a strong garrison of English soldiers, and great provision of artillerie, and all things necessarie: yet at the first assault, the utter barke-hin was woone, and the said companie of Scottishmen and Frenchmen lay within the same, indamaging the castell in all they might.

The earle of Surrie and diuerse others of the English nobilitie, with an armie of fortie thousand men, were at Anwoke, not far distant from Marke, and the marquesse Dorset was sent with a great companie to keepe the towne of Bertholke, for doubt least the same should haue bene besieged. Also in the meane time, a new assault was made to the inner barnekin of Marke, and the same woone likewise as the other had bene before. After this was the castell assailed, and part of it beaten downe with the artillerie lieng on the Scottish side of the water of Twed. At which breach, the assault was giuen, and the same continued, till that through darknesse and lacke of light, the assailants were driuen to retire. Great slaughter was made at that assault on both sides, but especiallie of them within the house. The assailants ment to haue giuen a fresh assault the next day, being the fourth of November: but a sore and vehement storme and tempest of rain & thunders

that night, so that they were constrained to leane off that enterprize, and to get themselves ouer the river againe vnto the armie, least by the rising of the water of Twed, they might haue bene cut off by their enemies, before they could haue bene succoured.

In the meane time, whilst this siege continued, a number of Scottishmen made a road into the countrie of Glendale within the English marches, and burnt and spoiled diuerse townes, cast downe sandie piles, and returned without anie resistance: for the earle of Surrie would suffer none of his people to depart from the armie, nor breake order, for feare of more inconuenience. The duke of Albanie lieng on the Scottish side of Twed, sent an herald vnto the earle of Surrie, willing him to call to remembrance, how in his absence he had invaded Scotland with fire and sword: for the which cruell dealing, he required him vpon his honor to come forward, and he would meet him in the confines of both the realmes, and giue him battell. To the which message the earle answered, that he had no commission to invade Scotland at that time, but it onlie to defend. And (as some haue reported) he caused a secret messenger to passe to the quene, as then lieng a good way distant from the armie, to moue for some abstinence and truce, and further to perswade the duke to retire home; which he did, so that by his labor, a truce was taken for that instant, and afterward confirmed for a longer time: and thus the duke returned with honor (as the Scottishmen report.) This truce was well kept all the next winter following, and no inuasion made, till the moneth of Maie: and then was the erle of Surrie sent againe to the English borders, and the lords of Scotland on the other part monethlie laie on their borders by quarters, for defense of their countrie, as the vse is.

On Trinitie fundaie, being the one and twentieth of Maie, five hundred Scots entered England, to surpriue the English merchants, and others, going that day vnto Bertholke, where yerele on that day the faire is kept; and so by reason thereof they met with diuerse of them that went to this faire, and toke to the number of two hundred prisoners, whom they led with them into Scotland. But Hall saith, that by the comming of the young lord of Fulbertie to the succors of the Englishmen, the Scots were chased, and lost two hundred of their numbers. On the first of Iulie, sir William Fenwike, Leonard Pulgrauie, & Bassard Heron, with diuers other, to the number of nine hundred Englishmen, entered into the shires, and began to spoile and rob the countrie: but they were shortly compassed about with Scottishmen, & to hardlie assailed, that although they fought valiantlie a good while, yet by fine force they were compelled to giue ground, and seke to saue themselves by flight, in which two hundred of them were taken prisoners, and Bassard Heron with diuerse other slaine. Amongest the prisoners, were sir Rafe Fenwike, Leonard Pulgrauie, and diuers other gentlemen of good calling.

On the seventeenth of Iulie, the lord Marwell, and sir Alexander Fordeit, with diuerse other Scottishmen in great numbers, entered England at the west marches by Caerleill, with displayed banners, and began to harrie the countrie, and burne diuers places. The Englishmen assembled on euerie side, so that they were farre more in number than the Scottishmen, and thereupon set fiercelie vpon their enemies, insomuch that for the space of an houre, there was a sore fight continued betwixt them. But the lord Marwell like a right politike capitaine (as of all that knew him he was no lesse reputed) ceased not to incountage his people: after that, by the taking of

Glendale
burned by
the Scots.

An herald
sent.

A truce.

See more of
this matter in
England.
1524.

Scots enter
into England

Englishmen
invade Scot-
land.

English men
discomfited.
Bassard He-
ron slaine.

1524.
Foure thou-
sand saith Hal.

The lord
Marwell in-
uaded Eng-
land.

David Car.
Marke castell
besieged.

The earle of
Surrie with
an armie of
fortie thou-
sand men.
The marquesse
Dorset appoin-
ted to keepe
Bertholke.

Marke as-
saulted.

The Scots
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of Alexander Fordein & diuers others, they had bin put backe, he brought them in araie againe, and beginning a new skirmish, recovered in maner all the prisoners, toke and slue diuerse Englishmen, so that he returned with victorie, and led aboue three hundred prisoners with him home into Scotland.

An assemblie
of the lordes.

After this iourneie, there was an assemblie of the lordes in Edenburgh, with the duke of Albanie, where some of the lordes were of mind that the warre should continue: other thought it not reason, that for the pleasure onelie of France, the realme should susteine such damage, as it had done by those three last yeres wars now passed, and therefore they perswaded peace. Moreover, there was also much debating of the matter, touching the age and gouernement of the king; some of the lordes holding that he was now of age to take the rule vpon himselfe, and that the guardianship or tutorie of a king expired sooner than of another private person. The duke of Albanie perceiving how the lordes were diuided amongst themselves, and neither content with his gouernement, nor willing to mainteine the warres which he had so earnestlie perswaded for the pleasure of France, he declared to them that he wold returne into France, and so taking his leaue of the nobilitie, went to Striueling where the king was, of whome he toke leaue, also giuing vnto him such louing and faithfull counsell, as to his knowledge seemed expedient, and so went into the west countrie, where he toke the seas in September, and sailed forth into France, [neuer to returne into Scotland.]

The duke of
Albanie re-
turneth into
France.
Fr. Thin.

The earle of
Angus com-
meth into
England.

The king of England [before the rumor of the departure of the duke of Albanie] hauing in the month of June sent ouer into France, vnto Archembald earle of Angus, that remained there vpon the commandement of the duke of Albanie, perswaded him to come from thence secretlie into England, which accordingly he did; and being safelie arriued in England, king Henrie procured him to passe into Scotland, that with the assistance of such lordes as wold be readie to take his part, he might raise war against the duke of Albanie, which fought by all means (as the king of England was informed) to destroie him & his: but yer the earle could come into Scotland, the duke was departed toward France. On the six and twentieth of Iulie, the king by the aduise of his mother, and certeine young lordes, came from Striueling vnto Edenburgh; and three daies after, the quene toke the whole gouernment of the king vpon hir, and entered into the castell of Edenburgh with the king, where they sojourned the most part of the next winter. The prouost of Edenburgh was discharged, whom the towne had chosen, and the lord Marwell was appointed by the quene, prouost in his place. For the performance wherof, there was a parlement also summoned to be holden at Edenburgh the third day of Februarie next ensuing (and the bishop of saint Andrews and Aberdeen (as saith Buchanan li. 14.) were cast into prison, who after gathering armes (and cursing all others) within the space of a moneth following were reconciled to the king.)

The quene
takerh the go-
uernment in-
to hir hands.

A parlement
summoned.
Fr. Thin.

A truce taken
for one yere.

The king of England glad to heare that the duke of Albanie was departed into France, sent into Scotland in ambassage one maister John Magnus, and Roger Hatcliffe esquier, to declare vnto the quene and lordes, that he wold be content that a truce might be accorded betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, now that the duke of Albanie was returned into France, who had bene the onlie procurer of the warres. Herevpon they agreed to take truce to indure for one yere, and in the meane time they appointed to send ambassadors into England to treat vpon a continuall peace, all

ance, and amitie to be had betwixt both the realmes. In this meane while, the earle of Angus came into Scotland: and because of the displeasure which the quene bare him, there ensued occasions of great dissensions within the realme. Notwithstanding the quene by aduise of certeine lordes, sent the lord Gilbert earle of Cassels, Robert Cockeboorne bishop of Dunkeld, and doctor Mylle abbat of Cambuskenneth, ambassadors into England, in the moneth of 10 December; the which were receiued at Crænewich by the king of England the foure and twentieth of the same moneth: where the bishop of Dunkeld made an eloquent oration in Latine, declaring the cause of their comming, the which in effect was for intreatment of peace, loue, and amitie betwixt the two realmes: and for the moze sure establishment thereof, they required that a marriage might be concluded betwixt their king & the ladie Marie, daughter to the king of England.

Ambassadors
into England

This request was well heard by the king, who therevpon appointed commissioners to common thereof with the said ambassadors. Diuerse articles were proponed by the said commissioners on the king of England his behalfe, and in especiall one; which was, that the king of Scotland should renounce the league with the king of France; and that further he should come into England, and remaine there till he came to perfect age to be married. Because the ambassadors had not commission to conclude so farre, the earle of Cassels returned into Scotland, to vnderstand the minds of the lordes and counsell in these points, the other remaining at London till his returne to them againe. * Upon All saints day there was a great motion of wind, with such stormes and tempests of thunder and lightning which suddenlie arose, that the same (ouerthrowing manie privat houses in Edenburgh, and the pinnacle of the tower of David in the same castell) entered into the quenes lodging with a great flame, which burnt so vehementlie, and went so farre, that it had almost consumed the same; which storme (ouerthrowing the buildings about the chamber of the bishop of Whitchurch) the bishops lodging did yet remaine safe not touched with the violence of the flame.)

Fr. Thin.

I 5 25.
Lellesus lib. 9.
pag. 414.

Candida Casa.

When the day of the parlement appointed to be holden in the Tolbuth of Edenburgh was come, the king, quene, and lordes, fearing some tumult in the towne to be raised by the earle of Angus, wold not passe forth of the castell, but kept the parlement within the same. Archembald Doolglaſſe earle of Angus, and John Steward earle of Lennox, with diuerse others, to the number of two thousand men, came in the night season vnto Edenburgh, because they durst not enter the towne in the day time, for feare of the gunnes that laie in the castell. The next day, being the fourteenth day of Februarie, the said earles with the archbishop of saint Andrews, the bishop of Aberdeen, that by the quenes appointment had bene kept before in ward, the bishop of Dunblane, Calene Campbell, the earle of Argile, and diuerse other lordes and barons being in the towne, sent to the castell, alledging that the king was kept as prisoner by the quene, and iustice suppressed, with great damage of the common wealth; and therefore he desired, that the king might be deliuered vnto them, to be gouerned by the aduise of the three states, and if they refused to deliuer him, they wold besiege the castell, and if they wold it, all their liues within should rest at their pleasures, the kings onelie excepted.

The earle of
Angus his
request.

The quene, by the counsell of the earles of Argyll and Murray, refused not onelie to deliuer the king, but sent them word, that except they did depart the salons, they wold fuerlie discharge all the

The forelettery
the castell of
Edenburgh.
The parties
are agreed.

Counsellors
appointed.

Truce re-
newed.

Lellesus lib. 9.
pag. 417.

The king not
in his owne
power.

The quene
mother in
armes.

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artillerie of the castell against them. Hereupon, great feare rose in the towne, spectallie among the burgeses, but by the diligence of certeine persons that travelled betwene the parties, an assurance was taken on either side for certeine daies. In the meane time, the earle of Angus caused the castell to be forset, that neither meat nor other thing might be suffered to be conveyed into it, except so much as might serve for the sustentation of the kings owne person. At length, all the parties were agreed, so that the foure and twentieth day of Februarie, the king came unto the parlement holden in the Tolbuth in most honozable wise, with the assistance of all the estates, having the crowne, scepter, and sword borne before him, and from thence he was brought to the abbey, where he remained.

In this parlement, there were eight lords chosen to be of the kings private counsell, the which took the gouvernement of the king and realme upon them, as these: the archbishops of Saint Andrews and Glasgow, the bishops of Aberdeen and Dunblane; the earles of Angus, Argile, Arrane, and Lennor: the quene was adjoined to them as principall, without whose advise nothing should be done. From this parlement also was the earle of Castles sent, with answer to the king of England; who came to London the nineteenth of March. But because the king had knowledge that the French king was taken at the battell of Pavia, he would not proceed in the treatie of marriage betwixt the king of Scotland and his daughter, till he had the emperors advise, whome he affirmed to be his confederat friend: and so renewing the truce for three yeers and six moneths, the ambassadors returned into Scotland about the beginning of Aprill next ensuing, without anie contract of marriage at that time. The agreement betwixt the quene and lords continued not long; for anon after died the bishop of Dunblane or Dunkeld (as faith Lesleus) whose benefice the earle of Angus obtained of the king for his brother William Douglas, with out the advise of the quene and other lords. Whereupon the quene departed and went unto Strueling, leaving the king with the earle of Angus, who took the whole rule and government of the realme and king upon him, and made his uncle Archembald Douglas treasurer of the realme, and bestowed benefices, offices, and all other things, by the advise of his brother George Douglas, and the earle of Lennor, who assisted him.

In this meane time, the archbishop of Saint Andrews, and the earles of Arrane, Argile, and Murray, remaining with the quene at Strueling, alleged that the king was withhelden from them by the earle of Angus force against his will: and therefore they sent unto the earle, requiring him to deliver him. But the earle caused the king to give the answer himselfe, that he would not come from the earle of Angus, albeit he would gladly have bene out of his hands if he might; as by secret messages sent to sundrie of the lords, and likewise at that time appeared, for he willed them by private meanes to assemble an armie, and to come & fetch him out of their hands that thus detained him. Hereupon shortly after, they raised a power, and comming therewith to Linlithgow, purposing to passe into Edinburgh, that they might get the king out of the earle of Angus his hands: the said earle, with the earle of Lennor and other his assistants being thereof advertised, came to the field with the kings banner displayed, and brought the king with him, although partly against his will.

The quene and such lords as were with her there in the armie, for the reverence they bare unto the kings person, and also fearing the danger that might

chance to them if they buckled together in a fough-ten field, they withdrew themselves to Strueling, and from thence the quene went into Murray land with the earle of Murray, and there remained a long time after. The earles of Arrane and Argile went into the west countrie, and the bishop of Saint Andrews to Dunfermling: and then the earle of Angus took upon him more boldly the government of the king and realme, and sent to the bishop of Saint Andrews (who was chancelor) for the great seale, which was delivered to them that were so sent for it. The nobles of the realme remaining thus at variance, and divided among themselves, there was small obedience of lawes & justice. Diverse slaughters in sundrie parts were committed, great thefts & robberies made by the borderers upon the inland countries. Moreover, a divorce this yere (as some have said) was sued before the archbishop of Saint Andrews, betwixt the quene, and the earle of Angus her husband, and then afterwards she took to husband one Henrie Stewart, sonne to the lord of Arundale, the which Henrie was after created by the king lord of Methuen.

On the foure and twentieth of Julie, the king being accompanied with the earle of Angus, the lord Hume, the barres & others, rode unto Jedburgh, in purpose to have reformed the misgovernance of the borderers; but after that they had remained there three daies with little obedience shewed towards them, they all returned. And upon the 29 day of Julie, at the bridge of Melrose, the lord of Boclough, accompanied with a thousand horsemen, began to shew himselfe in sight, whose principall purpose was to have taken the king from the earle of Angus and his assistants, being requested and commanded by the king himselfe so to do. The earle of Angus incontinentlie sent an herald unto the lord of Boclough, to know what his intention was to do; who answered, that he came to do the king honor and service, and to shew his friends and power as the use is of the borderers.

The earle of Angus, with the lord Hume, and the rest, not being content with this answer, because of the great feud betwixt him and the Humes, and the barres, sent unto him a commandement in the kings name to depart, and not to approach nere to the kings presence, under paine of high treason. Whereunto he answered, that he knew the kings mind well enough & would not spare for this commandement to come to his graces presence. Which answer received from him, incontinentlie the earle of Angus, the lords Fleming and Hume, the barres, the lord of Selsford, with their friends, alighted on foot; the king remaining on horsebacke, accompanied with the earle of Lennor, the lord Marwell, George Douglas, and Spintan Creichton, tutor of Sainquhar.

The lord of Boclough lighted also on foot, but because the most part of his men were of the thewes and outlaws of the borders, commonlie called broken men, upon their first comming to joining with their speares, they fled, leaving the lord of Boclough with a small number of his owne servants about him in all the danger: yet they defended themselves verie manfully, and slew the lord of Selsford and diverse other, on the earle of Angus his side: but finally, oppressed with multitude, they were put to flight, and foure score of Bocloughes men slaine in the chase. After this, the king returned to Jedburgh, and remained there the space of foure daies, and then returned to Edinburgh.

All this while, the king was governed and holden against his will, by the earle of Angus and his assistants, although he did not outwardly shew so in countenance, but dissembled the matter as well as he might,

G. J.

he forseth
the castell of
Edinburgh.

The parties
are agreed.

Counsellors
appointed.

Truce re-
newed.

Lesleus lib. 9.
pg 417.

The king not
in his owne
power.

The quene
mother in
armie.

The great
seale delivered

A divorce be-
tweene the
quene and
the earle of
Angus.

1526.

The lord of
Boclough his
enterprize, to
take the king
from the earle
of Angus.

The lord of
Selsford
slaine.
The lord of
Boclough put
to flight.

dozs
glans

5.
ib. 9.

Casa

2 of
15

The earle of
Lennor ga-
thereth a pow-
er.

The earle of
Arrane ga-
thereth a
power.

The earle of
Lennor slaine
Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 14.

might, yet perceiuing two enterprises to haue qual-
led that had bene attempted for his deliuerance, he
thought to assaie the third; and hereupon, procured
the earle of Lennor to assemble an armie, with as-
sistance of the quene and hir friends, to helpe to de-
luer him from the hands of his enimies. The earle
of Lennor did so, and came with such power as he
could raise from the west parts vnto Linlithgo. The
earle of Angus being aduertised, that the earle of
Lennor was gathering men, sent to the earle of Ar-
rane for aid, requirring him to come with such power
as he could make, and to meet him at Linlithgo. The
earle of Arrane immediatlie herewith gathered a
power, and with the same came to Linlithgo before
the earle of Lennor came thither, who shortly after
comming with his people, approached that towne, un-
to whome the earle of Arrane sent a messenger, re-
quirring him to turne and saue his enterprise, assu-
ring him, that albeit he was his sisters sonne, he
would not spare him, if he held forthward vpon his
tourne. The earle of Lennor herewith answered in
a great rage, that he would not staie, till he came to
Edenburgh, or else die for it by the wate. The earle
of Arrane therefore not staing for the earle of An-
gus his comming from Edenburgh, issued forth of
Linlithgo at the west end of the towne, and incoun-
tered the earle of Lennor and his companie, where
there was a cruell onset giuen on both sides, but sud-
denlie the earle of Lennor his companie fled, and he
himselfe with the lord of Hunsdon and diuerse other
gentlemen were slaine.

The death of which Douglas the king did great-
lie lament, and hearing the clamor and noise that
was made in that conflict, did send forth (but all too
late) Andrew Wood (his familiar) to haue succored
the Lennor, if by anie meanes he could. After this
victorie, the faction of the Douglasles (to the end
that striking a feare in those that were enuious a-
gainst them, they might make them alwaies to be
in danger to them) began to moue questions and
sutes in law, against such as had borne armes a-
gainst the king: for feare wherof some bought their
peace with monie, some took part with the Dou-
glasles, some followed the Hamiltons, and some
staid standing in the matter, were followed and cal-
led into the law. Of which number Gilbert earle of
Castles (when he was earnestlie pressed by James
Hamilton the bassard, to yeld himselfe to the part of
the Hamiltons) being a man of great stomach, gaue
this answer, that the old league of friendship, which
was betwene their grandfathers (in which his
grandfather was alwaies the more honorable and
first named) should not make him now so forgetfull
of the honor of his familie, that he would seeme to
degenerat from his ancestors, and willingly grant
to be vnder defense (which is the next degree of
seruitude) of them, whose head in making an equall
league and covenant was contented with the second
place of honor.

Wherefore, when the said Gilbert appeared in the
law at the day appointed, for the deciding of his
cause: Hugh Kennedie his kinsman answered for
him, that he was present in that battell, as sent thi-
ther by the king, and not as enimie to the king, and
he would (if need required) bring forth the kings let-
ters therfore, notwithstanding the Hamiltons trou-
ning and fretting against his boldnesse: for the king
had written as well to Gilbert (going home) as to
manie others, to ioine with John Steward earle of
Lennor, who seeing the battell at hand, and that he
had not time left to call together his friends and fol-
lowers, did with his present companie (taking his
tourne out of the wate) turne to Striueling. Ther-
fore (the power of the Hamiltons in that cause some-

what suppressed) James Hamilton the bassard stirred
with great hatred against Kennedie, did procure
Hugh Campbell kinsman of Airc to dispatch him out
of the wate, which he shortly after did in his returne
home. Afterward this Hugh, to the end he might dis-
semble his conscience or knowledge of this euill (the
execution wherof he had committed to his fellowes)
was remaining at the day and tyme of the same
murder, with John Areskine, whose sister was the
wife of Gilbert Kennedie.

But the (as some as he heard of) that deed did with
manie bitter words lay the fault vnto him, because
by that fact the noble house of the Kennedies had al-
most bene brought to vtter subuersion, had he not
left a yong sonne behind him. This yong earle,
after the death of his father, fled to his kinsman Ar-
chembald Douglas then the kings treasurer, to
whome he committed the defense of himselfe and his
familie. This done, Hugh Campbell was called in
to law for the said deed, who being manifestlie conui-
cted thereof, was banished into an other place. Nei-
ther did the Douglasles with lesse bitternesse exer-
cise their anger against James Beton, for bringing
their power to saint Andrews, which they spoiled, as
after appereth.)

In the meane time, the earle of Angus bringing
the king with him, arriued, and had come to the bat-
tell, but that the king was not willing to come forth
of Edenburgh in that quarrell (as some haue writ-
ten) and therefore made excuses, as he did also by the
wate, faining himselfe sicke: but George Douglas
droue and called vpon his horse verie sharpelie, and
constrained him to ride forth with faster pace than he
would haue done, giuing him manie inturions
words, which he remembred afterwards, and would
not forget them. They went that night to Striue-
ling, and shortly after passed through Fife, searching
for the quene, and the bishop of saint Andrews; and
because they were kept secretlie in their friends hou-
ses, so that they could not be heard of, they spoiled the
abbets of Dunfermling, and the castell of saint An-
drewes, taking a waie all the moueables which the
archbishop had within the same.

In the north parts also, the two families of the
Lelles and the Forboises, intangled with mutuall
hatred, raised great flames of tumults and parts ta-
king: which enimities did after grow to be the great-
ter, because there were daile manie slaughters of
the nobles & other people committed in Spar, Car-
roth, and Aberdeen, whilest ech faction labored to de-
send it selfe against the others. For which cause (when
the common-wealth was much deformed thereby,
and all iustice seemed almost vterlie ouerthrowne in
those parts) the earle of Angus and other of the no-
bilitie (which were of the kings priuie counsell) did
not cease, vntill they had made vnitie betwene those
two families. But in the end (the heire of the For-
boises, & the lord Lenthurke, hauing by wait killed the
noble baron Melburne, which sauored the Lelles)
those buried contentions began againe to be raised
from the dead; whose enimities being once againe
knowne to the nobilitie (and what hurt might insue
thereof to the common state) they attempted all pos-
sible means once more to quench that deadly flame,
and afresh to ioine their minds together in amitie,
with this purpose, that the murderers of Melburne
should (for punishment of their offense) be banished
into France, where the greatest part of them died,
after manie miseries and reproches sustained in their
pitifull life. Which last league so sincerelie vnitied be-
twene the Forboises and the Lelles, was imbraced
with such faith ech to other, by renewing thereof with
continuall mariages & other courties, that it conti-
nued most firme euen vnto this day.

The death of
the earle of
Castles.

1520.
Lellous lib. 9.
pag. 423.
424 &c.

Rothmurcolie

New tumults
in that fami-
ly.

The quene
sought to.

Fr. Thin.
Lellous lib. 9.
pag. 423.

1526.

The familie
of Spakint
che ruse Scot-
tions.

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Spakin
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In which north parts also, the inhabitants (partly following their naturall disposition, and partly erected by the example of the former times long suffered to be viced) did in like sort overrin and spoile all things, by reason of ouermuch libertie. But of all other sturres raised in those parts, that was the greatest and most troublesome, which was raised by the Makintoshes. Of which vnicelle people, the one familie was called the Glencathens, and the other was surnamed Makintoshes after the head of that kindred; in which, the chiefe was called Aeschlane Makintoshes a man of great possessions, and of such excellencie in singulartie of wisdom, that with great consideration he did confine all his followers within the limites of their dueties, more than others did. Which constraints (when they could hardly beare (as to say to live in order) having so long passed their time licentiouslie) did withdraue the hearts of manie men from him. Amongest whome was James Malcolmson his kinsman (who thisling after the desire to rule) took occasion (by the insurie of the time) traitorouslie with deceit to kill this Makintoshes; after which (fearing further trouble to insue towards him) he flieth to the Ile (at the lake Rothmurcosse) as a sanctuarie or defense for him. But the rest of the familie of the Makintoshes did pursue him with such eager minds, that by force taking him in the Ile, they worthilie killed him, and manie of his confederats, guiltie of that wickednesse. After which (because the sonne of Makintoshes, for his tender yeares, was not sufficient with feare & punishment to bidle the minds of his fierce subiects) by common consent they chose the bastard brother of the slaine man (called Hector Makintoshes) to be head and leader of that familie, untill this young nephew might grow to yeres, and might weeld the gouernement of his owne tribe.

Now when the earle of Arrreie perceived that if the sonne of Makintoshes were committed to the rashnesse of a people somewhat fierce and cruell, that he should (on euerie side) be oppressed with manie troubles, he did most godlie (for the care he had of him his nephew being his sisters sonne) prouide, that he should be caried to an other place, to the Agilues, the childs kin on the mothers side, where he should be well instructed and imbued with the precepts of all learning and vertue. Whereat Hector was greatlie offended, to see that the child should so subtilie be taken from him. Wherefore (affirming that much of his authoritie was thereby diminished) he attempted (euerie way he might) to get the child againe into his possession, that thereby he might salue and recouer his credit and authoritie. But some there were, which supposed that the great care and laboz which he so much employed (for getting the child into his hands) was to none other intent, but that he might make him awaie, and prepare a path whereby to lead his owne sonne to the gouernement of that familie. Which conceipt being deeplie graven in the mind of the earle of Arrreie, caused him to seeke the preservation of the child, that by no means he might fall into the hands of Hector.

Wherewith Hector being highlie incensed (and determining to spue out his choler, seeking reuenge by anie kind of means) he did cause his brother William & other of his kindred, that joining their force, they might stronglie ber the earle of Arrreie, and spoile his possessions: which they did with so great furie, that ouerthrowing the fort of Dikes, and besieging the castell of Lochnewaie, they executed manie cruelties, slaughters, spoiles, burnings, and other mischiefs vpon all sorts of people, men, women, and children, and all such as fauored them. For their hatred not limited against the earle of Arrreie, ex-

tended further against the familie of the Agilues, amongest whome the child was left in custodie for educations cause. With which mind this Hector and his complices placing their campe at the castell of Bettens, which belonged to the lord of Durnens (one of the familie of the Agilues) they did so furiously besiege the same; as the people of the same were in the end forced to yield the fort: which when they had entred, they killed foure and twentie of the Agilues; whome they found therein. Whereupon (their minds being now aduanced with spoiles and happie successe) they became so proud, as (trusting ouermuch to prosperous euent in all their actions) they neuer set end to their wicked crueltie: untill the erle of Arrreie did with force execute iust iudgement vpon them. For when the earle beheld their immoderatie reioicing, in spoiling his lands, and committing other excessiue rites; he obtained of the king and his counsell, that he might be made the kings deputie and gouernor in that battell; to dole the rage and boldnesse of those in that order spoiling the common-wealth.

Wherefore the earle assembling an armie; did with such speedie valure come vpon them and their countrie, that at the first he took almost two hundred of their capitains, and committed them to the gallows. All whose faith was so true to their captaine, as (when life was seuerallie promised to euerie one man as he was alone lead to the gallowes) there would not anie one of them confesse where their captaine Hector had hidden himselfe. For euerie one answered (with bold spirit) that they knew not where he was become; and if so be they did; that yet they would not (by anie paine or terror of death) be induced to breake their faith and to betray their master. But hanging not being thought a sufficient reuenge (for such capitains as the earle had taken) there were more grauous punishments laid vpon William Makintoshes (brother to Hector) because in the beginning he nourished those coles of choler for his brothers cause. For after that this William was hanged, his head was chopped off and fastened vpon a pole at Dikes, and the other foure parts of his bodie were sent to the towines of Elgin, Forresse, Inuernesse, and Alderne, there to be set by publikelie to the reproch of them, and the example of others.

Now, after all these sturres, Hector (seeing his men were thus dispersed and executed, and that himselfe was excluded from anie other succor) fled to the faithfull helpe of Alexander Dunbar Deane of Arrreie, by whose aduise he goeth humble and secretlie to the king, beseeching his mercie and fauor to be extended vnto him: for he supposed it better, rather to craue the doubtfull mercie of his lord, than to make triall of the earle of Arrreies certaine reuenge. Whereupon the king (seeing his humble submission) receiued him into his fauor; and did with all his heart louinglie after embrace him, because he was valiant and wise in warre, and in counsell. But God, whose iustice is alwaies shewed in punishing of wickednesse, would not suffer this filthinesse of crueltie, theft, murder, & spoile (where with Hector did wickedlie defile his life) to go vnuenged with most grauous paine vpon the said Hector. For in the citie of Saint Andrews, sudden death (than which there can be no greater punishment) was laid vpon him by one James Spense a priest, who was himselfe afterwards beheaded.

When the earle of Arrreie had shewed such reuenge vpon the friends of Hector and their companions; the people of the prouince of Glencathens did from thenceforth keepe themselves within the limites of their duetie: untill that the sonne of Ach-

Ag. ij. lane

1520.
Jellous lib. 9.
pgs. 423,
424, &c.

Rothmurcosse

How tumults
in that fami-
lie.

The familie
of Makintosh
the cause sedi-
tions.

wonderfull
faith of euil
men to their
captaine.

lane Makintosh came to mans estate and full age. Which young man was in his first yeares imbued with such learnings and policie of life conformed therunto, that when he was imploried about the common-wealth, all the capitaine of them (who naturally speake Irish in the furthest part of Scotland) did embrace him as a perfect paterne of all vertue, and an excellent workemaster to frame a well ordered state. Wherefore certaine (not able to susteine the brightnesse of his vertue) did toine in counsell with such as were nearest of blood unto him, and had before laid violent hands on his father, to take his life away by forceable means. Whereof we shall moze liberallie intreat in an other place.]

This yeare the king by counsell of the earle of Angus, Arrane, and others, went with eight thousand men unto Jedburgh, to set some order amongst the borderers, for the keeping of better rule: and so on the eight of June, the principals of all the surnames of the clans on the borders, came to the king, binding themselves, and deliuering pledges for their good demeanors. The seuenteenth of Iulie, there was a great assemblie of the lords at Holie rood house, at that time, there came a simple fellow (to looke vpon) seruant and housekeeper sometime to the earle of Lennox, who in the midst of a great companie of people in the abbete close, strake sir James Hamilton knight verie desperatlie with a short prage or dagger in the bellie thrise severall stripes vp to the hilt, and yet the said sir James died not of those hurts.

The man being taken, by & by confessed the deed without repentance, saying; Why on the feeble hand quike wold not do that thing the heart thought, and was determinat to do. And being inquired what he was, and who caused him to do the same; he answered that he was a seruant of God, sent by him to do that deed. And albeit he was put to great torture and paines daillie by the space of a moneth, yet would he neuer giue other answer, and so he was hanged, and his head set ouer one of the gates of Edinburgh towne. About the same time, there came out of Germanie master Patrike Hamilton, abbat of Ferne, brothers sonne to the earle of Arrane, who had bene scholer to Martin Luther, & others there. This man being conuented and examined vpon certaine articles, as of iustificacion, predestination, of free will, and such like, contrarie to the doctrine taught by the church in that time, because he did affirme, and constantlie defend them, he was declared an heretike and burned.

The eighteenth of March, the king besieged the castell of Edinburgh, the queene and hir husband Henrie Steward, with James his brother being within it. But as soone as the queene vnderstood, that hir sonne the king was there in person, she caused the gates to be set open, and vpon hir knees besought him of grace for hir husband and his brother, and would not rest, till she had obtained the same; but yet they were kept in ward within the castell, till the king afterwards released them. In the yeare following, the king being now come to the age of seuentene yeares, and of good discretion and wit for his time, would not longer remaine vnder the gouernement of the earle of Angus and his companie. Theretvpon he assembled diuerse noble men of Striueling, & by their counsell sent an herald vnto the earle of Angus & his assistants resident as then in Edinburgh, commanding them on paine of high treason, that they should depart forth of that towne, & that none of them should come within foure miles of the court, wherefoeuer the same chanced to lie.

Shortlie after, the king himselfe with two thousand men, followed the herald: wherevpon the earle of Angus, both being charged by the herald, and ad-

uertised of the kings coming toward the towne, departed thence immediatlie. And shortly after, the same herald was sent vnto him againe with commandement from the king, that he should remaine prisoner within ward in the countie of Murray, till the kings pleasure were further knowen; which he would not obeye; wherefore both he and his adherents were summoned to appeare in parlement to be holden at Edinburgh, in September next following. In this parlement begun at Edinburgh the first of September in this yeare 1528, the earle of Angus, with his brother George Dowglas, his uncle by his father Archibald Dowglas, Alexander Drummond of Carnocke, and diuerse other, were by decre of parlement atteinted, and forfaited for diuerse offenses, and speciallie, for assembling the kings people to haue assailed the kings person: and because he had detained the king against his will with him the space of two yeares and moze, all which time he stood in feare of his life.

In this parlement Henrie Steward the queenes husband was created lord of Methuen, and made master of the ordinance. Besides which, in place of earle Dowglas was Gavin Dunbar, the kings scholemaster made chancelor, a good and a learned man, and one in whose manie did desire moze ciuill policie; and in the place of Archibald Dowglas the treasurer was admitted Robert Carnicruce, moze famous for his monie than his vertue. In this parlement there was onelie one found, called John Bannatine, who fauoring the Dowglas, did boldly there protest, that what soeuer was therein don, ought by no meanes to be hurtfull to the earle Dowglas; since iust feare of his appearance there, was a iust cause to force him to be absent from thence. With in a few daies after, a brother of the earles called William, abbat of the monastrie of Holirhod died, partlie by sicknesse, and partlie by griefe of mind, being wearied with the present state of things; whose place Robert Carnicruce, a man of base birth, but well monied, did obtaine of the king: who had granted vnto him the auoidance of the next spirituallizing. At length, the Dowglas out of hope of all good successe, burnt the townes of Constandie and Cranstoun, and so fled to the castell of Tantallon.]

In October following, the king assembled a great companie of men, with artillerie, and diuerse kinds of munition, to besiege the castell of Tantallon, which the earle of Angus did hold, who aduertised of the preparation made for the same siege, furnished the castell with men and all kind of necessities, and went himselfe into England. When the siege then was laid about the castell, it was so strong and so well provided, that it might not be wone for all that could be done at that season: in much that after David Fauconer, principall gunner of the kings side was slaine, the king caused the siege to be raised; yet at length (though not till a long time after this) it was deliuered to the king by appointment. & Before the deliuerie thereof, the king depelie swore that he would not leaue one aliue to succeed in the inheritance and name of the Dowglasses, so long as he liued and was king.

Wherevpon he came to Edinburgh, where (to the end he might distresse them the moze) he determined by the aduise of his counsell to send a battie companie (though no great number) to Colidingham, which should defend the husbandmen from the spoile. Which office appointed to Bothwell chiefe of Louthaine, he did bitterlie refuse, either fearing the power of the Dowglas (wherevnto all the other strength of Scotland did of late not seeme to be equal) or that he would not (being then young) imbrue his hands with the destruction of so famous a familie. Wherevpon,

1528.
The earle of Angus forfaited.
The earle of Angus atteinted by parlement.
Henrie Steward created erle of Methuen.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.
lib. 14.

1529.

The earle of Cathnes past over into Denike.

The earle of Cathnes slaine.
The blindness of the Duncane men.

An assemblie of the lords.

King of thames.

Execution.

The earle of Bothwell cometh.

Fr. Thin.
Battled the realm.

Fr. Thin.
Diuerse lords cometh, and put in ward.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan. lib. 14.

John Scot fasted fortye daies without receiuing any food.
1521. Buch

1527. Lesle.

Sir James Hamilton hurt by a desperat person.

The abbat of Ferne burnt.

Edinburgh castell besieged.
1528 Lesle.

The king being seuentene yeares of age, refuseth to be longer vnder gouernement.

The castell of Tantallon besieged.

David Fauconer slaine.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.
lib. 14.

since the king durst not trust the Hamiltons (as friends to his enemies, & being offended with them for the death of John Stewart earle of Lennox, nor durst commit the matter to anie of the adioining nobilitie) at length the same came to about, that Calene Campbell (dwelling on the furthest borders of the kingdome, being a man of good estimation for his wisdom, and approved experience in feats of warre, and for his iustice & verie loved of the people) was sent by the king (with great authoritie) to the rebels. Whereby the Dowglasses (being forsaken of the Hamiltons and their other friends) were brought to those extremities, that they were enforced to depart into England to li. Henrie the eight, who honorable and liberallie received and entertained them. After this, the king (as is said) getting the castell of Cantillone by composition, did scarce keepe all the covenants of his grant thereof in writing; although he performed this, that Alexander Drumman at the request of Robert Bzetton, had licence to returne home into his countrie, a little before which (as it seemeth) when James Colville and Robert Carnicruse were removed from the court (as persons suspected to fauor the Dowglasses) their offices were bestowed vpon Robert Bzetton, then in great fauor with the king and courtiers, and aduanced to the gouernement of manie places.)

1529.

The earle of Cathness passed over into Dkenie.

The earle of Cathness came.

The blindness of the Dkianie men.

An assemblie of the lords.

King of thames.

Execution.

The earle of Bothwell comit.

R. Thin. Banished the realm.

R. Thin. Other lords comit, and put in ward.

R. Thin. Buchanan lib. 14.

John Scot sailed for the daies without receiving any tid.

1531. Buch.

had fasted 40 daies without either meat or drinke) was for triall therof put in Dauid's tower in Edinburgh castell, and diligent watch set vpon him to see that he had no sustentance to relieue him withall, and kept for fortie daies, he fasted all that time without anie kind of nourishment, to the great wonder of the people. In the summer of this yere 1529, Archembald Dowglas, that had bene forsaken (as he haue heard) came alone to the king while he was on hunting in Striueling parke, & brought his grace of pardon, which he had obtained fullie at his hands, because he fauoured him more than anie of that surname, if he had not bene (as he was indeed) altogether determined that none of them should remaine within the land at that time, and so he banished him into France, where shortly after through griefe of mind he departed this life.

1529.

Archembald Dowglas banished.

The king comit to the borders.

Thames hangd.

Thames burnt to death.

Wonders scene in the firmament.

A ferrie bote drowned.

1530.

An abbat murdered.

The sessions instituted.

1531.

R. Thin. Buch. lib. 14

1532.

In the moneth of June, the king with an armie went to the borders to set order there for better rule to be kept, and to punish such as were knowne to be most culpable. And hereupon he caused fortie and eight of the most notable theues, with their captain John Armstrong to be apprehended; the which being comit of murder, theft, & treason, were all hanged on growing trees, to the example of other. There was one cruell theefe amongst the rest, which had burned a house with a woman and his children within it: he was burned to death. George Armstrong, brother to John, was pardoned, to the end he should approach the residue, which he did; so that they were apprehended by the kings commandement, and punished for their misdoings, according as they had deserved. In August following, manie metuellous fights were scene about Striueling, as candels burning on the tops of hills in the nights, and in the morning afore sunne rising. Diuerse armed men appeared fighting vpon the ground, which was taken to be a foretoken of some trouble to insue in those parties. The fifteenth day of August, a great number of people being assembled at the market in Campcenneth, fiftie & two persons were drowned in the ferrie bote; amongst the which were diuerse honest men and women of the countrie.

The first of March, in the yere 1530, the abbat of Culrose called James Inglis, was cruellie murdered by the lord of Tullallan and his seruants, amongst whom there was a priest called sir William Louthien, for the which they were apprehended, and the said sir William the twentieth and twentieth of the same moneth, vpon a publike scaffold in Edinburgh was degraded (the king, queene, and a great compante of people being present) and after his degradation, he was deliuered to the earle of Argyle his iustice, and the next day the said Tullallan and the same priest were beheaded. This yere the college court of iustice called the sessions was instituted in Edinburgh by the king, with consent of the thre estates in parliament assembled, and after confirmed in Rome; in the which are fiftie counsellors ordinarie, eight of them being spiritual persons, of the which the most ancient is president, and seven temporall men, but so as by this number the chancelor of the realme is above the president, when he is present. There are also foure counsellors extraordinarie, remouable at the princes pleasure. In the yere 1531, I find little done to make account of, for the erle of Angus remaining in England, could not persuaide the king of England in his fauor to breake the peace with Scotland, though the same earle earnestlie laboured to bring that to passe.

The earle of Bothwell, for that he went priuie into Engl and (being supposed to haue had secret conference with the earle of Northumberland) he was the 16 halends of Februarie committed to the castell

1528.

The earle of Angus forsaken.
The earle of Angus attended by arlement.
John Stewart created te of Dkethien.

Thin. Buchanan. 14.

The castell of Cantillon sieged.

Dauid Stewart slain.

R. Thin. Buchanan. 14.

castell of Edinburgh, & sir John Sandland knight was sent with authoritie to the hermitage (a castell in L. Ideldale) to represse the spoiles and robberies committed there. When of ancient time there had bene no certeine dales and place appointed for the deciding of monie, contentions, or debts amongest the citizens and people of Scotland, John duke of Albanie obtained from the bishop of Rome, that a yarelie summe of monie (as much as should be sufficient to paie the stipend of a few iudges that shuld be appointed therfore) should be lenied of the cleargie, of euerie one according to his estate and substance. Whereupon Gawin Dunbar bishop of Aberdeen for himselfe in the name of the cleargie, appealed to the said bishop of Rome. Which controuersie continued from the first Ides of March, untill the tenth kalends of Maie, at which day the college of the iudges of Edinburgh was established, of whom in the beginning there were many profitable things done, and law was equalitie ministred; but yet the same end did not follow which was then hoped amongst them. For since in Scotland there be almost no lawes but such as are decreed by parlement, which are not commonlie perpetuall, but made for a time; and that the iudges as much as in them lieth do hinder the making of such lawes: the goods of all men were committed to the arbitrement of sixtene men, which haue perpetuall power therfore, being in truth but tyrannical government, since their onelie arbitrements must stand for law. Thus much Buchanan.

1533.
Lesseus lib. 9.
pag. 437, 438.

But because Lesseus treateth in moze ample and other sort of that matter; and for that I will not deprive the reader of the severall writings of them both touching one thing: I will also set downe Lesseus words, writing in this order. In this parlement (saith he) by the consent of the states, it seemed good that the forme of iudgement used by our ancestors should be taken away. For where certeine of the cleargie, of the barons, and of the citizens, were chosen euerie yere to traueil ouer the foure parts of the realme, to giue iudgement of ciuill causes (as they terme it) and of other things intangled with the controuersie of law: and that then it oftentimes happened, either by the ignorance of the iudge that did not attaine to the perfection of the law, or by the malice of them which were corrupted with bribes, that the weaker part had vniustlie the upper hand against the righter; to which discommoditie this was also ioined, that no cause could be well examined to the uttermost by one man at one time, because the iudges were so often changed; whereby it must needs follow, that severall iudges (having severall minds and wits) must for one matter giue inconsistent & contrarie iudgements. Wherefore to take awaie this varietie of iudgements and other discommodities, wherewith the common-wealth was afflicted; it pleased the parlement by the perswasion of the king, that a certeine defined number of senators (being persons of the greatest knowledge in law) should haue a permanent place at Edinburgh, to decide all matters of controuersie, the manner & order whereof we haue set downe in our former booke, saith Lesseus. And I for my part thinke not vnmeet for the moze explaining thereof, to set it downe in this place out of the same Lesseus.

Lesseus lib. 1.
pag. 79.

The companie (saith he) of these men (whom we call the senat of the publike wealth) receiue none but such, whose praise of vertue and sharpenesse of wit (especiallie in matters of law) doth aduance them to that place. This court is so apted of the cleargie and secular nobilitie (as a man may fearme them) that the one part of the laitie doth answer the other number of the cleargie. Which we thinke to be

done by the great benefite of God, that the religion and simplicitie of the cleargie may temper the singular wisdom of the temporallie, obtained by the experience of worldlie causes; and againe, the iudgement of the laitie may further and moderate the pure religion and ancient simplicitie of the cleargie.ouer all these is one chiefe and head (which is a spirituall man) who hath the highest place in sentence and pronouncing of iudgement; except the iudgement of the chancelor of the kingdome happen to come in place; for then thereunto the Scots giue the chiefeest preheminance in all the affaires of the common-wealth. Thus much he.)

In the yere 1532, sir Arthur Darcie was sent to the borders, who being at Berwick, by the counsell of the earle of Angus then being there, they made a rode into Scotland, and burned certeine places; whereupon the Scots assembling themselves to defend their countrie, made towards the Englishmen, who retired themselves to Berwick againe. After this were diuerse inuasions made on euerie side by on the borders, and ships likewise taken by sea, and yet no warre was proclaimed. In September, in the yere 1533, certeine commissioners of either realme were at Berwick, to intreat for a redresse and recompense to be made for burning of townes and villages, taking of goods, casting downe of piles, taking of ships, slaughters of men, and diuerse other spoiles and iniuries done, as well by the sea as by the land, from the 23 day of Aprill in the yere 1532, unto the day of the meeting of the same commissioners; which doings were little lesse in effect than had bene used in time of open warre, although the same was not proclaimed. Because therefore that the scathes & iniuries fell out to be so great on both sides, that particular redresse could not be had, the order thereof was referred to the pleasure of both the princes.

Further it was agreed, that for a perpetuall peace to be concluded, certeine commissioners should be appointed to treat therof at London, as afterwards they did. For the king of Scotland there were sent as commissioners about this treatie, William Stewart bishop of Aberdeen, Robert Reid the abbat of Kinlos, and sir Adam Otterburne knight (as saith Lesseus li. 9. pa. 439.) Adam Otterburne which accompanied with diuerse other knights, barons, and gentlemen, came to London, and were there right honorablie receiued the 25 of March. After they had bene before the kings presence, there were certeine commissioners appointed by him to treat with them of peace, the which agreed vpon certeine conditions and articles for a peace to continue betwixt both kings during their naturall liues, and one yere after the decease of that prince which first chanced to depart this world: and so the commissioners returned into Scotland in the moneth of Maie next following.

About the same time were sent into France, William Beton abbat of Arbroth, and James Crislin secretary, as ambassadors to require the duke of Wandosmes sister in marriage for the king: with which motion the ladie and hir friends were verie well contented.ouerthelesse (as afterwards shall appere) the king himselfe passing secretlie into France in proper person, when he had once sene the ladie, he liked hir not; & so became a sutor to the French king his eldest daughter Margalen, whom he obtained: wherefore the duke of Wandosmes sister would neuer after match hir selfe with anie other in marriage, but professed hir selfe in a house of religion, where she remained the residue of hir life time. The king of England sent ambassadors into Scotland, the bishop of Dureme, sir Thomas Clifton, the prior of Wer-

1532.
Sir Arthur Darcie sent to the borders.

He maketh a rode into Scotland.

1533.

1534. Lesseus.

Fr. Thin.

A peace concluded.

Ambassadors into France.

The king himselfe passing secretlie into France.

The peace concluded with England.

Fr. Thin.
Lesseus lib. 9.
pag. 439.
1534.

Justice ministred.

English fugitives receiued into Scotland.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan li. 14.

1534.

1535.
The pope sent into Scotland.

1536.

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refine, and one doctor Maginus, who were honorable received in the moneth of Julie: and then was the peace before concluded by the ambassadors at London, confirmed by the king himselfe, and the charter thereof interchangable sealed, with the great seales of both the realmes, during the liues of both the princes (as before ye haue heard.)

The peace concluded with Eng-land.

Fr. Thin. Lellou. lib. 9. pag 437. 1534.

* The king in those daies did shew such hope of honorable vertue in him, that the wisest and the most valiant princes of the world did honor him with the ornaments of their orders: for first Henrie king of England adopted him into the order of the garter, the emperor made him a fellow of the golden fleece, and shortly after the French king clothed him with the order of saint Michael. In remembrance of all which (for a note to be left to posteritie) he caused the armes of Scotland, honored with these three orders, to be set vp over the gate of his palace of Lithquoe, with the ornaments of the honor of saint Andrew, which are proper to the kingdome of Scotland.)

Justice ministred.

The same yere, the king passed through the north parts of his realme, and caused iustice dulle to be ministred in places where he came, against offenders. Forreouer, in Edinburgh was great inquisition made, and punishment exercised against such as were detected to hold opinions against the religion then used, the king himselfe assistant thereto. After Forreman Corleie that was abiured before, and Andrew Stratton that would not renounce his opinion, were burned. The shiriffe of Linlithgow, and diuerse other, that were fled for feare of punishment, were conuict of heresie. Diuerse Englishmen that held against the diuorce betwixt king Henrie, and the ladie Katharine Wolwager, fled this yere into Scotland, and were received.

English fugitiues receiued into Scot-land.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. li. 14. 1534.

* About this time, to conclude a league with Charles the sixt, emperor, this Charles sent Godescall Erieke (to the end the matter might be handled more secretly) from Toledo (by Ireland) into Scotland, who when he had declared his message to him from the emperor, containing the iniuries done to his aunt Katharine queene of England, & to his daughter by Henrie the eight, king of England: the calling of a generall counsell: the overthrow of the Lutherian heresie (to vse Buchanans word) and for contracting of marriage: the said ambassador did deliuer to the king the emperors letter, wherein was set downe the offer and choise of which of those three parties the king would take to wife: which were Marie (the sister of Charles) a widow by Lodowike of Hungarie, his husband slaine by the Turke: Marie of Portugale his neece by his sister Leonora: or Marie of England his cosine germane by his aunt Katharine. Whereunto the king answered, that the marriage with England should be most profitable, but the same was a thing of vncertaine hope, of greater danger & labour, & of longer delaiie than his carefulnesse (being the onelie man left of that line) might well indure. Wherefore of all the emperors kinred, that marriage by mainie reasons should be most beneficiall for him, to take to wife the daughter of Chyffern, king of Denmark, begotten upon Isabel sister to the emperor. Whereunto for deniall thereof, Charles did shortly make answer (at Madrid) that he was affianced to another.)

1535. The pope sent into Scotland.

In the yere 1535, the pope sent a messenger into Scotland, requiring king James to assist him against the king of England, whome he had decreed an heretike, a schismaticke, a wedlocke breaker, a publicke murderer, and a sacrileger; and therefore he had declared him to be deposed of the said kingdome, the which he would bestow upon him, and other catholike princes. In the yere 1536, the king took the sea with five ships, without knowledge of the most

1536.

part of the lords of his realme, and sailed about the Isles of Skie and Lewes, and the other Isles, and by Forre was diuened to take land at saint Pinians in Gallotway, & so returned to Striueling, from whence he passed on foot in pilgrimage vnto our ladie chappell of Lauret beside Dunkelburgh, and afterward sent for diuerse of his lords, and by their counsell took his voiage againe by sea with five ships, to passe into France, as he was minded to haue done the first time: but what caused him to alter his purpose then, we find not. This second time he embarked at Kirkcaldie the last of August, and with good and prosperous wind he shortly after arrived in France, there being with him in companie the earles of Argile, and Arrane, the lords Boid and Fleming, with diuerse other barons, knights, and gentlemen; and before him there were in France the earles of Murray, Lennox, and Castiles, the lord Erskin, the abbat of Arbroth, and others.

The king's voiage about the Isles.

The sailth into France.

10 Immediately after his arrivall, he rode in secret manner disguised vnto Wandolmes in Picardie, taking with him but one seruant named John Crisnant, whome he caused to take vpon him as he had bene maister; and so comming to the duke of Wandolmes his place, got sight of the ladie who should haue bene his wife, but not liking hir, he returned againe without talking either with hir or hir friends: and comming to Rouen where his companie were abiding for him, he passed from thence towards Paris, where the Dolphin of France was appointed by the king his father to meet him seven leagues from the cite, who brought him to the king, who receiued him in such hartie manner, as if he had bene his owne sonne, and with as much honor as might haue bene shewed to the greatest prince in earth. There were iustices, tourneys, and other princelie pastimes practised and set forth, in which iustices and other exercises of warlike feates, he shewed himselfe as hardie, cunning and valiant, as anie other person within all the realme of France, for the which he was passing great praise.

The rideth to Wandolme.

He is receiued into Paris.

40 In the meane time, he caused his ambassadors and the noble men that were with him, to declare vnto the king of France, that the cause of his comming was for marriage to be had betwene him and the ladie Magdalen, eldest daughter to the king, whome he loued & fauoured aboue all other within his realme. The French king was glad hereof, that the ancient band betwixt Scotland and France might thus with new alliance be confirmed, and therefore declared that he would willingly giue him his daughter in marriage. But here with he let him vnderstand, that his daughter was much subiect to sicknesse, and therefore he referred that vnto the king of Scotland his owne pleasure, whether he would haue hir, or his yongest daughter the ladie Margaret, who was after married to the duke of Sauoy. This offer of choise being reported to the king of Scotland, he continued in his former purpose, which was, to marry with the ladie Magdalen, who was in deed a pleasant yong ladie, beautifull, of good fauour, lowelie countenance, and comelie manners, aboue all others within that realme.

He is a suitor for marriage.

60 Whereupon the marriage was contracted betwixt them, and an hundred thousand crownes of the sun promised with hir in dowrie, with thirtie thousand franks of penshon, during the life of king James: which monie was deliuered vnto him at his returne homewards, besides manie rich hangings, cupboards of plate, sumptuous apparell, and rich iewels giuen to him and his wife, farre aboue the summe of an other hundred thousand crownes, with two great ships (the one called the salamander) and great plenty of artillerie, powder, and other munition. Forreouer,

The marriage contracted betwixt the king of Scots and the ladie Magdalen.

532. Arthur clelent & barbers.

take a into island.

533.

4. Lelle.

Thin.

ace com- ed.

assadors France.

king him paffeth le into ace.

uer, all his charges and expenses were borne by the French king, during his being within the realme of France. At the same time also, was the ancient league and bond of amitie betwixt the two realmes of Scotland and France renewed, and the day of the solemnization of the marriage appointed to be holden the first of Januarie.

In the meane time, great preparation for the same was made, and all the nobles of France sent to be there at that day. On the which within the church of Notre dame in the citie of Paris, the king of Scotland openly married the said ladie Magdalen, in presence of the king his father, the king of Navarre, seven cardinals, and diuerse great dukes, marquesses, earles, lords, barons, bishops, & others. After the solemnization of the marriage, king James remained in France, till the moneth of Maie, passing the time with all kind of pleasure and disport that might be deuised for his honorable interteinement. Finally, the king and his wife quene Magdalen took their leaue of the king of France their father at Paris, about the latter end of Aprill, and so rode to Rouen, where they were receiued with great triumph, and from thence they passed downe the riuer to Helmhauen where they imbarked, being accompanied by the admerall of France, and manie other noble men of the realme, appointed by the French king to attend vpon them into Scotland, & so they sailed forth with pleasant wind and prosperous weather, through the seas, till they came into the Forth, and there landed at the peare of Lieth hauen, the 29 of Maie, in the yere 1537, where a great number of earles, bishops, barons, & other noble men & gentlemen of Scotland were ready to receiue them with passing ioy and gladnesse, & from thence with great triumph they were conueied to the abbey of Holie rood house.

This noble ladie with hir louelie countenance and seemelie demeanour, at hir first arrivall wonne the loves and hartie good wils of all the nobles & people of the realme, and withall contented so highlie the mind and fantasie of the king his husband, that there was neuer more hope of wealth and prosperitie to succeed within the realme, than at that present. But fortune enuieng so great felicitie, would not suffer them to continue anie longer time together: for about the end of June she fell sicke of a vehement fever, whereof she departed this life the tenth of Iulie next ensuing, and was buried in the church of Holie rood house, for whose death the king was verie sorrowfull, & stirred not abroad of a long time after: [whose death (saith Buchanan) was so lamented of all men, that then (as he supposeth) began the first yle of mourning garments amongst the Scots, which yet at this day, not being past fortie yeres, is not verie common, though publike orders and manners doe verie day grow worse and worse.]

In the summer of this yere, Jone Dowlasse the ladie of Glames, sister to the earle of Angus, was apprehended, and likewise hir husband David I. son, and both of them brought to Edinburgh, where they were accused and conuict by an assise, for conspiracie of the kings death: the said ladie was burned, and hir husband hanged. Hir son the lord Glames was also conuict for mispition and concealement of that crime, and therfore forsaiking all his lands, was condemned to die: but because he was young and of tender yeres, the king pardoned him of life, and commanded him to perpetuall prison, in the which he remained so long as the king liued. [This yere was Bothwell, for that he was ouer familiar with the English, banished into France (as saith Buchanan.) Shortly after, John maister of the Forbois, and eldest sonne to the lord Forbois, who had married a si-

ster of the said ladie Glames, was at Edinburgh likewise indicted and conuict by an assise, by procurement of the earle Huntley, for the like conspiracie of the kings death; for the which he was beheaded and quartered, and his head and quarters set aboat vpon the gates of Edinburgh. His father the lord Forbois, vpon suspicion of the same conspiracie, was long after kept in prison within the castell of Edinburgh, but at length when nothing might be proued against him, he was released and set at libertie.

This yere, the king in September caused iustices to sit in the north parts of the realme, and likewise in October; and in the winter following he caused the like to be done in the south and west parts. The king himselfe was often times present, assisting the lords whome he had appointed his commissioners for the furtherance of iustice, and maintenance thereof throughout all parts of his realme. * The king appointed an assemblee of the nobles, by whose consent an edit was made to confirme the former law, in which all his grants made at Roane in his minority were voided and of no authoritie. At what time also by the said persons it was brought to passe by great labor, that the kings patrimonie should be augmented with manie possessions. Wherefore when they perceived that the kings charge and dignitie could not be maintained with so small reuenues, they advanced his four sonnes (borne of diuerse women) to the rich abbeies & priories of Helroffe, Kelso, Colvingham, Holie rood, and of saint Andrewes, whose reuenues they transferred to the kings coffers so long as he liued: by which (perhaps) there came no lesse monie (saith Lesleus) vnto his coffers, than did arise of his kinglie inheritance.

The king by the aduise of these noble men of his realme, thinking it necessarie for him to match againe in marriage with some noble princeesse, sent into France vnto the earle of Surrey, and David Beaton abbat of Arbroth [whome (as saith Lesleus lib. 9. pa. 447) Paule the third had made a cardinal, & they pa. 447] Paule the third had made a cardinal, & they his ambassadors there resident, willing them by the aduise of the French king to treat for a marriage to be had betwixt him and the ladie Marie de Lorraine, daughter of Longuile, widow, daughter to the duke of Guise. And being aduertised from his said ambassadors, that the king of France, the ladie his selfe, and hir friends, were well contented therewith, he sent in the beginning of Maie the lord Robert Sparwell, and the maister of Glencarne, well accompanied into France, to ioinie with his other ambassadors for the contracting of that marriage, the which according to their commission treated thereof, and concluded vpon resolute articles, and so espoused hir by procurators, as the yle is amongst such estates, with great triumph in the citie of Paris, whereat the king and manie noble men were present.

After this she was conueied to Helmhauen, and there taking the seas, passed through the same till she came to Carrell in Fife, where she landed the tenth of June; and from thence she was conueied to the new palace in the abbey of saint Andrewes, being honorable prepared for the receiuing of hir. And there the king accompanied with manie noble men, openly solemnized and confirmed the foresaid marriage with the said ladie in the abbey church, with great ioy and triumph. The king with his quene remained there the most part of that summer. And within a few moneths after the marriage, she conceived with child, to the great comfort of the king and the whole realme, for the hope of succession thereby; and therfore general processions and publike prayers were made throughout all parts of the realme, for the prosperous success of the same. After that the king had pacified the borders

1539.
The marriage
contracted.

1537. Lesle.

The king
with his
quene retur-
ned into
Scotland.

Quene Mag-
dalen depar-
teth this life.

Fr. Thin.

The ladie
Glames and
hir husband
conuict of
treason.
1537. Lesl.

Fr. Thin.

The maister
of Forbois
beheaded.

Great quiet-
nesse in Scot-
land.

1539.

The king
with north-
wards to the
Fife of Ork-
ney and Shet-
land.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan, lib. 14.
pag. 447.

1538. Lesle.

The king is a-
sented for ma-
riage to the
duchess of
Longuile.
Fr. Thin.

The out-
brought ti-
gards of de-
votion.

Fr. Thin.

The que-
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The marriage
solemnized.

The qu-
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Great quiet-
nesse in Scot-
land.

1539.

The king sail-
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King of Dake
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diverse
parts of the
shipe.

Thin.
uchan lib. 14.
p. 447.

538. Lelle.

The king is a
utor for ma-
riage to the
uchesse of
Longuile.
r. Thin.

The out fles
brought to
god order.

Thin.

The queene
delivered of a
sonne.

The marriage
solemnized.

The queene
mother depar-
ted this life.

Certaine per-
sons burn-
ed by religion.

borders and all other parts of his realme, by exerci-
sing of iustice, and travelling about the same in his
owne person through all places (where need requi-
red) so that there was as great quietnesse, rest, and
politic order in Scotland, as ever was in anye kings
daies before him; yet nevertheless there were cer-
teine disobedient persons in the Isles.

The king therefore, to bring them to order, caused
to prepare a good number of ships, and in the moneth of
Maie went aboard the same in the roade of Leth, ha-
ving with him the earles of Arrane, Huntley, Ar-
gyle, and diverse other earles, lords, and barons, with
whome he sailed forth by the coasts of Fife, Angus,
Aberdeen, Murray, Northumberland, and Cath-
ness, till he came to Duhennie, where he landing and
all his companie with him, were received verie ho-
norable by the bishop Robert Parwell. Where they
furnished themselves with fresh vittells, and other
such things as were necessarie; and taking the seas
again, sailed to the Isles of Skie and Lewes, where
Mac Cleod of the Lewes, a principall clan of his
kin, was brought unto the king, who sent forth also
a companie to Mac Cleod Haugh, who came like-
wise out of his Ile, and presented himselfe to the
king.

From thence the king sailed by the coast of Kesse
& Rintail, to the Ile of Tranternes, where diverse
of the Macconiles, such as the lord Magarrie, John
Spaldart, and others (who alledged themselves to be
of the principall blood, and lords of the Isles) were
brought also to the kings presence. From thence tra-
velling through the residue of the Isles, Maclane and
James Macconile of Winter, being the two principall
captains of the small Isles, came likewise to the king
who at length landed at Dunbretton, and sent the
captains and ships with prisoners to passe the same
waie he came round about the coast, so to come to
Edinburgh, where the same prisoners being arri-
ved, the chiefe heads of them were kept in ward as
pledges for good rule in their countries, and were not
suffered to depart so long as the king lived, whereby
there followed great quietnesse, and as good obedi-
ence to the lawes throughout all the Isles, as there
was in anye part of the realme; and as good account
and payment made to the kings controller in his ex-
chequer for the lands of the same Isles pertaining to
the crowne, as for anye part of the revenues belong-
ing thereunto within the maine land. In this yere
(saith Buchanan lib. 4.) were manie taken for Lu-
theranisme, wherof some were burnt; nine recanted,
and manie were banished; amongst whom, George
Buchanan was one, who escaped by a rope out of a
window of a chamber.]

Whilest the king was in this dosage, the queene
was delivered of a sonne at saint Andrews, where
of the king being advertised at his landing, hastied
with all possible diligence to the queene, and shortly
after was the child baptised, and called James. The
archbishop of saint Andrews, and the earle of Ar-
rane were godfathers, and the queene the kings mo-
ther was godmother. For the birth of this prince,
there were bounties made through all parts of the
realme, with great triumph and giuing of thanks to
God for the same. After this the queene, mother to the
king, returned unto Perth, where after she had
remained a certeine time, a sicknesse took hir, of the
which shortly after she departed this life, and was
buried in the Charterhouse church of saint Johns
towne, by the toime of king James the first. The
king himselfe and manie nobles of the realme were
present at the funerals, which were kept in most so-
lemne and pompous manner.

The same yere were burnt at Edinburgh for
heresie (as it was then taken) a regular canon, two

blacke friers, and a secular man. Also two priests
were degraded, and condemned to perpetuall prison.
The same time there was a grate frier in the cite of
Glasgow burnt for the like cause, and manie other
summoned; and because they would not appear,
they were denounced hereticks. About the same
time, James Beton archbishop of saint Andrews, who
died in saint Andrews. Before his departure, he
had provided successors to all his benefices, first to
his archbishops see; and to the abbey of Arbroth,
master David Beton, afterwards cardinal; and to
the abbey of Dunfermling, master George Mu-
rie: that was archdeacon of saint Andrews. These
men, without anye gainesaying of the king, entered
with his good will into the same benefices, immedi-
atly after his deceasse. This James Beton builded
a great part of the new college of saint Andrews,
and left great summes of monie and treasure to go
through to make an end of the same worke.

This yere in the moneth of August sir James
Hamilton of Finhart knight, remaining as then
in the towne of Edinburgh, was arrested by Da-
vid and Rodd controller to the king, who charged him
in the kings name to go to ward within the cas-
tell of Edinburgh. Which commandement he will-
ingly obeyed, thinking himselfe sure inough, as
well by reason of the god service he had done to the
king, specially in repairing the palaces of Strive-
ling and Linletgeton; as also for that the king had
him in so high fauor, that he stood in no feare of him-
selfe at all. Nevertheless, shortly after he was
brought forth to iudgement, and convicted in the Tol-
buith of Edinburgh, of certeine points of treason
laid against him, which he would never confesse; but
that notwithstanding, he was beheaded in the mo-
neth of September next ensuing [after that he had
liberally confessed at the place of execution, that he
had neuer in anye sort offended the kings maiestie;
and that this death was yet worthilie inflicted up-
on him by the diuine iustice; because he had often of-
fended the law of God to please the prince, thereby
to obtaine greater countenance with him. Where-
fore he admonished all persons, that (moued by his
example) they should rather follow the diuine plea-
sure, than vniuersallye seeke the kings fauor, since it is
better to please God than man.]

This summer the queene remaining at Strive-
ling, was delivered of an other prince, which was
baptised in the chappell of Striveling, and called Ar-
thur: but within eight daies after, the said prince de-
ceased at Striveling aforesaid. On the verie same
daie, prince James the kings eldest sonne being at
saint Andrews departed this life also, in such wise,
that there was but onlie six houres betwixt the time
of their departures out of this world; which caused
no lesse lamentation through the whole realme, than
there was ioy at their births. After this, the queene
went unto saint Johns towne, where she was hono-
rably receiued with great triumph made by the
towne. She was accompanied with the principall
men of the countrie, and from thence she roade to
Aberdeen, the king then being come unto hir, where,
by the towne and vniuersitie they were receiued
with great ioy, triumph, pageants, verses, & plaies,
set forth in the best manner for their pastime. They
remained there the space of fiftene daies, and were
highlye intertained by the bishop of that place.

There were exercises and disputations held in all
kind of sciences in the colleges and schooles, with
diuerse orations made in Greeke, Latine, and other
languages, to the high praise and commendation of
the maisters & students in that vniuersitie. From
thence the king with the queene returned to Dun-
dee.

1539. Lelle.
The death of
James Be-
ton archbishop
of saint An-
drews.

1540.
Sir James
Hamilton ar-
rested.

Sir James
Hamilton be-
headed.

Fr. Thin.
Lelleus lib. 9.
pag. 451.

The queene
delivered of
another son.

The two
young princes
departed this
life.

The king and
queene at Ab-
erdeen.

Capitaine
Borthwicke
accused of he-
resie.

Fr. Thin.
Lefleus lib. 9.
pag. 453.

A small por-
tion in de d.

1541.
The king of
England sen-
deth to the
king of
Scots.

Fr. Thin.

de, where a coslie entre was prepared for them al-
so, and after they had bene right princelies inter-
med there, they came to Falkelard. In the moneth
of Aprill, sir John Borthwicke, commonlie called
capitaine Borthwicke, suspected, defamed, and accu-
sed of heresie, was summoned to appeare in saint
Andrews before the cardinall, and diuerse other bi-
shops and prelates there present, where (notwithstan-
ding his absence) the same being proued by suffici-
ent witness against him (as was thought) he was
condemned and declared an heretike. An image was
made to resemble him, and at the market crosse of
the said citie, as a signe and memoriall of his con-
demnation, it was burned, to the feare of others,
but he himselfe escaped their hands and got into
England, where he was receiued.

The king of Scots (hearing of the maner of the
king of England) and how he honored himselfe
toke in euill part; that the king of England in all
generall assemblies of the states of Ireland did call
himselfe king of Ireland; when all his predecessors
before were intituled by the names of lords
of Ireland. For by that new title, king James his
authoritie did seeme to be diminished, when the king
of England did write himselfe king of all Ireland;
whereof a portion by manie ages was vnder the
rule of the king of Scots. Yet at length k. James
did yeld therunto; and that the rather, because the
king of England vnder this title and authoritie, did
not dispossesse the heires of the Scot Makenell;
and other his Scots of those lands which they there
intioied in that countrie.]

This yere the king of England aduertised of the
meeting of the emperour, the French king, and pope,
at the citie of Price, doubting some practise to be de-
vised there against him, sent to the king of Scot-
land the bishop of saint Dauids, & the lord William
Howard, desiring him as his most tender kinsman
and nephue, to meete him at the citie of Porke in
England, where he would communicat such things
with him, as should be for the weale of both the
realmes. And therewith the king of England, tru-
sting that the king of Scotland would haue fulfilled
his desire, caused great preparation to be made at
Porke for the receiuing of him. But albeit the king
of Scotland was willing of himselfe to haue passed
into England, to haue met and seene his uncle; yet
after long reasoning and deliberation of his coun-
cell and prelates [especiallie James Beton bishop of
saint Andrews, and George Crichtoune bishop of
Aberdeen (as saith Buchanan. lib. 14.)] assembled for
that purpose, casting in their minds (as they toke it)
that danger might fall to him and his realme, if he
should passe into England, in case he should be sta-
ied and holden there, contrarie to his will, as king
James his predecessor was, hauing no succession of
his bodie.

And againe, for that it was certeinlie knowne,
that the principall cause, why the king of England
required this meeting or interuiew, was to perswade
the king of Scotland to vse the like order in Scot-
land, as he had done within his realme of England,
in abolishing the popes authoritie, making himselfe
supream head of the church, expelling religious per-
sons out of their houses, and seizing the iewels of
their houses, their lands and rents, and such like in-
formation. And if it chanced the king should attempt
the like, they should lose the friendship which was
betwixt him, the pope, the emperour, and French king,
that were his great friends and confederats. Where-
upon they perswaded him to staie, and by their aduise
sent pleasant letters & messages vnto the said king
of England, desiring him to haue him excused, for
that he could not come into England at that time,

hauing such lets and causes of abiding at home, as
hostile he should vnderstand by his ambassadors,
whom he ment to send to him, as well for this mat-
ter as other causes. And hostile after sir James
Leirmouth was appointed to go as ambassador in-
to England, as well to make the kings excuse for
his not comming to meet the king of England at
Porke; as also to make complaint vpon certeine
inuations made by the borderers of England into
Scotland, and also for the vning of the debatable
ground betwixt the two realmes.

But the king of England soe offended that the
king of Scots would not satisfie his request, to
meet him at Porke (as before is recited, would ad-
mit no excuse, but determined to make warre into
Scotland, albeit as the Scotchmen allege, he would
not suffer the same to be vnderstood, till he had pre-
pared all things in a readinesse. In the meane time he
sent commissioners to meet with the Scots commis-
sioners vpon the debatable ground, to talke for re-
dresse to be made of harmes done vpon the borders,
but no good conclusion could be agreed vpon by these
commissioners, neither touching the debatable land,
nor yet for repairing of wrongs done by the inna-
sons. ¶ But that the truth concerning the causes of
this war, moued at this present by that noble prince
king Henrie the eight, may the better appeare; I
haue thought good here to set downe the same, as
they were drawen forth and published in print to the
whole world by the said king in a little pamphlet, vn-
der this title.

A declaration containing the iust causes
and considerations of this present warre with
the Scots, wherein also appeareth the true and
right title that the kings most roiall maiestie
hath to his fouereigntie of Scotland; and thus
it beginneth.

BEing now inforced to the war which we
haue alwaies hitherto so much abhorred
& fled, by our neighbour & nephew the k.
of Scots, one who aboue all other for our
manifest benefites toward him, hath most iust cause
to loue vs, and to reioise in our quietnesse; we haue
thought good to notifie vnto the world his doings and
behaviour in the prouocation of this war, & likewise
the meanes & waies by vs to eschew & auoid it, & the
iust & true occasions wherby we be now prouoked to
prosecute the same, and by utterance and divul-
ging of that matter, to disburden some part of our
inward displeasure and griefe: and the circumstan-
ces knowen, to lament openlie with the world the
infidelitie of this time, in which things of such eno-
mitie do burst out and appeare.

the king of Scots our nephue & neighboz, whome
we in his youth and tender age preserued and main-
teined from the great danger of others, and by our
authoritie and power conducted him safelie to the
rosall possession of his estate, he now compelleth
& inforceth vs (for preseruation of our honor & right)
to vse our puissance & power against him. The like
vnikindnesse hath bene heretofore shewed by other
in semblable cases against Gods law, mans law, &
all humanitie; but the oftener it chanceth, the more
it is to be abhorred, and yet in the persons of prin-
ces, for the raritie of them, can so happen but seldome
as it hath now come to passe. It hath bene verie
rarelie & seldome saie tofore, that a king of Scots
hath had in marriage a daughter of England. We
cannot nor will not reprehensive the king our fathers
at therein, but lament and be sozie that it toke no
better effect.

The king our father in that matter minded loue,
amitie,

Sir James
Leirmouth
ambassador
into England

1542.
The king of
England
meaneth to
make warre
into Scot-
land.

A declaration
of the iust cau-
ses of the war
against the
king of
Scots.

Mr James
Leirmouth
ambassador
into England

1542.
The king of
England
cometh to
make warre
into Scot.
and.

A declaration
of the just
causes of the war
against the
king of
Scots.

amicie, and perpetuall friendship betwix the posses-
sion of both: which howe it failed, the death of
the king of Scots, as a due punishment of God,
for his unjust inuasion into this our realme, is and
shall be a perpetuall testimonie of their reproch for
euer. And yet in that present time could not the un-
kindnesse of the father extinguishe in vs the naturall
loue of our nephew his sonne, being then in the mi-
serable age of tender youth. But we then forgetting
the displeasure that should haue wroughtlike prouoked
vs to inuade that realme, nourished and brought
vp our nephew, to attaine his fathers possession and
gouernement, wherein he now so vnkindlie beth
and behaueth himselfe towards vs, as he compet-
eth vs to take armes and warre against him.

It is speciallie to be noted, vpon that grounds,
and by what means we be compelled to this warre,
wherin among other is our chiefe greefe: and displea-
sure, that vnder a colour of faire speech and flatter-
ring words, we be indeed so iniured, contemned and
despised, as we ought not with sufferance to permit
and passe over. Words, writings, letters, messages,
ambassages, excuses, allegations, could not more
pleasantlie, more gentlie, nor more reuerentlie be
devised and sent, than hath bene made on the king
of Scots behalfe vnto vs: and euer we trusted the
true world bring forth good fruit, that was of the one
part of so good a stocke, and continuallie in appea-
rance put forth so faire buds: and therefore would
hardlie beleue or giue eare to other, that euer al-
ledged the deeds of the contrarie, being neuerthe-
lesse the same deeds so manifest, as we must needs
haue regarded them, had not we bin so loth to thinke
euill of our nephew, whome we had so manie waies
bound to be of the best sort toward vs.

And therefore hauing a message sent vnto vs the
yere past, from our said nephew, and a promise made
for the repairing of the said king of Scots vnto vs
to York, and after great preparation on our part
made therefore, the same meeting was not onelie
disappointed, but also at our being at York in the
lieu thereof, an inuasion made by our said nephew
his subjects into our land, declaring an euident con-
tempt and despite of vs. We were yet glad to im-
pute the default of the meeting to the aduise of his
councell, and the inuasion to the lewdnesse of his
subjects, and according thereto gaue as benigne
and gentle audience to such ambassadors as repaired
hither at Christmas afterwarde, as if no such cause of
displeasure had occurred, speciallie considering the
good words, sweet words, pleasant words, effronies
proponed by the said ambassadors, not onelie to ex-
cuse that was past, but also to persuaide kindnesse
and perfect amitie to insue.

And albeit the king of Scots hauing (contrarie
to the article of the league of amitie) receiued and in-
tertained such rebels as were of the chiefe and prin-
cipall, in stirring the insurrection in the north a-
gainst vs, with refusall before time, vpon request
made to restore the same; yet neuerthelesse, vpon of-
fer made, the said ambassadors to send commission
to the borderers, to determine debates of the con-
fines in the same, with so great a pretense of amitie,
and so faire words as could be in speech desired, we
were content for the time to forbear to presse them
ouer extreame in the matter of rebels. Albeit we
neuer remitted the same, but desiring to make triall
of our said nephew in some correspondence of deeds,
condescended to the sending of commissioners to
the borders, which to our great charge we did, and the
king of Scots our said nephew the semblable.

Where after great trauell made by our commis-
sioners, this fruit ensued, that being for our part chal-
lenged, a peece of our ground plainlie usurped by the

Scots, and of no great value, being also for the same
shewed such euidence, as more substantiall, more au-
tentike, plaine and euident, cannot be brought forth
for any part of ground within our realme: the same
was neuer thelesse by them denied, refused, and the
euidence onelie for this cause reiected, that it was
made (as they alledged) by Englishmen: and yet it
was so ancient, as it could not be counterfeited now,
and the value of the ground so little, and of so small
weight, as no man would haue attempted to falsifie
for such a matter. And yet this deniall being in this
wise made vnto our commissioners, they neuerthe-
lesse by our commandement departed as friends
from the commissioners of Scotland, taking order
as hath bene accustomed, for good rule vpon the bor-
ders in the meane time.

After which their recess, the lord Harwell war-
den of the west marches of Scotland, made procla-
mation for good rule; but yet added therewith, that the
borderers of Scotland should withdraw their goods
from the borderers of England; and incontinent the
Scottishmen borderers, the fourth of Iulie entered
into our realme suddenlie, and spoiled our subjects
contrarie to our leagues, euen after such extremitie
as it had bene in the time of open warre, whereat
we much marvelled, and were compelled therefore
to furnish our borders with a garrison for defense
of the same. Wherevpon the king of Scots sent vnto
vs James Leirmouth maister of his household,
with letters deuised in the most pleasant manner, of-
fering redresse & reformation of all attempts. And
yet neuerthelesse, at the entrie of the said Leirmouth
into England, a great number of the Scots then
not looked for, made a forraie into our borders, to the
great annoyance of our subjects, & to their extreame
detriment. Wherewith, and with that vnseemlie dis-
simulation, we were not a little moued, as reason
would we should; and yet did we not finalle so ex-
treamelie prosecute and continue our said displea-
sure, but that we gaue benigne audience to the said
Leirmouth, and suffered our selfe to be somewhat al-
tered by his words and faire promises, tending to
the persuation that we euer desired, to find the king
of Scots such a nephew vnto vs, as our promise of
blood (with our gratuitie vnto him) did require.

In the meane time of these faire words, the deeds
of the borderers were as extreame as might be, and
our subjects spoiled: and in a roade made by sir Ro-
bert Bowles for a reuenge thereof, the same sir Ro-
bert Bowles, with manie other were taken pris-
oners, and yet detained in Scotland without putting
them to fine or ransom, as hath bene euer accus-
tomed. And being at the same time a surseilance made
on both sides, at the sute of the said Leirmouth for a
season; the Scots ceased not to make sundrie inua-
sions into our realme, in such wise as we were com-
pelled to forget faire words, and onelie to consider
the king of Scots deeds, which appeared vnto vs of
that sort, as they ought not for our dutie in defense of
our subjects, we could not in respect of our honor, be
passed ouer vnreformed: and therefore put in a readi-
nesse our armie, as a due meane whereby we might
attaine such a peace, as for the safegard of our sub-
jects we be bound to procure.

After which preparation made, and knowledge
had thereof, the king of Scots ceased not to vse his
accustomed meane of faire words, which in our na-
turall inclination wrought effronies their accus-
tomed effect, euer more desirous to find in the king of
Scots such regard & respect to be declared in deeds,
as the correspondence of naturall loue in the nephew
to such an vncle, as we haue shewed our selfe toward
him, doth require. Wherefore vpon new request and
sute made vnto vs, we determined to staie our ar-
mie

mie at Forke, appointing the duke of Northfolke our lieutenant, the Lord prync seale, the bishop of Durham, and the maister of our hosties, there to commen, treat, and conclude with the ambassadoys of Scotland, for an amitie and peace, vpon such condicions, as by reason and equitie were indifferent, whereby the warre might be eschewed, being by summe inuasions of the Scots then opened & manifest.

In this communication betwene our and their commissioners, after diuerse degrees of commission shewed by the Scots, and finally one that was by our commissioners allowed, matters were proposed for conclusion of amitie, nothing difficult or hard of our part, but so agreeable to reason, as the commissioners of Scotland said they doubted not, but if it might be brought to passe that the king of Scots our nephew might haue a meeting with vs, all matters should easilie be compounded and determined: wherevpon they left speaking of anie articles of amitie, and the ambassadoys of Scotland made much outward shew in communication of meeting. They shewed themselves in wordes, fashion, and behauior much to delight in it, to reioice in it, and therewith thought it easie and facile to be concluded and accomplished, and for their part they took it then for a thing passed, a thing concluded, and most certaine to take effect, and onelie desired six daies to obtaine answer from their maister, and our armie, from that time to staie and go no further: wherevnto our commissioners then agreed.

After these six daies was sent a commission out of Scotland, with power to conclude a meeting precise at such a place, as they knew well we should not, nor could not in winter obserue & keepe. Wherevnto when our commissioners were discontent, the ambassadoys of Scotland to relieue that displeasure, and to temper the matter whereby to win more time, shewed forth their instructions, wherein libertie was giuen to the ambassadoys to exceed their commission in the appointment of the place, and to consent to anie other that by our commissioners should be thought conuenient. Which manner of proceeding when our commissioners refused, alledging that they would not conclude a meeting with men hauing no commission therevnto: the ambassadoys of Scotland vpon pretense to send for a more ample and large commission, agreeable to their instructions for appointment of the place, obtained a delaye of other six daies, to send for the ample commission without restraint of place.

Now after these six daies they brought forth a new commission, made in a good forme, and without exception: but therewith also they shewed new instructions, containing such a restraint as the former commission did containe, so as the libertie giuen to the commissioners in the commission was now at the last removed and taken awaie by the instructions, with addition of a speciall charge to the ambassadoys, not to exceed the same. And thus, first the ambassadoys of Scotland seemed to haue a will and desire to conclude on a place seemelie and conuenient, which for want of commission they might not do, and at the last might haue concluded a meeting by vertue of their commission; and then for feare of the commandement in their second instructions they durst not. And so they shewed their first instructions partlie to excuse their king, who should seeme secretlie to will more than in the commission he did openlie profess.

When with an ample commission from the king, they shewed their secret instructions for defense of themselves, why they proceeded not according to their commission, not caring how much they charged therein the king, whose fault they disclosed to dis-

charge themselves, trusting that by the benefit of the winter approaching, and the time lost in their communication, their maister should be defended against our power for this yeere, without doing for their part that by honor, right, law, and leagues they be obliged and bound to do. And in this meane time our subiects being taken prisoners in Scotland, could not be deliuered vpon any ransom, contrarie to all custome and vsage of the borderers in the time of peace and warre: and in this meane time staied a great part of our armie already pressed, and in our wages to go forward.

In this time ambassadoys (as ye haue heard) seemed to talke of an amitie, but concluded none. The treating of amitie was put ouer by communication of a meeting. The communication of meeting was so handled by alteration of commission and instructions on their behalfe, as it appeareth a plaine deuise onelie inuented for a delaye, which hath giuen vs light, wherevpon more certainly to iudge the king of Scots inward affection toward vs: whose wordes and wordes well weied and considered, do vs plainlie to vnderstand, how he hath continually labored to abuse vs with sweet and pleasant wordes, and to satisfie the appetites of other at home and abroad with his unkind and displeasing daeds. In his wordes he professeth an indissoluble amitie, he allegeth kinred, he acknowledgeth benefits, onlie the fault is, that he speaketh another language to all the world in daeds, and thereby so toucheth vs in honor and denegation of iustice, as we be enforced and compelled to vse the sword, which God hath put in our hands as an extreme remedie, whereby to obtaine both quietnesse for our subiects, and also that is due to vs by right, pacts, and leagues.

We haue patientlie suffered manie delusions, and notable the last yeere, when we made preparation at Forke for his repaite to vs. But should we suffer our people and subiects to be so oft spoiled without remedie? This is done by the Scots, whatsoever their wordes be. Should we suffer our rebels to be detained contrarie to the leagues without remedie? This is also done by them, whatsoever their wordes be. Should we suffer our land to be vttered contrarie to our most plaine euidence, onelie vpon a will, pride and arrogancie of the other partie? This is done by them whatsoever their wordes be. All these be ouer presumptuouslie done against vs, and giue such signification of their arrogancie, as it is necessarie for vs to oppresse it in the beginning, least they should gather further courage, to the greater displeasure of vs and our posteritie hereafter. And yet in the intreating of this matter, if we had not euidentlie perceiued the lacke of such affection as proritie of blood should require; we would rather haue remitted these iniuries in respect of proritie of blood, to our nephew, than we did to fore his fathers inuasion.

But weeing that we be so suerlie ascertained of the lacke thereof, and that our blood is there frozen with the cold aire of Scotland, there was neuer prince more violentlie compelled to war, than we be by the unkind dealing, vnjust behauior, & vnprincelie demeanor of him, that yet in nature is our nephew, & in his acts and daeds declareth himselfe not to be moued therewith, nor to haue such earnest regard to the obseruation of his pacts & leagues, nor such respect to the intertainment of the administration of iustice, as naturall equitie bindeth, & conseruation of equitie requireth. Which we much lament & be sore for, & vse now our force and puissance against him, not for reuengement of our priuate displeasure (being so often deliuered as we haue bene) but for recouerie of our right, the preservation of our subiects from iniuries, and the obseruation of such leagues as

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as haue passed betwene vs, firmelie trusting, that
almightie God, vnder whome we reigne, will assist
aid our iust proceedings herein, to the furtherance
and aduancement of the right, which we doubt not
shall euer preuaile against wrong, falshood, deceit,
and dissimulation.

Hitherto appeareth how this present warre hath
not proceeded of anie demand of our right of our su-
perioritie, which the kings of Scots haue alwaies
knowledged by homage and fealtie to our progeni-
tors euen from the beginning: but this warre hath
bene prouoked and occasioned vpon present mat-
ter of displeasure, present iniurie, present wrong mi-
stred by the nephue to the vncle most vnnatural-
lie, and suppoerted contrarie to the desires of our be-
nefits most vnkindlie, if we had minded the possesi-
on of Scotland, and by the motion of warre to at-
taine the same, there was neuer king of this realme
had moze opportunitie in the minoritie of our ne-
phue, nor in anie other realme a prince that hath
moze iust title, moze euident title, moze certeine
title, to any realme that he can claime, than we haue
to Scotland.

This title is not denied by pretense of marriage,
nor imagined by covenant, nor contriued by inuen-
tion of argument, but lineallie descended from the
beginning of that estate established by our progeni-
tors, and recognised successiuelie of the kings of
Scotland, by deeds, words, acts, and writings conti-
nuallie almost without interruption, or at the least
intermission, till the reigne of our progenitor king
Henrie the first, in whose time the Scots abused the
ciuill warre of this realme, to their licence and bold-
nesse, in omitting of their dutie: which for the proxi-
mitie of blood betwene vs, we haue bene slacke to
require of them, being also of our selfe inclined to
peace, as we haue euer bene alwaies glad, rather
without prejudice to omit to demand our right if it
might conserue peace, than by demanding thereof
to be sene to moue warre: speciallie against our
neighbour, against our nephue, against him whome
we haue preserved from danger, and in such a time
as it were expedient for all christendome to be in v-
nitie and peace, whereby to be moze able to resist the
common enimie the Turke.

But for what considerations we haue omitted
to speake hitherto of the matter, it is neuertheless
true, that the kings of Scots haue alwaies acknow-
ledged the kings of England superior lords of the
realme of Scotland, & haue done homage and feal-
tie for the same. This appeareth first in histories writ-
ten by such, as for confirmation of the truth in me-
moirie haue trulie noted and signified the same. Se-
condlie, it appeareth by instruments of homage
made by the kings of Scots, and diuerse notable
personages of Scotland, at diuerse & sundrie times
sealed with their seales, and remaining in our trea-
surie. Thirdlie, it appeareth by registers and re-
corde iudiciallie and autenticallie made, yet prefer-
ued for confirmation of the same. So as the mat-
ter of title being most plaine, is furnished also
with all maner of euidences for declaration there-
of.

First, as concerning histories, which be called
witnesses of times, the light of truth, and the life of
memorie, and finally the conuenient way & meane
whereby the things of antiquitie may be brought to
mens knowledge, they shew as plainlie this matter
as could be wished or required, with such a consent
of writers as could not so agree vpon an vntruth,
containing a declaration of such matter as hath
most euident probabilitie and apparence. For as it
is probable and likelie, that for the better adminis-
tration of iustice amongst rude people, two or moze of

one estate might be rulers in one countrie, vnited
as this Ile is: so it is probable and likelie, that in
the beginning it was so ordered for auoiding dissen-
sion, that there should be one superior, in right of
whom the said estates should depend.

According whereunto we read, how Brute, of
whome the realme then called Britains took first
that name (being before that time inhabited with gi-
ants, a people without order or ciuillie) had three
sonnes, Locrine, Albanact, and Camber, who deter-
mining to haue the whole Ile within the ocean sea
to be after governed by them three, appointed Alba-
nact to rule that now is called Scotland, Camber
the parties of Wales, and Locrine that now is cal-
led England: vnto whom (as being the eldest sonne)
the other two brethren should do homage, recogni-
sing and knowledging him as their superior. Now
consider, if Brute conquered all this Ile, as the
historie saith he did, and then in his owne time made
this order of superioritie as aforesaid: how can there be a
title deuised of a moze plaine beginning, a moze iust
beginning, a moze conuenient beginning, for the or-
der of this Ile, at that time speciallie, when the
people were rude: which cannot without continuall
strife and variance containe two or three rulers in
all points equall without any maner of superioritie,
the inward conscience and remorde of which superio-
ritie should in some part dull and diminish the per-
uerse courage of resistance and rebellion.

The first diuision of this Ile, we find written after
this sort, without cause of suspicion why they should
write amisse. And according hereunto we find also
in historie set forth by diuerse, how for transgression
against this superioritie, our predecessors haue cha-
stised the kings of Scots, and some deposed, and put
other in their places. We will here omit to speake
of the rudenesse of the antiquitie in particularitie,
which they cared not dissimulie to commit to writing.
But some authors, as Antonius Sabellicus, amongst
other, diligentlie searching what he might trulie
write of all Europe and the Ilands adioining; ouer
and besides that which he writeth of the natures, ma-
ners, and conditions of the Scots, which who so list to
read, shall find to haue bene the verie same in times
past, that we find them now at this present: he cal-
leth Scotland, part of England, which is agreeable to
the diuision aforesaid, being in deed as in the land
continuall without separation of the sea; so also by
homage and fealtie vnited vnto the same; as by par-
ticular declarations shall most manifestlie appere,
by the testimonie of such as haue left writing for
prooe and confirmation thereof.

In which matter, passing the death of king Hun-
ber, the acts of Duntwald king of this realme of
England, the diuision of Welfe and Ben two bre-
thren, the victories of king Arthur; we shall begin at
the yeere of our Lord, nine hundred, which is six hun-
dred forty two yeeres past, a time of sufficient anti-
quencie, from which we shall make speciall declaration
and euident prooe of the execution of our right and
title of superioritie euer moze continued and prefer-
ued hitherto. Edward the first, before the conquest,
sonne to Alured king of England, had vnder his do-
minion and obedience the king of Scots. And here
is to be noted, that this matter was so notorious and
manifest, as Marian a Scot, writing that storie in
those daies, granteth, confesseth, & testifieth the same:
and this dominion continued in that state three and
twentie yeeres.

At which time Athelflane succeeded in the crowne
of England, and hauing by battell conquered Scot-
land, he made one Constantine king of that partie,
to rule and gouerne the countrie of Scotland vnder
him, adding this princelie word, that it was moze
honorable

honorable to him to make a king, than to be a king. Twentie foure yeres after that, which was the yere of our Lord 947, king Edward our progenitor Athelstanes brother, took homage of Trile then king of Scots. Thirtie yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord 977, king Edgar our predecessor took homage of Malcolme king of Scots. There was a little trouble in England by the death of saint Edward king and martyr, destroyed by the deceit of his mother in law. But yet within memorie, fortie yeres after the homage done by Malcolme to king Edgar, that is to say, in the yere of our Lord 1018, Malcolme king of Scots did homage to Malcolme our predecessor.

After this homage done, the Scots uttered some pece of their naturall disposition: whereupon, by warre made by our progenitor saint Edward the confessor, twentie nine yeres after homage done, that is to say, the yere of our Lord 1056, Malcolme king of Scots was vanquished, and the realme given to Malcolme his sonne, by our said progenitor saint Edward: to whom the said Malcolme made homage and fealtie, within eleven yeres after that William Conqueror entered this realme, whereof he accounted no perfect conquest, untill he had likewise subdued the Scots. And therefore in the said yere, which was in the yere of our Lord 1068, the said Malcolme king of Scots did homage to the said William Conqueror, as his superior by conquest king of England. Twentie five yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord 1092, the said Malcolme did homage and fealtie to William Rufus, sonne to the said William Conqueror: and yet after that was for his offenses and demerits deposed, and his sonne substitute in his place, who likewise failed of his dutie: and therefore was ordeined in that estate by the said William Rufus) Edgar, brother to the last Malcolme, and sonne to the first, who did homage and fealtie accordingly.

Seuen yeres after, that was in the yere of our Lord 1100, the said Edgar k. of Scots did homage unto Henrie the first our progenitor. Thirtie seuen yeres after that, David king of Scots did homage to Mathild the emperesse, as daughter and heire to Henrie the first. Wherefore, being after requited by Stephan, then obtaining possession of the realme, to make his homage, he refused so to do, because he had before made it to the said Mathild, and thereupon forbare. After which Davids death, which ensued shortly after, the sonne of the said David made homage to the said king Stephan. Fouretene yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord, a thousand one hundred and fiftie, William king of Scots, and David his brother, with all the nobles of Scotland, made homage to Henrie the seconds sonne, with a reservation of their dutie to Henrie the second his father. Twentie five yeres after, which was in the yere of our Lord 1175, William king of Scotland, after much rebellion & resistance, according to their naturall inclination, king Henrie the second then being in Normandie, William then king of Scots knowledged finally his error, and made his peace and composition, confirmed with his great seale, and the seales of the nobilitie of Scotland, making therewith his homage and fealtie.

Within fiftene yeres after that, which was the yere of our Lord 1190, the said William king of Scots came to our citie of Canturburie, and there did homage to our noble progenitor king Richard the first. Fouretene yeres after that, the said William did homage to our progenitor king John, upon a hill besides Lincolne, making his oth upon the crosse of Hubert then archbishop of Canturburie, being there present, a marvellous multitude assembled

for that purpose. Twentie six yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord 1216, Alexander king of Scots married Margarete, the daughter of our progenitor Henrie the third, at our citie of Porke, in the feast of Christmasse, at which time the said Alexander did his homage to our said progenitor, who reigned in this realme fiftie six yeres. And therefore betwene the homage made by the said Alexander king of Scots, and the homage done by Alexander, sonne to the said king of Scots, to Edward the first at his coronation at Westminster, there was about fiftie yeres: at which time the said Alexander king of Scots repaired to the said feast of coronation, and there did his dutie, as is aforesaid. Within twentie eight yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord 1282, John Balliol king of Scots made his homage and fealtie to the said king Edward the first our progenitor.

After this began Robert Bruce to blurpe the crowne of Scotland, and to moue sedition therfore against them of the house of Balliol, which made for a season some interruption in the said homage; but yet no intermission without the termes of memorie: for within fortie foure yeres after, which was the yere of our Lord 1326, Edward Balliol after a great victorie had in Scotland against the other faction, and insieng the crowne of Scotland, made homage to our progenitor Edward the third. And twentie yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord 1346, David Bruce, who was euer in the contrarie faction, did neuertheless in the title of the crowne of Scotland, whereof he was then in possession, make homage to our said progenitor Edward the third.

Within nine yeres after this, Edward the third, to chastise the infidelitie of the Scots, made warre against them: when after great victories, Edward Balliol, having the iust and right title to the realme of Scotland, surrendered clearely the same to our said progenitor, at the towne of Karburgh in Scotland, where our said progenitor accepted the same, and then caused himselfe to be crowned king of Scotland, and for a time interlined it, and insioid it, as herie proprietarie and owner of the realme: as on the one part by confiscation acquitted, and on the other part by free will surrendered unto him. And then after the death of our said progenitor Edward the third, began seditions and insurrections in this our realme, in the time of our progenitor Richard the second, which was augmented by the alteration of the state of the said Richard, and the deuolution of the same to Henrie the fourth: so as the Scots had some leasure to plaie their bagues, and follow their accustomed manner. And yet Henrie the fift, for recouerie of his right in France, commanded the king of Scots to attend vpon him in that sojorne.

In this time, the realme of Scotland being descended to the house of the Stewards, of which our newe directie commeth: James Stewart king of Scots, in the yere of our Lord 1423, made homage to Henrie the first at Windsoze, which homage was distant from the time of the other homage made by David Bruce, thre score yeres and more, but farre within the fresh memorie of man. All which homages and fealties as they appere by storie to haue bene made and done at times and seasons as afoze, so do there remaine instruments made thereupon, and sealed with the seales of the kings of Scotland, testifying the same. And yet doth it appere by storie, how the Scots practised to steale out of our treasure house of these instruments, which neuertheless were afterward recovered againe.

And to the intent ye may know of what forme and tenure the said instruments be, here is inserted the

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the effect in word and sentence as they be made, which we do, to meet with the cavillation and contrived evasion of the Scots, alleging the homage to have bene made for the earldome of Huntingdon, which is as true as the allegation of him that is burnt in the hand, to say he was cut with a fickle. And therefore the tenure of the homage is this.

The forme of the homage.

Iohn R. king of Scots shall be true and faithfull unto you lord Edward by the grace of God R. of England, the noble & superiour lord of the kingdome of Scotland, as unto you I make my fidelitie of the same kingdome of Scotland, the which I hold & claime to hold of you. And I shall beare to you my faith and fidelitie of life and lim, and worldlie honor, against all men; and faithfullie I shall knowlege, and shall do to you service due to you of the kingdome of Scotland aforesaid: as God so helpe and these holie euangelists.

Now for the third part, touching records and registers, we haue them so small, so autenticall, so scrupulously handled, and with such circumstances declaring the matters, as they be and ought to be a great corroboration of that hath bene in stories written & reported in this matter. For among other things we haue the soleme act and iudiciall processe of our progenitor Edward the first, in discussion of the title of Scotland, when the same was challenged by competitors (that is to saie) Florentius comes of Holandie, Patricius de Dunbar comes de Perthia, Willielmus de Wesci, Willielmus de Rosse, Robertus de Pinkeni, Nicholaus de Soules, Patricius Galgillie, Rogerus de Spundenille, Joannes de Comin, D. Joannes de Hastings, Joannes de Balliolo, Robertus de Wyse, Ericus rex Norwegie.

Finallie, after a great consultation and mature deliberation, with discussion of the allegations proponed on all parts, sentence was giuen for the title of Ballioll, according whereunto he inioied the realme. But for confirmation of the dutie of the homage before that time obserued by the R. of Scots, it appeareth in those records, how when those competitors of the realme of Scotland repaired to our progenitor, as to the chiefe lord for discussion of the same, inasomuch as the authoritie of the iudgement to be giuen depended thereupon; it was then ordered that the whole parlement of Scotland, spirituall & temporall, & of all degrees assembled for that purpose, and considering upon what ground & foundation the kings of Scotland had in times past made the said homages and recognition of superiourtie, the said parlement finding the same good & true, should (if they so deemed it) yield and giue place, and by expresse consent recognize the same.

At which parlement was alleged unto them, as appeareth in the same records, not onelie these acts of the princes before those daies, and before rehearsed: but also besides the testimonie of stories, the writings and letters of forren princes at that time reciting and rehearsing the same. Whereupon the said parlement did there agree to this our superiourtie, and insuing their determination did particularlie and severallie make homage & fealtie with proclamation, that whosoener withholde himselfe from doing his dutie therein, should be reputed as a rebel. And so all made homage and fealtie to our progenitor Edward the first. And the realme of Scot-

land was in the time of the discussion of the title ruled by gardians deputed by him. All castles and holds were surrendred to him, as to the superiour lord in the time of vacation. Benefices, offices, fees, promotions passed in that time from the mere gift of our said progenitor, as in the right of this crowne of England. Sherriffes named and appointed, writs, and precepts made, obeyed, and executed.

Finallie, all that we do now in the duchie of Lancaster, the same did our progenitor for the time of the contention for that title in the realme of Scotland, by the consent of an agreement of all estates of the realme assembled and consulted with for that purpose. At which time the bishops of saint Andrews and Glasgow were not (as they now be) archbishops; but recognized the archbishop of Yorke, which extended ouer all that countrie. Now if the Scots will take exception to the homage of their princes as made in warre, and by force, which is not true; what will they say, or can they for shame allege against their owne parlement, not of some but of all confirmed, & testified by their writings and seals; whereunto nothing inforced them but right and reason, being passed in peace and quiet without armor & compulsion? If they say they did it not, they speake like themselves; if they say they did it, then do they now like themselves, to withdraw to their dutie, not so much to be blamed, as to be amended.

Thus appeareth unto you the beginning of the right of superiourtie, with a perpetuall continuance, without intermission within memorie. Certaine commissions and forbearings upon the grounds and occasions before specified we denie not, whereby they haue manie times sought and taken their oportunitie to withdraw to the doing of their dutie in knowlege of our superiourtie ouer them; which to auoid, they haue not cared what they said or alleged, though it were neuer so vntrue, lieng alwaies in wait when they might annote this realme, not without their owne great danger & perill, & also extreme detriment. But as they detracted the doing of their dutie, so God granted unto this realme force to compell them thereunto within memorie, and notwithstanding anie their interruption by resistance, which unto the time of our progenitor Henrie the first neuer endured so long as it made intermission within time of mind, whereby the possession might seeme to be empaired. From the time of Henrie the first, unto the seventh yeare of our reigne, our realme hath bene for a season lacerat and toyme by diuersitie of titles, till our time; and since also by warre outwardlie bered and troubled. The storie is so lamentable for some part thereof, as were too tedious to rehearse.

Since the death of our progenitor Henrie the first, our grandfather Edward the fourth reigned, who after great trauels to attaine quietnes in his realme, finallie in the time of preparation of warre against Scotland died. Richard the third, then usurped for a small time in yeares, whome the king our father by the strength of Gods hand ouerthrew in battell, and most iustlie attained the possession of this realme, who neuertheless, after the great tempestuous stormes, finding all matters not yet brought to perfect quiet and rest, ceased and forbore to require of the Scots to do their dutie; thinking it policie rather for that time to assaie to tame their nature by pleasant conuention & conuersation of amicitie, than to charge them with their fault, & require dutie of them, when oportunitie serued not by force & feare to constrain and compell them. And thus passed ouer the reigne of our father without demand of this homage. And being our reigne now fours and thirtie yeares, we were one and thwentie yeares letted by our nephew his minoritie, being then more careful how to bring

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him.

him out of danger, to the place of a king, than to receive of him homage, when he had full possession of the same.

Wherefore being now passed, since the last homage made by the king of Scots, to our progenitor Henrie the first, 122 yeares, at which time the homage was done at Windsor by James Stewart, then king of Scots, as before 56 of these yeares the crowne of this realme was in contention, the trouble therof ingendred also some businesse in the time of the king our father; which was three and thirtie yeares: and in our time one and twentieth yeares hath passed in the minority of our nephew. So as finally, the Scots resorting to their onelie defense of continuance of possession, can onelie allege iustitie but 13 yeares of silence in the time of our reigne, being all the other times since the homage done by James Stewart, such as the silence in them (had they bene neuer so long) could not haue ingendred prejudice to the losse of anie right that may yet be declared and proued due. For what can be imputed to king Edward for not demanding homage being in strife for that estate, whereunto the homage was due? What should Richard the third searcho for homage in Scotland, that had neither right ne leaseure to haue homage done vnto him in England? Who can blame our father, knowing the Scots nature neuer to do their dutie but for feare; if he demanded not that of them, which they would elschew if they might, seeing his realme not cleavelie then purged from ill seed of sedition, sparkled and scattered in the cruell ciuill warres before.

Law and reason serueth, that the passing ouer of time not commodious, that the purpose is not allegable in prescription for the losse of anie right. And the minority of the king of Scots hath indured twentieth one yeeres of our reigne, which being an impediment on their part, the whole prescription of the Scots, if the matter were prescriptible, is thus deduced euidentlie to thirtene yeere, which thirtene yeere without excuse we haue ceased and forborne to demand our dutie, like as the Scots haue likewise ceased to offer and render the same: for which cause neuertheless we do not enter this warre, ne minded to demand anie such matter now, being rather desirous to repose and take comfort in the friendship of our nephew as our neighbour, than to moue matter vnto him of displeasure, whereby to alienate such naturall inclination of loue as he should haue towards vs; but such be the works of God superior ouer all, to suffer occasions to be ministered, whereby due superiority may be knowne, demanded, and required; to the intent that according thereto all things gouerned in due order here, we may to his pleasure passe ouer this life to his honor and glorie, which he grant vs to do in such rest, peace, and tranquillitie, as shall be meet and conuenient for vs.

When therefore the king of England had set forth this declaration of the causes that moued him to make warre against Scotland, he prepared to prosecute the same both by sea and land, and hauing rigged and furnished diuerse ships of warre, he sent the same forth to the sea, that they might take such Scottish ships as were to returne from their voyages made into France, Flanders, Denmarke, and other countries, whether they were gone for trade of merchandise, with which the English ships incourented, toke 28 of the principall ships of all Septland, fraught with all kind of merchandise and rich wares, which they brought with them into the English ports.

The king of Scotland aduertised therof, sent with all speed an herald, desiring restitution of his ships, as he thought shoud with reason, seeing no war was

proclaimed: but the king of England thought it no reason to depart with them so sone, till other articles of agreement might be concluded, and therefore refused not onelie to deliuer their ships, but also sent sir Robert Bolwes with men to the borders, giuing him in charge to inuade Scotland, who according to his commission, with three thousand men rode into Scotland, and began to burne and to spoile certeine small townes: whereupon the state being raised in the countrie, George Gordon the earle of Huntley, who was appointed to remaine as lieutenant vpon the borders, for doubt of such sudden inuasions, immediately gathered a number of borderers, and set vpon the Englishmen, and put them all to flight; sir Robert Bolwes, and his brother Richard Bolwes, with diuers other, to the number of six hundred, were taken prisoners; and the said sir Robert Bolwes and other the principall landed men were kept still in Scotland till after the kings death. This victorie chanced to the Scots, at a place called Halden Rig in the Mers, vpon saint Bartholomewes day, which is the twentieth fourth of August.

After this, the king of England sent the duke of Norfolk with the earles of Shrewsburie, Darbie, Cumberland, Surreie, Hertford, Angus, Rutland, and the lords of the north parts of England, with an armie of fortie thousand men, as the Scots esteemed them, though they were not manie above twentieth thousand, who entered into Scotland the one and twentieth of October, and burnt certeine townes vpon the side of the water of Tweed: but the earle of Huntley, hauing with him ten thousand of the borderers and other, so waited vpon them, giuing them now and then skirmishes and alarms, that they came not past two miles from the water of Tweed within the Scottish bounds at that season.

In the meane time, the king of Scotland being aduertised hereof, gathered a great armie through all the parts of his realme, and came to Soltraie hedge, where they mustered, and were numbered to be thirtie six thousand men, with the which he came to Falla Mure, and there incamped, determining to giue battell to the Englishmen, as he pretended: howbeit, if the duke had taried longer, as it was thought he would haue done, if the time of the yeere and prouision of vittels had serued, the Scots would yet haue bene better aduised, before they had joined with him in a pight field. But true it is, that after the duke had remained there so long as vittels might be had and recovered from anie part, he retired with his armie backe into England, not without some losse of men, horses, and spoiles, which the Scots vnder the earle of Huntley and others toke from the Englishmen in that their retire, speciallie as they passed ouer the river of Tweed.

After the Englishmen were thus departed and withdrawing home forth of Scotland, king James being of an high and manlie courage, in reuenge of harmes done by the Englishmen within his countrie, thought good that his whole armie should passe forward and inuade England, himselfe to go there with in proper person. And herein he requested the consent of his nobilitie, who after long reasoning, and good aduicement taken in the matter, gaue answer [by the earle of Murray] to the king in this sort, that they could not thinke it good that they should passe within England, and to seeke battell, the king himselfe being with them, considering that his two sons were lastelie deceased, so that he had no succession of his bodie: for in case that they lost the field, as in chance of battell is most incerteine, then the king of England hauing great substance, might therewith followe the victorie, and put the realme of Scotland in great hazard.

Sir Robert Bolwes inuaded the borders.

The earle of Huntley gathered an overthrow to the Englishmen, 1542. Leslie.

The king breakech by his armie.

The king goeth to the Scottish borders. 1547. Leslie.

Other Scots.

The lord wharton.

The earle of the lords against the Englishmen.

The Scots discomfited by the Englishmen.

The king's army.

The king's army of the king for the overthrow of his men.

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Therefore they thought it sufficient to defend their owne bounds, and to constrain the enimie for feare to leaue the inuasion thereof, as presentlie they had done; and declared that they were determind to haue giuen battell to their enimies, if they had continued within the realme, and doubted not by the helpe of God, they hauing so iust a cause, and being inuaded in their countrie, but that they should haue obtained the victorie. The king hearing their determination, albeit his high courage pressed him to inuade; yet the approued wit of his nobles and counsellors caused him to follow their aduise, and so returned with his armie backe againe, the first of Nouember, the armie of England being first discharged, and the duke of Suffolke in his returne towards London.

Shortlie after, the king of Scotland went himselfe in person to the west marches of his realme, where the lord Sparwell was warren, whome together with the earles of Cassiles, and Glencarne [the lord Fleming] and certeine other lords there with him, the king appointed to inuade the English marches on that side, taking with them the power of the borders, and sent also with them Oliver Sinclair [the brother of Rosseline Comarch] and the residue of the gentlemen of his household. These earles and lords entering into England on saint Isatharines euen, being the foure and twentieth of Nouember, began to burne certeine townes vpon the water of Esk. But as soone as the scie was raised in the countrie, the lord Wharton warden of the west marches of England, suddenly raised the power of the countrie, and came to a little hill, where they shewed themselves in sight vnto the Scottish armie.

The Scottish lords perceiving the Englishmen gathered, assembled themselves together, and inquired who was lieutenant generall there by the kings appointment; and incontinentlie Oliver Sinclair was holden by on two mens shoulders, where he sheweth forth the kings commission, instituting him lieutenant to the king of that armie. But howsoever that was read, the earles and lords there present, thought themselves imbased too much, to haue such a meane gentleman aduanced in authoritie above them all, and therefore determined not to fight vnder such a captaine, but willingly suffered themselves to be overcome; and so were taken by the Englishmen; not shewing anie countenance of defense to the contrary, and without slaughter of anie one person on either side.

This rode was called Solowate spoffe, at the which were taken prisoners men of name; these persons following: the earle of Cassiles and Glencarne, the lord Sparwell, the lord Fleming, the lord Somerville, the lord Oliphant, Oliver Sinclair, the lord of Craggie, and sundrie other gentlemen; the which were led prisoners to London, where they remained till after the king was dead. The king being in Carlauerke, vpon the borders not farre from Solowate spoffe, when this misfortune fell vpon his men: after he heard thereof, he was meruelouslie amazed, the more, by calling to remembrance the refusal made by his nobles, assembled with him in campe at Ffalla vpon his request to inuade England. Where, with such an impression entered his mind, that he thought with himselfe that all his whole nobilitie had conspired against him, and there vpon took such a vehement and high displeasure, increased with a melancholious thought, that he departed suddenly from thence to Edinburgh; and after removed to Falkland, where he remained as a man desolate of comfort, being soe bereft in spirit and bodie; and would not permit anie manner of person to haue access to him, his secret & familiar seruants onelie excepted. Now, as he was thus disquieted; newes were

brought him that the quene his wife was brought to bed of a faire young prince the seventh day of December, the which newes he liked verie well; and added the griefe thereof to his former displeasure, insomuch that he perceived the end of his life to appoach, and withall said, that he foresaw great trouble to come vpon the realme of Scotland, for the pursuit which the king of England was like to make therevpon against the same, to the end he might bring it vnder his subiection, either by marriage, or by some other meane. It was reported that he was disquieted with some unkindlie medicine: but howsoever the matter was, he yielded vp his spirit to almightie God, and departed this world the fourteenth of December, in the yere of our redemption, 1542, the thirtie thre yere of his age, and thirtie two of his reigne.

Shortlie after his departure, his bodie was conueied into Ffalkland vnto Edinburgh in most honorable wise; the cardinall, the earles of Arrane, Argyle, Mothes, Sparhall, and diuerse other noblemen being present, and with all funerall pompe (as was requisite) it was buried in the abbey church of Holyrood house, beside the bodie of quene Margarete, daughter to the king of France, his first wife. There was great lamentation and mone made for his death throughout all parts of his realme, for he was verie well beloued among his subiects. He was of sweet countenance and courteous speech, graciouslye, hauing a diuine mind in all whatsoeuer, neither certeine in doubtfull things, nor doubtfull in things of certentie, auoiding dangers with graue counsels, performing hard matters with great nobilitie of mind, and foreseeing what might follow with an incredible iudgement: in such sort that hee was neuer vnprovided against the danger of anie thing, or was driuen from it by the difficultie thereof, or was hindered by the obscuritie therein: where by he might incur the note either of a rash, fearefull, or slow person.

All which singular commendations seemed to flow out of this spring, that he did not by heat of youth (rashlie) but with great deliberation (soundlie) manage the whole affaires of the common-wealth. For as he did chiefe labo: that his table might not exceede for gluttonie, nor be ouersparing for miserie: so if his apparell were decent, he esteemed not the theft of womanish attire after the courtlie fashion. He was so farre from pride, that he alwaies shewed himselfe offended with the vices thereof. He was an obseruer of iustice, a defender of the law, and a sharpe shield for the innocent and poore: for which cause he was of the nobilitie called the king of the commoners. For he set at libertie the poore oppressed with the tyrannie of the rich, and repressed the rich from spoiling of the poore: all which he did with a certeine severity, but yet such, as in the same there appeared a wonderfull gentleness of his naturall disposition, because he seldom put anie of them to death, but did either by prison or mult punish the offense. For he was wont to say, that he would neuer take life from anie, but onelie to keepe the law sound, and for the example of others: and to keepe downe the boldnesse of such as dwelt about the borders. With these conditions he left the realme plentifully furnished with riches, and his owne treasure not emptie, but abundantly stored with gold, siluer and other furniture: for which cause it should not seeme strange, that his death was greatly lamented of his subiects, to whom he was a perfect patrone, and a louing father.

Of whome also Buchanan lib. 14 writeth, that his vices did almost equall all his great vertues; but that they were rather to be imputed to the iniquitie of the time than the inclination of his nature, for

The birth of the Scottish quene.

Fr. Thin, Lessius lib. 9, pag. 460.

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The king
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his armie.

The king
brother by
his armie.
1541. Lesl.

Oliver Sin-
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The lord
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The enute of
the lords a-
gainst Oliver
Sincler.

The Scots
discouraged by
the English-
men.

The griefe of
the king for
the overthrow
of his men.

for the libertie of althings had then dissolved the public discipline, which could not be staied but by great severitie of correction. And this made him more covetous of monie, because that he was kept extreme hard when he was under the government of others. Whereby, when he came to be at libertie, he was anew to furnish all his courts with household stuffe, finding his houses emptie, and all things conueied awaie: for his tutors had consumed the kinglie patrimonie vpon those whome he willingly would not to haue receiued it. Besides, for his excess of women the fault grew by such as were his tutors, who gaue him libertie thereto, supposing thereby to keepe him the longer in their danger. The nobilitie did not greatly take his death grieuoullie, because he had fined many, imprisoned more, and caused no small feare (for auoiding his displeasure) to flee into England, and rather to commit themselves to the enemie than to his anger.)

Queene
Marie.

1542.

The lord Leu-
ningston.

David Seton
cardinall.

This forging
of a will.

The prote-
stants espied
the cardinals
craftie ing-
ling.

1543. Lesle.
Fr. Thin.

The eternall God calling to his mercie James king of Scotland, the first of that name, Marie his onellie daughter and heire began hir reigne ouer the realme of Scotland, the eighteenth day of December, in the yere of our Lord 1542, Francis the first of that name then reigning in France, & Henrie the eight ouer the Englishmen. She was not passing seuen daies old when hir father departing this life, left vnto hir his kingdome, hir mother lieng in childbed in the castell of Lithquo, of which place the lord Leueningston being capteine, had the charge committed to him, both of the daughter & mother, with the mothers good agreement and free consent.

Whereouer, immediatlie after the kings death (because he deceased without making anie will, or taking anie direction for the gouernement either of the realme, or custodie of the yong queene his daughter) David Seton, cardinall and archbishop of S. Andrews, the speciall minister & factor of the French causes, to the aduancement and continuance thereof, inuented and forged [by Henrie Walsure] a will and testament of the late king now departed, in which (amongst other things) he established himselfe chiefe regent, adioining with him the earles of Murray, base brother to the king deceased, Huntley and Argyle, not once mentioning the earle of Lennox then absent in France, nor yet James Hamilton earle of Arrane his cousine, being there present in Scotland,

Those that professed the reformed religion, being then called protestants, to whome the said cardinall was euer a cruell enemie and sharpe scourge, espied forth his vnjust dealing in this behalfe, and trusting by the gentle nature and good inclination of the said earle of Arrane, to haue some libertie to embrace the gospel, set him against the cardinall: so that by the helpe of his owne and their friends, he remoued the cardinall and his adherents from the usurped roome and authoritie, and therewith was the said earle of Arrane proclaimed gouernour and protector of the realme. [And there vpon shewing his authoritie, he entereth the kings palaces, as saith Lesleus lib. 10. pa. 464. and vseth the kings treasure, and calleth the officers of the treasure to account, whereof he retel- neth some, and changeth others at his pleasure.]

This earle of Arrane made a title to haue and inioie that office and roome, as next in blood to the yong queene, as descended from a sister of h. James the third, married to his grandfather lord Hamilton, in the yere 1475, by reason of which mariage he was created earle of Arrane, as by act of parlement holden the same yere at Edinburgh, it was agreed and ordeined. The king of England that noble prince Henrie the eight, aduertised of the death of the king of Scots, considered with good aduise, that

now there was offered a most readie meane and iust occasion, whereby the two realmes of England and Scotland might be brought into one entier monarchie, without warre or bloodshed, by the mariage of his sonne prince Edward, being then little past six yeres of age, with the yong queene of Scotland.

He therefore being resolved fullie to bring the same to passe, either by quiet meanes or by force, and sending for the earles of Castile, and Glencarne, the lords Sparwell, and Fleming, and other prisoners that had bene taken at Soloway mosse, caused them to be conueied vnto Hampton court, where the seuen and twentieth of December they being right curteouslie interteined, he made vnto them an ouerture of his purpose and whole intent, proponing the whole matter vnto them, requesting them for their parts, to helpe (with their consents) that a contract of mariage might be made betwene his sonne the prince, and their yong queene, promising to them libertie without ranfome, besides other pleasures and benefites, if they would do their indenor to persuade the gouernour, and other the nobilitie of Scotland to be agreeable herevnto.

The Scottish earles and lords accepted the kings offer, and withall promised to do their diligence to persuade the rest of the nobilitie in Scotland at their comming home: whereupon they were licenced to depart, and so comming to Newcastle, remained there with the duke of Suffolke, then the kings lieutenant of the north parts, till he had receiued forth of Scotland certeine pledges of the chiefe of these lords, for performance of their promises. Likewise the king of England sent with them the earle of Angus, and his brother sir George Douglas with his letters to the gouernour, requesting effectiuellie, that they might be restored to their homes, lands and possessions in that realme.

These lords arriuing at Edinburgh, about the midd of Januarie, declared to the gouernour their message and proposition made by the king of England, with such efficacie, that the gouernour being persuaded thereto by their words, sent for the lords and nobilitie of the realme to come to Edinburgh, to a conuention there, to be holden the seuen and twentieth of that present moneth: where they concluded that a parlement should be kept in March next ensuing. And doubting lest the cardinall (being there present) should go about to persuade the nobilitie not to consent to their desires, they caused him to be put in ward within the castell of Walketh: the lord Seton being appointed to haue the custodie of him. About the same time, sir Robert Bowes, and all other the Englishmen that were prisoners, and had bene taken at Halding rig on saint Bartholomewes day (as before ye haue heard) were sent home by the gouernour into England, and sir Rafe Sadler was sent ambassadour from king Henrie vnto the said gouernour, and other the lords of Scotland, and came thither before the said parlement, to persuade the lords to agree vnto the king his masters motions, travelling so diligentlie in the matters whereabout he was thus sent, that it was concluded by act of parlement, to send ambassadoys into England, for the better satisfaction of king Henries desires.

And so the earle of Glencarne, sir George Douglas, sir William Hamilton, sir James Leirmouth, and the secretarie being named and appointed thereto, departed in the month of March, and comming into England vnto the king, remained there till the latter end of Iulie. In which meane time, such conuents, contracts, and promises were had and concluded, passed and sealed interchangeablie, as stood with the pleasure and good liking of king Henrie, so as the mariage

The mariage
confirmed.

The king of
England tal-
keth with the
lords of Scot-
land prisoners
for a mariage
betwixt his
son and their
queene.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus. lib. 10.
pag. 465.

1543. Buch.

Duke of
Suffolke
Buchanan.

The earle of
Angus sent
home into
Scotland.

1543. Lesle.
1542.

A conuention
of the Scottish
nobilitie.

The cardinall
committed to
ward.

Halding rig.

Sir Rafe
Sadler.

Ambassadoys
sent into
England.

The French
king misliketh
of the match
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Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 15.

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The marriage
confirmed.

marriage was fullie contracted, and a peace concluded for ten peeres, by authoritie of the aforesaid parliament. Herewith also the lord gouernor shewed himselfe to embrace the reformed religion, causing one frier Guilliam to preach against images, and fruitlesse ceremonies, and gaue libertie that the bible called The new and old testament, should be had in English, & vniuersallie published through the realme of Scotland.

Also he committed not onelie the cardinall (as before ye haue heard) but also ordeined that the queene mother should remaine in Liffgow with the yong queene hir daughter, vnder some manner of safe custodie, and the cardinall to be removed vnto his owne castell of saint Andriwes, with warders about him to keepe him safe kept. * Not long after, the cardinall was restored to vnhoped libertie, and the earle of Angus, George Dowglas, and the lord Glames, the heire of James Hamilton, with manie others, by the consent of the three estates, were wholie restored to all their goods, and deliuered from the sentence of banishment.

John Hamilton abbat of Passelew, brother of the gouernor, returning out of France (where he had imployed himselfe to studie) did (with certeine learned men, as Dauid Panter, and others, whom he had in his companie) visit the king of England, of whome they were most courteously intertained. After which this Hamilton returning into Scotland, was made treasurer of the kingdome, which office he discharged with great commendation, so long as his brother kept the gouernement, whom he did not onelie helpe in counsell for ordering of the kingdome, but also shewed him selfe a balliant and industrious man in the warres against the English, for defense of the kingdome of Scotland. About this time, the earle Bothwell, which was banished, and had remained long at Venice, did returne into Scotland, whither he was honozable welcommed, as a person much desired of his friends and kintred.)

The realme being thus brought in quiet, and vnder good gouernement, the French king for misliking this new continuation of the Scots with England, and doubting least the old former bond of alliance betwixt France and Scotland might thereby be bitterlie dissolued and shaken off, he sent for Matthew Steward earle of Lennor, then abroad in his seruice in the wars of Italie, and vpon his comming backe from thence to the court, he declared to him the decrease of the late king of Scots, the intrusion of Arrane, and the attempts in that realme begun, with all the circumstances from point to point as he knew; and further discoursed with him what wrong he had to be set aside, and displaced from his right of gouernement; and therefore exhorted him to repaire home to recover the same, offering not onelie to assist him with men, monie, and munition, but also to ioine his friends in Scotland with him in aid to attaine the place of regiment, and to remove Arrane and others from it.

The earle of Lennor herevpon with commission and instructions deliuered to him by the French king, had also letters from him directed to the lords that were of the French faction, wherein the said king requested them to remaine and continue in their former good meanings towards him, and to assist the earle of Lennor in all things, as should be thought expedient. * Now, before the earle of Lennor returned out of France, the cardinall had vsed manie persuasions against the English, as well that the Scots set at libertie by the king, should breake their faith with him, as also to draw them to the French faction, and rather to suffer their pledges to receiue what king Henrie would vse vnto them, than by keep-

ping promise to the English, to conueie the yong queene vnto them.

Wherevpon, when the greater part of those nobles (whome the matter touched, could easilie find anie color for the excuse of their fault) had consented to the cardinals persuasion, onelie one amongst the rest would not yeeld thereto, which was Gilbert Kennedie earle of Cassiles, who could not be drawn from that constancie (in obseruing his faith) either by bribes, flatteries, or threats. For he (hauing two brothers pledges for him in England) did openlie protest, that he would returne to prison, and by no feare laid before him commit such a fault, as that he would redēme his life with the blood of his two brothers: for which cause he went forthwith to London, although euerie man spake against it. Wherevpon, the king of England did singularlie commend the constancie of the yong man, and further (to the end that his vertue might be knotone to all men) did set him at libertie with his two brethren, and sent him home honozable rewarded.

Now the realme of Scotland being thus in great vprores by means of the queenes and cardinals factions, whereof the last drew all (such as he could) to support the French league, they sent ambassadors into France, to request the French king to send home Matthew Steward earle of Lennor, as one that was not onelie emulous against Hamilton, but also his deable enemie for the slaughter of his father at Linmoch: which yong Steward (beside his beautie and comelinesse of bodie, in the verie flower of his youth; the memorie, carefulnesse, and dangers of his father, a verie popular man, and beloved of the people; the worthinesse of that familie brought almost to an end, and that the same was of great power, and linked in marriage with manie nobles) did win and draw the minds of manie men, desirous to helpe him, for the great fauor they bare vnto him.

To the which further procurement of the peoples loue also, there might be ioined, that he was next heire to the crowne by the kings appointment, if he died without issue male; the which king James, if he had liued, would haue established by parlement: besides which likewise, there wanted not flatterers, which did not onelie draw by his noble mind (now gaping after great things, and vndefended against deceits) to the hope of gouerning of the kingdome for these one and twentie peeres and more, during the queenes minority, and to the rule and power ouer his enemies, whereby he might vse reuenge vpon them: but also they promised him to marrie the queene Dowager: and in the meane time (if anie thing happened otherwise than well to the yong queene) that he should obtaine the crowne, whereby he should both be king, and the next lawfull heire of James Hamilton latelie deceased, since the gouernor was a bassard, and could not onelie by law not looke or hope for the kingdome, but also not so much as hope to be heire to his owne familie. To all which were added the persuasions of the French before mentioned. Wherevpon, the yong man (whose mind was credulous, being tickled and inticed with these hopes) determined to go into Scotland.)

The earle therefore fullie instructed by the French king, how to deale and proceed, took his leaue, and with all speed taking the sea, directed his course into Scotland, where (after his arrivall) he came to Edinburgh, in which towne all the lords being assembled together with the gouernor, he declared to them the effect of his commission from the French king, his request to them, & good affection to mainteine them against England, if in case they would continue the old league with him, and not seeke to make anie new alliance with the king of England.

The earle of
Lennor passeth
into
Scotland,

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Fr. Thin.
Lelles. lib. 10.
pag. 465.

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Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 15.

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But perceiuing that the gouernor and his friends were minded to satisfie the king of Englands desires, he would not tarrie for a resolute answer, but by the counsell of the earle of Argyle, William earle of Glenearne, and others of the French faction, he suddenly departed forth of Edinburgh toward the west countrie, higliie displeased (as should seme) with the gouernor, and taking Lithgow in his way, he conferred with the quene Dowager (as they termed hir) devising how to assemble the noble men of the French side, to bring hir and hir daughter to libertie, out of the danger of the lord gouernor: because it was supposed that he ment to conuie hir into England.

The earle of Lennor conferred with the quene Dowager.

1543. Lesle.

The castell of Edinburgh recovered to the gouernors side.

The young quene conuicted to Strimeling.

About the same time, though practise of the abbat of Iddale, brother to the gouernor, and others, the castell of Edinburgh was got out of the hands of sir Peter Creighton, and the keeping thereof committed by the gouernors appointment vnto James Hamilton lord of Stanehouse. But the erle of Lennor, with the assistance of the earles of Huntley, Montrose, Pentife, Argyle, and others of the French faction in August following, conuicted the young quene with hir mother from Lithgow vnto Strimeling. The cardinall also was there with them latelie before, hauing corrupted his keepers, & gotten abroad at libertie. Herewith was a day appointed and proclaimed for the coronation of the young quene. The earle of Arrane then gouernor, with the earles of Angus, Castles, the lords Marwell, Somerville, and diuerse others, called the English lords, remaining still at Edinburgh, aduertised the king of England of all the drifts of Lennor, and other of that faction, requiring his aduise and counsell how to deale for disappointing of their purposes, that sought to continue the amitie still with France, to the prejudice of peace with England.

The king of Englands doubt.

The king of England aduertised hereof, as well thus from the gouernor, and other the Scottish lords, as also from sir Rafe Sadler, his maiesties ambassador there, doubted greatly least these lords, in whose hands the quene then was, in respect of the fauour which they bare to the French king, should conuie hir over into France: whereupon he requested the gouernor, and the other lords that fauoured his side, so to deale, that she might be sent into England, there to remaine, till the marriage might be consummate betwixt hir and his sonne prince Edward: hauing in the meane time such lords of hir countrie about hir to attend vpon hir, and to see to hir bringing by, as should be thought expedient. To conclude, his maiestie not onelie sent his princelie comfort by waie of counsell and good aduise, but also according to their desire, and as by the duke of Suffolke (his highnes lieutenant then in the north) it was thought expedient.

The lord Wharton. The lord Enners.

Thomas lord Wharton, with two thousand men from the west marches, and the lord Enners with other two thousand from the east borders, were appointed to enter Scotland, and to ioin themselves with the gouernor, and his friends, to assist them against their aduersaries. But as they were in a readinesse to march, through the secret labor of the cardinall, wishing the aduancement of the earle of Arrane his kinsman (whome he thought he should well inough frame to be at his appointment) rather than Lennor that was knowne to be of a greater stomach, the matter was so handled, that by the cardinall and the earle of Huntley of the one part, and the quene Dowager on the other, that the earle of Arrane reuolting from the king of England, came in to the Dowager, and ioined himselfe with the cardinall, and other the lords of the French faction: by reason whereof, they all concluded to mainteine him

The earle of Arrane a faith breaker.

in the estate of lord gouernor, and not to place Lennor, as their purpose was to haue done, if Arrane had continued faithfull to the king of England.

Shortlie after, the young quene was crowned at Strimeling, the cardinall taking vpon him to order things as he thought good, appointing the gouernor to beare the crowne as chiefe person, & next in blood to the quene, and the earle of Lennor to beare the scepter. After the coronation, a parlement was called and holden at Edinburgh, at the which, in presence of the patriarch of Apuleia the popes agent, and of the French kings ambassadors, monsieur la Bzoffe, and monsieur Penage, latelie before come into the realme, the earle of Arrane was newlie confirmed gouernor. And for the sure preferuation (as they pretended) of the young quene, it was agreed by the gouernor and the estates, that she should remaine with the old quene hir mother in Sterling castell, during hir minority, and certeine rents of that feignorie were assigned for maintenance of such traine as was thought expedient to be attendant about hir: and further, the lords Lexington, Erskin, and Fleming (as saith Buchanan) the lord Grams, John Arskine, John Lindseie, & William Lewison were appointed to abide continually with hir, for the better safeguard of hir person.

Thus was euerie thing ordered as seemed to stand with the pleasure of the cardinall. Whereupon the earle of Lennor, perceiuing how incourteouslie he was vsed, to haue his aduersarie thus confirmed in authoritie by the French side, and himselfe reiected, he first sent to the French king, informing him thoroughly of the iniuries to him done, putting him in remembrance of the promises made to him when he departed from him; also the constancie of his seruice, the hazard he had put himselfe in for his sake: and notwithstanding how he was yet unkindlie dealt with, that through trust of his promised aid and assistance, he was brought out of credit in his countrie, and subiected vnder the commandement and authoritie of his enemy, and wrongfullie disappointed of his right, which he looked to haue recovered, and to haue bene mainteined therein by his support.

In consideration whereof, he renounced his seruice, willing him from thenceforth not to looke for the same any more at his hands. Herewith Lennor ioining himselfe with the earles of Angus, Castles, and Glenearne, the lords Marwell, and Somerville, the thirrie of Aire, the lord of Dumlairig, and other of that side, called the English lords, set himselfe against the gouernor, the cardinall, and others of that faction, so that the residue of this yere was spent in ciuill dissention betwene them. And here is to be noted, that a little before that the earle of Arrane reuolted to the French part, there was arrived in the mouth of the riuer of Cloide on the west coast, five ships, which the French king had sent to the aid of his friends in Scotland, vnder the conduction of James Stewart of Cardonoh, and of the forenamed monsieur de la Bzoffe, & monsieur Penage, the French kings ambassadors.

There came with them also the patriarch of Apuleia, of whome ye haue likewise heard before. They had brought aboard in these ships fiftie thousand crownes, and munition to the value of ten thousand crownes. The earle of Lennor therfore, when he first resolved to turne to the English part, with the aduise of his confederats, seized vpon those ships, got the fiftie thousand crownes, and the most part of the munition into his hands, and brought it to the castell of Dunbreton, reseruing it to his owne vse, where it was sent to haue bene imployed to the maintenance of the French faction, against the king of England, and the lords that leaned to his side.

The coronation of quene Marie.

A parlement.

The patriarch of Apuleia.

Order for the custodie of the quene.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Lennor his displeasure.

He renounced his seruice to the French king.

Ciuill dissention betwene them.

French ships arriving in the riuer of Cloide.

The earle of Lennor seized vpon the French ships.

The earle of Lennor raised an armie.

An appointment taken. Pledges deliuered.

The earle of Lennor cometh to the gouernor. He departed from him againe.

He fortifieth Glasgow. Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 468. 1543. Lesle.

The men of faction verno the di Hunt ken b Geo: his by carne bat to rer uerri Eder, earle no: b Glal gent bling frier lord earl the e Bul dait ter i The Bu bar ther per peo of (ner Le the wa to hol to flao:) an qu sig the son cal for all mu cle tol spe wa the ne of lo: (se ue fri ce th te ni th to he co

The earle of
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The coronation
of quene
Marie.

A parliament.

The patri-
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ria.

Order for the
custodie of the
quene.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of
Lennor his
displeasure.

He renoun-
ceth his ser-
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Civil dissen-
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Fr. Thin.
Lesseus lib. 10.
pag. 468.
1542. Lesle.

The earle of Lennor therefore, raising a power of men of warre with the assistance of the lords of his faction, came with them vnto Leith against the gouernor: that was then in Edinburgh: but through the diligent trauell of the cardinall, the earles of Huntley, Murray, and Argyle, the matter was taken by, and an appointment accorded: so that sir George Dowglas was deliuered as a pledge for his brother the earle of Angus, the maister of Glencarne for his father the earle of Glencarne, the abbat Cassaghole for his brother the earle of Cassiles, to remaine in safe keeping where it pleased the gouernor to appoint. The earle of Lennor came vnto Edinburgh to the gouernor, but within six daies after, they went both to Lithquho, from whence the earle of Lennor secretly departed from the gouernor without bidding him farewell, and comming to Glasgow, fortified the castell.

When the gouernor had receiued true intelligence that the earle had taken Glasgow, he assembling such power as he could make, as well of his friends and followers, as of others, especiallie of the lord Boid, went vnto Glasgow, in which place the earle of Glencarne had before placed his armie, to the end there to trie the matter with his enemies. But before the battell, the earle of Lennor had withdrawen himselfe vnto Dunbretton, to gather a greater assemblie, shortly after to returne to Glasgow. The earle of Glencarne, with Tilbarne, Housstone, Buchanan, Macfarlane, Dumquhassile, and other barons and nobles of the Lennor, Ramfrie, and other places adioining, with the citizens, ecclesiasticall persons of all orders, and the other sort of common people, departed out of the towne to the plaine thereof (being a mile from the towne) there to trie the event of battell (before the comming of the earle of Lennor) more in haste than good speed. Whereupon the gouernor (perceiuing himselfe to be drawne forward to battell) commanded the trumpets to sound to the alarmes. Whereupon the battels ioined, the hostes began to fight violently, and the conflict grew to be extreme on both parts: in which (with great slaughter) they long time fought with vncertaine victorie.

But in the end (what with the force of his armie, and the encouragement of the capteine) the full conquest fell to the gouernor, who put his enemies to flight. At what time, of the fauourers of the Lennor there were manie slaine, partlie of the nobles (as the sonne of the earle of Glencarne, and Donniepermie capteine of the footmen) and partlie of the common sort (as the citizens of Glasgow, and manie ecclesiasticall persons.) Besides all which, there had manie more perished, if the gouernor (through his naturall clemencie) had not (when the victorie began to leane towards him) giuen a signe of retreat, & with much speed saued manie of them. On the gouernors part were few missing, except Cambusketh (the head of that familie) and the baron of Argentine. The gouernor pursuing this victorie, entered the towne of Glasgow, where he used (by the persuation of the lord Boid) wonderfull fauour towards the citizens, (farre beyond their deserts) although that he depriued some (of the chiefest condition amongst them) from all the use and benefit of their goods.

The earle of Lennor remaining at Dunbar, receiued into the castell the earle of Glencarne, and others, which had escaped the battell, who sometime after did rest (being feared with the ouerthrow) from a nie further tumultes or troubles. But in the end, they which fauoured the Lennor, do afresh stirre him to take weapen against the gouernor: whereupon he both restrengthen the towne and steeple of Glasgow, determining to gather a new supplie, and once

more to cast the dice of war. But the gouernor (minding to prevent all his inuasions by wise counsell) did (being accompanied with the cardinall) call to him about Glasgow, all the nobilitie of the fourth parts, and (bringing forth the hired souldiours) commanded the great peeces to be planted against the enimie. Whereupon (entering the towne) he besieged the castell and steeple of the church (in which place were both Scots and Frenchmen) and in the end (after a slaughter of some of them) enforced the other to yield their forts. After that the castell was thus come into the gouernors hands, he hanged eightene of the chiefest and best loued vnto Lennor, and permitted the rest to depart at libertie. The earle of Lennor (vnderstanding that his affaires began to wauer, and to obtaine such euill successe) doth send the earle of Angus and the lord Marwell to the gouernor, to treat of peace betwene him and the earle of Lennor, the which they laboured with great diligence, according to the trust reposed in them.]

But the gouernor caused them both to be secretly conueied from the counsell by the backside of the blacke friers of Glasgow, vnto the castell of Hamilton, and from thence the earle was sent to Blackenelle. The lord Marwell was kept still in hold at Hamilton, and George Dowglas, and the maister of Glencarne in Edinburgh castell. These persons thus imprisoned stood in great doubt of their liues (as some supposed:) but as diuerse other did suspect, they were rather committed for a colour, than for a nie euill that was meant towards them. Howsoeuer it was with them, the earle of Lennor by the aduise of his friends sent the earle of Glencarne, and a gentleman called Thomas Bishop, vnto the king of England with offer of his seruice, and request to haue in marriage the ladie Margaret Dowglas daughter to the Earle of Angus, and niece to the said king.

Herevnto the king granted. For the personance whereof (and the dispatch of other things) he sent the lord Wharton and diuerse others. And on the earles part, the bishop of Cathnes his brother and the earle of Glencarne were appointed, who met at Carleill to performe the agreement. The quene, the cardinall, and the other of the French faction, did helpe the gouernor all they might, with counsell, power, and monie; because they perceiued that he repented such friendship with England as he had taken in hand by the counsell of Angus and of others: In the meane time there was a parliament assembled at Strueling, in which by common consent, the earle of Lennor was condemned of treason; wherefore the sentence of banishment was executed against him, and all his goods with his patrimonie were confiscat to the quene. Whilste the French king was ascertained that Lennor had forsaken his faction, & committed himselfe to the king of England, he suddenly committed to prison John Stewart lord of Aubigne baron in France, brother to the earle of Lennor, and depriued the said John Stewart of all such honors and offices as he possessed in France. For he was generall capteine of all the Scottish lands in France, being either such as had gard of the kings bodie, or bowmen, or men at armes: for the king of France hath Scots in wages of all the orders.

But let vs now returne to the Patriarch, who was honorablie receiued by the cardinall and the bishop of Scotland into the citie of Glasgow: during whose abode there, great contention arose betwene the cardinall and the archbishop of Glasgow, who should in that citie be of greatest authoritie and honor. Which in the end came to this issue, that both families fell together by the eares, which of them should go before

The earle of
Angus and
the lord Mar-
well commit-
ted to ward.

Mens opini-
ons for the
imprisoning
of the earle of
Angus.

1544.
The earle of
Lennor send-
eth to the
king of Eng-
land.

Fr. Thin.
Lesseus lib. 10.
pag. 470.

foze with his crosse bozne byright. For the cardinall archbishop of saint Andrews and pimat of the kingdome, did affirme that the archbishop of Glasgowe should not haue his crosse bozne in his owne church, so long as the cardinall was present. Which the seruants of the archbishop of Glasgowe toke in such disdain, that they plucked downe the cardinals crosse and threw it to the ground. Whereupon, the gouernor (vnderstanding the whole matter, and that it was now come from wordes to swordes) made hast to appease this factious commotion, & caused the Patriarch therewith to be brought to Edinburgh accompanied with the clergie, where he remained all the winter following. In which towne he was honozable entertained and feasted of the quene, the gouernor, and other of the nobles, whome he requited with the like courtisie.

Amongest these of the nobilitie, the earle of Spurrey had the Patriarch on a day to a banquet, in which this Spurrey did shew an honozable thing not accustomed amongst others. For where he abounded in store of silver vessels, yet he commanded his seruants to furnish a great cupbord with christall glasses brought from Venice, & that in the midst of dinner he should ouerturne the cupbord as it were unwillinglie. Which the seruant at the time appointed did performe. The noise of breaking of which glasses did suddenlie fill the eares of all the companie: and the Patriarch seeing the hurt, was somewhat moued. But the earle making no account of this thing, commanded his man straight to furnish the same cupbord with as manie and fairer vessels of glasse than the former were, to the Patriarchs great admiration. For the Patriarch affirmed that the glasses of Spurance and Venice did not anie way excell these. Truelie this earle of Spurrey was honozable, wise, iust, and famous amongst manie princes for his manifold vertues, & manie ambassages most happilie performed amongst them. Who shortly after this, departing the court, died of the Stone at his castle in Turnwaie.

This Patriarch shewed to the gouernor (besides other priuileges that he had from the see of Rome) his great authoritie, in that he was legat from the popes side, amongst the Scots, as long as he remained there. Which office, when he departed to Rome, he procured to be transferred to the cardinal; at what time the Patriarch also in the name of the pope, did promise much helpe, and monte to be sent to Scotland against England. For he studied by all means he could, to hinder the mariage of those two kingdomes: because he suspected thereby, that some alteration might be made in Scotland touching the religion; with the ouerthrow of churches and monasteries. Now, after that the Patriarch had remained all the winter in Scotland, he departed from thence in March, who as he was honozable entertained in all places, so he spared not to recount to the French king and other princes (whome he visited in his tourneie) the humanitie he found in Scotland, which he also imparted to the bishop of Rome, to the other cardinals, & to the senat of Venice; not without singular praise and honor to the Scottish nation.

They that were sent, to solicited the earles cause, that in the end the king was persuaded that Lennor ought of right to haue the gouernement of the realme of Scotland, and to be second person in the same. And herewith, in consideration how vniustlie not onelie his maiestie had bene dealt with, but also how vniustfullie and discourteouslie Lennor had bene vied, both at the hands of the French king, and also of his adherents in Scotland, by the cardinal & others: he both thankfullie receiued his gentle offer of seruice, & also promised to aid him in his

title and all other lawfull causes: and herewith prepared an armie to passe into Scotland by sea, appointing the earle of Hertford, and the lord Lisle to haue the conduction of the same, who shipping at Linmouth with their people, arrived in the Forth vnder Wierdie castell, a mile & a halfe above Leith the third of Maie, the whole nauie containing about the number of two hundred ships. Here at Peterhaven, a quarter of a mile from the said castell, they landed their armie of ten thousand men of warre, with great artillerie, and all kind of munition.

The lord gouernor being at that present within the towne of Edinburgh, hearing of their arrival, went forth of the towne accompanied with the cardinal, the earles of Huntley, Argyle, Bothwell, and others, purposing to stop their landing: but perceiving the puillance of the aduersaries to be such, as they could not resist the same, they returned to Edinburgh againe, and sent maister Adam Otterbozne prouost of Edinburgh, and two of the balliues to the earle of Hertford, to vnderstand the cause of his coming; and withall offered, that if there were anie injuries or wrongs done by anie of the Scots nation, he would appoint commissioners to talke with such as by him should be authorized thereto, for the full answering thereof, & to that effect he would gladlie receiue them into the towne of Edinburgh.

The earle of Hertford answered that he had no commission to talke of anie such matter; but rather to take reuenge of the vniust dealing and breach of promise on those that had falsified their faith. And therefore minding to burne the towne of Edinburgh, as well as other within that realme, he willed the inhabitants and all those that were within the same to come forth, and submit themselves before him the kings lieutenant, to stand vnto the kings will and pleasure, or else he would not faile to proceed in execution thereof. The prouost answered that he would rather abide all extremities, than accomplish his request and desire in that behalfe; and thereupon returned to the towne.

After the gouernor had heard what answer was made to the prouost, he caused the castell to be furnished with all things necessarie for defense, and departed straightwaies to Striueling. The English armie lodging that night in Leith, marched the next day toward Edinburgh, passing by the Cannogat street to enter at the nether bow, where they found some resistance made by the Scots, so that diuerse were slaine on both parts. Towards night, the Englishmen, after they had continued long in skirmishing that day with the Scottishmen, retired to Leith. The next day the whole armie with the great artillerie came forward towards the towne, and breaking open the Cannogat, they entred the towne by the same, bringing their ordinance within sight of the castell, purposing to plant the same in batterie against it; but the capitaine of the castell caused the artillerie within to shot off at them in so great abundance, & so good measure, that they slue diuerse Englishmen, and dismounted one of their peeces, so that in the end they were constrained to draw backe their ordinance & retired; but yet in the meane time they set fire on the towne, and burnt the most part of all the houses in the same. They burnt also the Cannogat street, and the abbete of Holie rood house. The gouernor at that present released out of prison the earle of Angus, the lord Sparwell, the maister of Glencarne, sir George Douglas, and others.

In this meane time also there came from the borders by land foure thousand of English horsemen, vnder the conduction of the lord William Criers, and his sonne sir Rafe Criers; who joining with the armie at Leith, scolyzed the countrie on euery

The king of England meaneth to aid the earle of Lennor.

The English armie landeth by Leith.

The earle of Lennor.

Fr. Thin. Lellus lib. 10. pag. 474. 1544.

The prouost of Edinburgh sent to the earle of Hertford.

The earles answer.

Edinburgh entred by force.

See more hercof in England.

Edinburgh burnt.

Prisoners set at libertie.

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Buchanan. lib. 15.

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the first of Edinburgh. Finally, after the English
army had been in Leith a certain space, they burnt
that tower also, and from their ships staid freight
with peltry and jewels, got as well in that tower,
as at Edinburgh, and staid in the country, bairn
parties English and French, the earle of Here-
ford, the lord Schireburn, and others, returned by land
through the country into Scotland, as in the Eng-
lish history more at large appeareth. Whilst the
English army was thus occupied in that part of
Scotland, the earle of Lennox with an army of men
which he had raised, was ready to march on the backs
of the government and his adherents, if they had assen-
bled their forces, and come forward to have given
the Englishmen battle: for all this reason the civil
contentions still continued, and sundry combats and
battles shewed between the parties.

The Scots which inhabit the mountains, and
the hills, did now in these tumults begin to shew
some tokens of their insolence. For they which
paid tribute in the time of James the first,
began to exorbitate within the bounds of law, and
well observed the government did not after they saw all
things on a flame, begin againe to spoil and de-
stroy their neighbours, in the same bittering the bo-
ma of their naturall disposition. Whereupon the go-
vernment, considering their boldness, called unto him
George Gordon earle of Huntly, and the earle of
Argyle, whereof he made the one governor of the
north parts of Scotland, of the Orkneys, and Shet-
land; and to the other, he committed the rule of Ar-
gyle, and the Isles Hebrides. Whereupon Huntly
with all speed gathered an army from the north
parts, and determined to baidle the Glencourons,
the Glencairns, the Spuarde, the Spuarde,
both for and against. The captains or heads of
which families, were John Allan, Ronald Mac-
donald, and John Spuarde, who did possesse the
lands of the lord Grant, and Lordet, having expelled
them by force from the same.

But when they first understood that Huntly had
incamped near unto them, they first curie one
home to their owne possessions: which being de-
fended partly by the west sea, and partly included about
with the mountains, stopped Huntly, so that he
might not have any passage unto them: by means
whereof these divisions being banished, the lords
Grant and Lordet were restored to their right in-
heritance. But it fell out contrarie for Lordet, who
going to take his owne into his hands, fell into dan-
ger of his enemies. For at that time both the com-
panies were disposed into such order, that neither par-
ty could abstaine from fight. Whereupon they first
discharge their bodies one against another, and their
arrows spent, they after sue to their swords, with
which they fought so eagerly, that the night cutting
off the battell, it could not be well knowne to which
part the victorie place. In which there was so
great slaughter on both parts, that till the next mor-
ning in burying the dead bodies, the victors were
not knowne. Amongst whom of the part of the
Glencourons and Spuarde there were manie
slaine.

But by reason of the death of the lord Lordet, and
of his sonne and heire (a youth of singular hope, and
brought up in France) with three hundred of the
blood and surname of the Fraisers (for Lordet was
the head and leader of that familie) the hurt seemed
to be the greater on their part. For there was a ru-
mour spread, that there was not one of the familie of
the Fraisers left alive that was of mans state. But
it happened by the singular benefit of God, that they
left their wives with child when they went to the
fight, by which means the familie was after raised

and restored. Huntly greatly grieving that the
Fraisers had received this grievous wound, gather-
ed a power together, and with him to partake
with his friends, that he take and beheaded
John Allan and Ronald, with sundry others, and
put the rest in prison. The earle of Argyle discharged
the office committed to him as well as Huntly did
and with more happy success, for all the Glencourons
humblely submitted themselves unto him, and with
many pledges to him quietly hereafter.

About this time the earle of Lennox, accompa-
nied with Alexander the master of Chancery, o-
therwise called lord of Ballintrae, William Graham
brother to the earle of Montrose, Sir John Forth
with knight, and sundry other gentlemen, take the
sea to passe into England, and arrived at Willester.
After about 30 dayes: passing from thence to the
court, he was instantly received. And immediately
thereupon was the marriage celebrated between him
and the lady Margaret Douglas, daughter to the
earle of Angus, and to Margaret his wife
quene of Scots. Sister to King Henry the eight, at
that time there was allowed to him by way of im-
bursement, lands to the value of seven hundred marks
of purche rent of assise in consideration of this ma-
riage with the kings niece, and in recompense of
lands lost by him in France, to the which he was in-
herited after the death of Robert Stewart lord
Dorset, one of the four marshalls of France.

Afterward, King Henry being now upon his
returne towards Wallongne, advised for the avoidance
of his highness enemies in Scotland, as for recou-
erie of the said earles right in that realm, appointed
the said earle to enter Scotland in the month of Au-
gust, accompanied with Sir John Spaulfield, Sir Je-
mies Spertus knight, master Thomas Anderton, ma-
ster Thomas Wikes, old master Winter coun-
trollor of the kings ships, and his sonne Sir William
Winter that now is, and sundry other capitans, ha-
ving under their charge two hundred backbutters,
two hundred archers with long bowes, and two hun-
dred armed pikers, beside the mariners belonging to
those ships that were appointed to go forth on this
voyage being in number about sixe or seaventeene
saile, belonging to Bristow, and other of the west
parts.

Upon their arrivall on the coast of Scotland, they
burnt the Isle of Arrane, and rased the governments ca-
stell there to the ground. And afterwards arriving
at the Isle of Bute, they entered the same, and take
the castell of Kilsay standing therein from whence
the Stewards kings of Scotland had their origi-
nall: the capitans they had about prisoner with them
into England. Here also they took two French
ships laden with wines, and this done they entered
the Firth of Clyde, thinking to find none but their
friends in the castell of Dumbarton. But true it is,
that in this meane time the earle of Glenearne with
sundry gentlemen being left in that castell, with the
captaine thereof called Houston, to keepe it in the
name and to the behaife of the earle of Lennox, were
in his absence perswaded thorough practise of the
quene Dowager, not only to renounce their promi-
sed faith to him, in defrauding him of that castell;
but also to intrap and bind him within their dan-
ger to take him prisoner.

For this purpose they so dissembled the matter,
that they had got him on land onchie with three hun-
dred men: and so farre forth they were grolone in
saile, that the earle of Lennox being entered into the
castell with a few other with him, the morie was
laid downe on the board, to be paid to the captaine for
his satisfaction. But in the meane time, the earle of
Lennox, & such as were with him, perceiving some
treasonable

Such a
land that
humane as
was humane,
was governed
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Fraisers.

The earle of
Lennox goeth
into England

The marriage
betweene Hen-
ry and Mar-
garet.

Lord Dorn.

The earle of
Lennox re-
turneth into
Scotland.

The Isle of
Bute taken.

The earle of
Lennox in
danger to be
betrayed and
taken.

Redeareth
the monu-
ments of the
Dowglas.

Fr. Thin:
Buchan. lib. 15

and left their beds and all their household furniture which they had in those there with them, not having time to conueie it awaie at their departure, their warning was so short. Sir Rafe Cuers at his coming thither, finding them fled and gone, spoiled the towne and abbete, vterlie defacing the tomes and monuments of the earles of Dowglas, greatlie to the displeasure of the earle of Angus, and those of his linage.

After this (the coming of the English being looked for the next yere) the minds of the borderers were greatlie troubled, because they were hopelesse to attaine anie succor from the gouernour, which vsed the aduise of the clergie, but chiefe of the cardinall. Whereupon Archembald Dowglas earle of Angus (greatlie moued partlie with his priuat losses, for he had great possessions in the marches, and in Tufot, and partlie to see his ancestors monuments defaced) came to the gouernour, and fullie laid before him the greatnesse of the danger wherein the realme did stand, perswading him to incounter and resist the same. At what time also (after the gouernour had opened vnto him, that he was forsaken of the nobilitie, and now left alone) the Dowglas shewed that the same happened vnto him by his owne fault, and not by the nobilitie, which would impleie their lincs, linings, and goods, for the defense of the common-wealth. For he contemning their counsell, onlie leaned to the spiritualetie, who were cowards in warre, and seditious in peace.

Out of this founteine (saith he) a suspicion (that you dare not trust one another) is growne betwene you and them, which is the onelie cause why things are no better performed. But if you determine (in great affaires) to take the aduise of them (who will not refuse to spend their blood therein) I doubt not but that we shall be able to erecute as great matters as euer our ancestors did: but if we shall (by our sloth) permit the enemie to take all things from vs, then of necessitie will follow, that either they shall shortly banish vs, or bring vs into perpetuall seruitude: the inconueniencies of anie of which cannot well be spoken. As touching our selues I know that thou art suspected to be a coward, and I a traitor, which reproch if thou thinke to purge (for thou canst not auoid it) prepare to cleare the same, not with painted speeches, but with bloudie weapons.)

Fr. Thin.

Whereupon the gouernour and the said earle (soe aggrieved to be thus foiled at the Englishmens hands) assembled together [vnder the leading of] Porzman Lesle son of the earle of Rothseie all such forces as they might recouer, so that they had quicklie got them about fiftene hundred men, whereof eight hundred at the least were gentlemen. Who hearing that the Englishmen were retiring towards Jedworth, they met them at a place called Pannier hugh, or Bownehouse, where both the parties alighting on foot, went to trie the quarell by plaine force of hand. But as they were redy to ioine, the assured Scots, to the number of seuen or eight hundred revolted vnto the part of their countremen, by reason whereof, after a right sharpe and fierce conflict, the Englishmen in the end were constrained to flee, whome the Scots right egerlie pursued, slue sir Rafe Cuers, the lord Dgle, sir Brian Lelton, and other gentlemen & souldiours to the number of eight hundred. They took also about two thousand prisoners, with certeine peces of artillerie and other munition.

This victorie fell to the Scots the seventeenth day of Februarie, the report whereof was right displeasing to the English nation, but speciallie the losse of that worthy gentleman sir Rafe Cuers was greatlie bemoaned, and that euent of the king

himselfe, for the noble prowesse and great loialtie which at all times had bene found in him. His seruice had bene such in these wars against Scotland, that he had brought the more part of the Scots within twentie miles space of the English borders, vnto the obedience of the king of England, although at length they holpe to worke his confusion, as before ye haue heard. ¶ Of this gentleman & his singular seruice in the field, I omit here to speake, because he was impleied otherwise, besides Scotland: where, for I remit the readers to the twentieth yere of king Henrie the eight, where to his high commendation this gentleman is recorded.]

The occasion of the English onerthrow (as saith Lesleus) and the Scots victorie, were chiefe by these meanes. First they fought vpon equall ground, and with vnequall helpees. For the Scots with the sunne on their backs (being declined toward setting) came forth of a narrow & marish place, and set vpon the English (at the side of an hill which was betwene them) having the sun in their faces, by which meanes they could neither well perceiue what number the Scots had, nor with their gunnes hurt anie of the Scots. But those that fought in the first battell, wherevnto was ioined (a feare not in vaine) which they had conceiued of the Scottish march-men, who in great number having red crosses (the note of the English) ran vp and downe hither and thither to see the euent thereof.)

About the same time that the victorie before mentioned chanced to the Scots, Robert Corncose bishop of Ross departed this life, to whome succeeded David Pantane, secretarie to the gouernour and priour of saint Marie Ile. In Aprill, William Steward bishop of Aberdeen likewise deceased, and maister William Gordon chancelor of Spurreie, uncle to George erle of Huntie, was by the cardinals sute promoted to that see, greatlie to the displeasure of the earle of Angus, that labored to haue preferred an other thereto. For this and other causes, the cardinall was greatlie in hatred of the Dowglas.

About that time, the king of England by pisse & pries perswaded the Flemings to take sirraene of our ships harborred in the haven, and to conuert the commodities (wherewith they were fraught, being verie costlie) to their owne commoditie. By means whereof at one time we had warres with two nations, England and Flanders. But sith the Flemings did not the same maliciously for hatred to the Scots, but carefullie for the loue vnto the English, as the Scots did certeinlie know, they shewed none other token of enimitie to the Flemings, but that they forbade them to fish on their coasts, and did sometimes intercept their ships, without further iniurie done vnto them.)

This yere also, Montgomerie, otherwise called monsieur de Lozges, knight of the order of saint Michael, was sent by the French king with foure thousand frenchmen into Scotland to assist the Scots against England. He landed at Dunbretton, & came in good order to Edinburgh the thirtieth of Maie: he brought with him from the French king the order of saint Michael, to inuest therewith the lord gouernour, the earles of Angus, Huntie, and Argile. Herewith also was an armie of Scots raised, and ioining with the frenchmen, they approached the borders, where they laie for a season: but the earle of Hertford lieutenant generall of the north parts comming downe, took such direction for the safe keeping of the English borders, that after the Scots had laine there in campe a certeine space without atchiuing anie great enterprife, though some notable exploit was looked for to haue bene attempted by them at that present, they brake vp their armie & went home.

I. i.

* This

his seruice
against the
Scots.

Ab. Fl.

Fr. Thin:
Buchan. lib. 10.
pag. 478.

Death of his
shops.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus. lib. 10.
pag. 479.

1545. Buch.
Monsieur de
Lozges sent
into Scots-
land.

Knights of
saint Mich-
aels order.

An armie of
Scots lieth
on the borders

dir Peter
Hewiss.

1545.
dir Rafe Cuers
inuaith
Scotland.

1544. Lesle.
Buchanan.

dir Rafe Cuers
& others
slaine.

The historie of Scotland.

* This castell of Dunbreton was at that time so carefullie kept by the captein therof, that he determined neither to deliuer it to the gouernor, nor to anie Englishman, nor to anie Scot. Whereupon, the gouernor fearing least it should fall into the hands of the English, prepare to besiege the same; the newes therof comming to Glencarne, he signified the same vnto Lennor, affirming, that if he would come thither, he should shortly obtaine the castell. The king of England reioicing of that newes, prepareth two ships, and in the meane time sent the bishop of Cathnessie into Scotland, which should forthwith be receiued into the castell. Wherefore the gouernor making the more hast, commeth to Dunbreton together with the cardinal, and the earles Huntley, and Argyle, laing present siege to the same, which was stronglie done, and the castilains pressed to great extremitie by the slaughter of manie people. But at length by the policie of the earle Huntley, it was so agreed, that the castell (which was by nature inexpugnable) should be deliuered. Which the gouernor receiued (with certeine conditions) and honorable intreated the captein for the singular discharge of the trust committed to him: and therewithall he restored the bishop of Cathnessie, brother to the earle of Lennor to his bishopricke, which before he had lost by his going into England.)

Frenchmen
and Scots
worthworne.

The fiftenth of September, three or foure hundred Scots, with Harwell, Lochinuar, and Johnstone, aided with the Frenchmen, attempted to enter into England on the east borders: but the Englishmen perceiuing where they were about to passe by a certeine streit, they set vpon them with their archers, discomfited them, slaying, & taking to the number of seuen score of them. Among other that were taken, one of the sonnes to the lord Hume, with a French capteine, and George Elphinston archer of the corps to the French king, were accounted chiefe. Also on the west borders, Robert Harwell eldest son to the lord Harwell, was taken in a rode made by him and others, into the English confines on that side; although at an other time certeine Englishmen making a rode into Scotland were distressed, the more part of them being taken or slaine. At a parliament holden at Linlithgow, begun there the twentieth eight of September, and continued till the first of October, what the earle of Lennor, and Thomas bishop of Etheltra, were consulted, and all their lands and goods giuen auaile and annexed to the crowne.

The earle of
Lennor pro-
cureth them of
the Isles to
serue the king
of England.

In this meane time, the king of England desirous to haue the seruite of the Isles of Scotland for sundrie great causes and respects, moued the earle Lennor to deale with them to that end: which he did. And his trauell toke such effect, that the Island men were contented to rest at the king of England his deuotion, partly for that they were in a manner sworne enemies to the earle of Argyle, and his familie; and partly for that they doubted the king of Englands puissance, if he should attempt to inuade those parties: and againe, bearing an old speciall fauour to the earle of Lennor and his house, hauing an ancient bond of alliance and amitie with the same, they were the more readie to satisfie his motion. Whereupon, they elected amongst them a lord of the Isles, the next of blood: a title long since verie odious to the state of Scotland, and by the inducement of the earle of Lennor, he was contented as the king of Englands pensioner, to receiue two thousand crownes of him yereleie, with certeine rich apparell of cloth of gold and siluer from the said earle.

The lord of
the Isles elec-
ted, being one
of the Mac-
donells.

The first profe he attempted to shew of his seruice in the king of Englands behalfe, was this. Hauing instructions thereto from the earle of Lennor, vnder colour of conference for matters touching

the estate of the countrie, he had suborned one of his alliance and seruants, called the clane Reginald, to intrap the earles of Argyle and Huntley. And although they escaped verie narrowly, the lord Lennor an ancient baron, & great friend to those two earles, was slaine by the said clane, together with seuen hundred of his kinsmen and friends: insomuch that there remained not but one yong boy of that linage to succede in that lords lands [which is before more fullie handled out of Lesseus.]

Clane Regi-
nald sleeth
the lord Len-
nor.

Fr.Thin.

After this, the lord of the Isles, with six thousand men imbarcked in certeine vessels, passed ouer into Carrike, harried and burnt the lands of the earle of Castles, then a great enimie to the king of England. In this voyage he got great spoiles, and flaunerie of the enimies. After which enterprize so achieved, he came with his power by sea, and landed in Ireland, where the earles of Lennor and Desmond were, with twelue hundred Irishmen, appointed to loine with him, that with their whole power they might inuade the earle of Argyles countries, & consequently the maine land of Scotland at the broad side. But before the preparation could be made ready for that voyage, the new lord of the Isles deceased, whose buriall in Ireland to honor the earle of Lennor, stood the king of England in foure hundred pounds sterling.

The lord of
the Isles in-
uadeth Car-
rike.He commeth
into Ireland.He departed
this life.

But now to returne vnto the doings on the borders betwixt England and Scotland in this season. We shall vnderstand, that after the armie of Scotland was broken by, the earle of Hertford by vertue of his commission, raised an armie in the countries of the further side of Trent northwards; so that when the same was assembled together, with such strangers as were then in the kings wages, they were in all of horsemen and footmen twelue thousand fighting men. With this armie garded with great store of artillerie, munition, and all manner of furniture necessarie, the earle of Hertford entered Scotland, and marching to Coldingham, pass by by the water of Tweed, and burnt a great part of the Mers, and Tindale, the abbetes of Kelso, Melrose, Dryburgh, and Jedworth, with townes & villages, to the number of fife score.

But eight
thousand, as
some say.The earle of
Hertford in-
uadeth Scot-
land.

Howbeit, he entered not farre within the said countrie beyond the said water, but kept alongest nere to the same, and returned backe without anie encounter: for after the Scottish armie was broken by, it was not like they would assemble againe, and so the earle of Hertford taking the time that serued his purpose, soe indamaged the Scottish borders at that present. Manie other small inuasions were made, as well by the one part as the other, and some skirmishes fell out betwixt them, sometime to the losse of the Scottish, and sometime of the English, according to the course of warre.

Fr.Thin.
Buchanan lib. 15.

* Much about this time, or rather before, Robert Harwell the sonne of Robert (a yong man of singular vertue) was taken by the English. Besides which there was nothing done worthy the memorie, but that in the beginning of the next winter Spontgonerie returned into France. After this, the cardinal leade the gouernor about the nere countries, vnder colour to reconcile such parties as were at dissention: then they came first to Perth, where foure men were punished for eating flesh on forbidden daies: from thence they went to Dundee called Loathene (to vse the name of the place, as Buchanan hath) to punish (as they said) such as vsed the late new testament of Luthers translation. Whither came also Patrike Greie (the head of a noble familie in those parts) accompanied with a good traine, together with the erle of Rothesie, being before that commanded to be there by the gouernor, after the pacifying of the other

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ther tumults. But the cardinall (supposing it small safetie to receive at one time two such noble and factions persons added to the restored religion, into the towne) wrought with the gouernor that he and they might go backe to Berth.

The next morning, when those two noblemen (redie for the iourneie) understood that the gouernor was on his waie towards Berth, they presentlie followed him. Who being come in sight, did strike such feare into the cardinall, that the gouernor commanded them to sunder themselves, and severallie to enter the citie: which they did. Whereupon the next day they were both committed to prison. But Kothseie being shortly deliuered, Greie (whome they hated more, and feared most) was kept longer in that restraint. But before they parted thence, it seemed good to the cardinall to abate the strength of Ruthwen capitaine of the towne. For which cause, the gouernor taketh his office from him, and bestoweth the same vpon Rinfane Comarck, neighbor and kinsman to Greie. For this Ruthwen was a great enimie to the cardinall, and much fauored the restored religion: as likewise was Greie, who after the same sort did not beare a friendlie mind to the cardinall, nor to his religion.

By reason whereof, the cardinall supposed, that if he might set them (by this meanes) together by the eares (with manie of both parts would ioine for defence of the chiefe of their families) and that if ante side had the towne (as both must be diminished) that then he had by so much abated the power of one of his enimies. Upon which occasion the gouernement of Berth (which had by manie descents remained in the familie of the Ruthwens) might be thus translated to Rinfane. Thus the new capitaine was sent with a power to subdue the citizens by force, if they would not willingly obeie: as it seemed that they would not; because they took it with some grieue, to haue (in this new capitaine) the old libertie of voices (in choosing of their gouernor) taken from them. The besieging of the towne being therefore diuided into parts, Greie (which had whole taken the matter on him) attempted the overthrow thereof, from the bridge of Taie. The other band (hauing laid their artillerie along by the riuer ouer against the towne) did invade the open side of the said Berth.

But because the swelling of the sea did not answer their deuse, they came not in time to doe anie thing therein. Greie assailing it by the bridge (which Ruthwen hauing receiued, and conueied the aid into the next houses, would seeme to leaue vngarded) when he saw no armed men stirring, did (without all feare) enter further into the towne, where he was so sharplie set vpon by Ruthwen, and his companie (suddenlie and vnlooked for) breaking out of the houses vpon them) that euerie one hastened to spie some place by which he might flee awaie. But the multitude confused and diuised into a streit, did let one another thereof. For they behind, thinking to breake in amongst the other, did hinder the first that they could not flee: in which vnzorderlie multitude, manie were trodden vnder foot, and three score were killed with the sword.

The cardinall (although against his mind) hauing heard of the victorie of Ruthwen; yet he did not greatlie lament the slaughter made of his aduersaries. After this, the cardinall hauing thus sufficientlie progressed to Angus: he led the gouernor after the fourteenth of December to saint Andrews, to the end (if it were possible) to bind the gouernor more firmelie vnto him. For although before he had the gouernors sonne as pledge with him; yet (as often as he remembered the eagerneesse

of the Scottish nobilitie, the strength of his enimies, and the inconstancie of the gouernor) he greatlie feared, least the said gouernor should with like lightnesse be drawn to assist his enimies, as he had bene led to take his part. During the time whilist they were at saint Andrews, the cardinall caused in the Lent season all the bishops & prelates of the realme to assemble at the towne of saint Andrews, where a learned man, named master George Wishart, that had bene in the scholes of Germanie, was accused of heresie, which he had (as was alleged against him) publikelie preached, and priuatlie taught in Dundee, Brechin, and diuerse other parts of Scotland, since his returne home. This matter was so bzged against him, that he was conuict, and burnt there in the towne of saint Andrews during the time of that conuention or assemblee.

When these things were thus done, the cardinall, although he greatlie trusted to his riches; yet because he was not ignorant what were the minds of men, & what speeches the common people had of him) determined to increase his power with new deuises. Wherefore he goeth into Angus, and marieth his eldest daughter (as saith Buchanan) to the earle of Crauford's sonne. Which marriage was solemnized with great preparation, almost answerable to kinglie magnificence. During which time, the cardinall vnderstanding by his spies, that the English did prepare to invade the Scottish borders on the sea (and speciallie did threaten those of Jfife therewith) returned to saint Andrews, and appointed a day to the nobilitie, and such as dwelled about the sea coasts, to assemble together to provide in common for the defense thereof, and to prepare remedie for that hastened euill. For the easier and better performance whereof, he had determined, together with the lords of that countrie, to haue sailed himselfe about the coasts, and to haue defended such places as were most conuenient.

Amongest others that came vnto him, there was a noble young gentleman called Rozman Leslie, sonne to the earle of Kothseie, whereof we haue spoken before manie times. This man (after that he had manie times employed his valiant and faithfull diligence in the behalfe of the cardinall) grew to some contention with the said cardinall for a priuat cause, which for a time did estrange both their minds the one from the other. This same contention did Rozman (being thereto induced with manie faire promises) afterwards let fall. But certeine moneths following (when he returned to demand the performance of such liberall promises) they began to grow from common speech to brawlings, and from thence to bitter taunts & reproches, not fit to be vsed by anie of them both. Whereupon they departed with the grained minds of euerie of them. For the cardinall being intreated more vnreuerentlie than he would or looked for; and the other threatening that being overtaken by deceit, he would reuenge it: they both returned discontented to their owne people. Whereupon Rozman, declaring to his partakers the intollerable arrogancie of the cardinall, they easilie agreed all to conspire his death. Wherefore, to the end that the same might be lesse suspected, they departed in sunder afterward. This Rozman accompanied onelie with five of his owne traine, entered the towne of saint Andrews, and went into his accustomed Anne and lodging; trusting that by such small traine he might cunninglie dissemble the determination of the cardinals death. But there were in that towne, ten of those which had consented to this conspracie; which closed in secret corners, some in one place, and some in an other, did onelie expect the signe which was to be giuen vnto

George Wishart a learned man burnt.

Fr.Thin.

Buchanan, lib. 15.

Flame King: also death of Lord A. et.

r.Thin.

The Lord of the Isles in: abeth Cae. ac.

e commeth to Ireland.

e departeth is life.

Sut eight outland, as me say.

The earle of Cratford in: Berth Scot: ad.

.Thin. Buchanan.

to them to execute this deuile. With which small companie this porman feared not to aduenture the death of the cardinall in the same towne, furnished in euerie place with the seruants and friends of the cardinall.]

Whereupon the thirteenth of Maie, the cardinall being within his castell of saint Andzeus, certeine of his owne friends (as he toke them) that is to say, the said porman, lord Lesleie, William Kirkmichell, the young lord of Grange, and Kirkmichell with sixtene chosen men, entered the castell verie secretly in the morning, toke the porter, and all the cardinals seruants, thrusting them out of the place by a posterne gate. And that done, passing to his chamber where he late in bed, as he got vp, and was opening his chamber doze, they slue him, and seized upon the artillerie and munition, wherewith that fortress was plentifully furnished, and likewise with rich hangings, household stuffe of all sorts, apparell, copes, iewels, ornaments of churches, great store of gold and silver plate, beside no small quantitie of treasure in readie coine.

Sir James Leirmouth, prouost of saint Andzeus, assembled all the people of that towne for the rescue of the cardinall, after he heard that the conspirators were entred the castell; but they shewed the dead bodie of the cardinall ouer the wals, as a spectacle to the people, and so they made no further attempt, sith they saw no meane how to remedie or reuenge the matter at that present. The cause that moued the conspirators thus to kill the cardinall, was thought to be partlie in reuenge of the burning of maister George Wishart, fearing to be serued with the same lawce, and in the end to be made to drinke of the same cup. Partlie it was thought they attempted it through counsell of some great men of the realme, that had conceived some deablie hatred against him.

* But Lesleus also, writing of the causes of his death saith, that they were diuerse: as the feuerall tormentors feuerallie framed euerie one a part for his owne erule. For porman & John did complaine, that they were wronged by him with no small iniurie, because that the cardinall had not recompensed him for the losse he sustained; when the cardinall had restored to Coltwine lord thereof (before through the cardinals counsell banished by the king) the castell and possessions of Easter Twemes; which the king had after giuen to the said porman. The lord Grange affirmed that he reuenged himselfe, because he was removed by the cardinals aduise from the office of the treasurer ship; which (being granted by the king to him) he had discharged with great profit to the realme, & honoz to himselfe. And Kirkmichell did also say that he was dispossessed by the cardinall of some other (I cannot tell what) possessions. All which causes were but velles which they spread against the wind and report of so wicked and shamefull a deed. For vpon the fact, porman being vered with remorse of conscience, did not onelie labor to pacifie the anger of such, that (either by blood or benefitt) were tied to the cardinall with all kind of duties; but did also, to shun the danger thereof, passe into France, and there by valour (in the seruice of Henrie the second king of France) endeavored to wipe away that note of infamie, which he had cast vpon his familie. All which notwithstanding, both he and others (some after one sort, and some after another) were worthilie punished for their wickednes.]

The same euening that the cardinall was slaine, the old lord of Grange, maister Henrie Balnauis, one of the counsell of the realme, and sundrie gentlemen of the surname of the Spelmans, John Innoce and others, to the number of seven score persons,

entred the castell to their support, taking vpon them to keepe it against the gouernoz and his partakers. Not long after, the gouernoz, considering that his deere cousin the cardinall was thus made awaie, assembled the great lords of the realme, as the earle of Angus, Huntclie, Argile, and others, by whose aduise he called a parlement, and forsalet them that had slaine the cardinall, and kept the castell of saint Andzeus.

Herewith also he raised a power, and besieged the same castell, planting diuerse peces of great artillerie against it. But it was so stronglie furnished with all manner of artillerie & munition by the cardinall in his life time, that they within cared little for all the inforcements that their aduersaries without could aduance against them. Whereupon, after that the siege had continued the space of thre moneths, the gouernoz was glad to take an appointment with them within, to the end he might get out of their hands his eldest sonne, who was remaining with the cardinall at the time when he was murdered, and so kept by them that did the murder, till now they agreed to deliuer him to his father, with condition that he should raise his siege.

They deliuered also the dead bodie of the cardinall, after it had laine buried in a dunghill within the castell, euer since the day in which they slue him. [The gouernoz did name the abbat of Passleu his brother to the bishoppe of saint Andzeus, and gaue the abbeie of Arbroth (being before granted to James Beton kinsman to the slaine cardinall) to George Dowlasse bassard sonne to the earle of Angus: which things were afterwards occasions of great troubles in the realme.] In the yeare next ensuing, king Henrie the eight departed this life, after whome succeeded his sonne Edward, the first of that name, king of England, France, and Ireland. Shortly after, that is to say, the last of March, Francis the French king decessed, and his sonne Henrie, the second of that name succeeded him; who at the desire of the gouernoz of Scotland, appointed Leone Strolle prioz of Capoa, a knight of the order of Malta, with a nauie of 16 gallies, fraught with men of warre, and munition, to passe into Scotland, to helpe to win the castell of saint Andzeus.

The gouernoz in the meane time with an armie passed to the west borders to besiege the castell of Langham, the which was kept at that present by Michaell Wharton, hauing then with him but sixtene Englishmen, who neuerthelesse abid thre or foure daies siege, and seuen canon shots, and so yielded the house to the gouernoz: and hereby was the peace broken, first by the Scots, euen as the Englishmen could haue wished. Moreover, at the same time, the erle of Rothous then returned out of Denmarke was acquit by an assise (as they call it) of earles and lords, of an accusation wherewith he was charged, as confederat and partie with them that had murdered the cardinall.

Whilest the gouernoz was thus passed with his armie to the west borders, he was aduertised that the prioz of Capoa was arrived, and against the wils of such as were against it, entered into the towne of saint Andzeus: wherupon the gouernoz, with all the nobilitie that were then about him, hastened thither to assist the prioz, and so the siege was stronglie laid about the castell there. The prioz caused certeine peces of artillerie to be drauen vp, and mounted on the top of a church, which was higher than the castell; so that those peces shot plump into the castell, that none durst shew themselves on the wals, or abroad in the yard within the castell. He caused also certeine canons to be drauen with engines,

The cardinall of saint Andzeus murdered.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10 pag. 481.

1546. The slayers of the cardinall executed.

The castell of saint Andzeus besieged.

The siege raised.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10 pag. 483.

1547. The king of England decessed.

The death of the French king.

The castell of saint Andzeus sold.

The prioz of Capoa.

The duke of Sumner set prioz of England.

He entred Scotland with an armie.

The order of the English armie.

Fr. Thin.

The castell of saint Andzeus besieged by the French.

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gins, nere to the verie wals of the castell, which battered the same in such sort, as the ditches were nere hand filled with the rubbish and stones of the wals that fell downe.

Moreouer, the gallies at an high water approached on the river side so nere to the castell, that with shot of canons and other artillerie, they soze annoied them within, and due diuerse. The defendants perceiving themselves thus besieged on all sides, & not able long to hold out, put forth a token upon a speares point, to signifie that they desired parlee, which was granted, and certeine of them comming forth, were admitted to talke with the gouernor, the quene, and the prioz of Capoa. They offered to render the castell, so they might depart, and haue their liues saued with bag and baggage.

But this would not be granted, the gouernor vtterlie refusing it; at length he was content to pardon them of their liues, if the French king should thinke it good, else to stand to his pleasure. The spoile of the castell was given to the Frenchmen, who by on the surrender entring the same, left nothing behind him that might serue them to anie vie in taking it away. All the principall men within it were led to the gallies, and conueied awaie into France prisoners at the French kings discretion. Diuerse of them were committed to sundrie prisons on the coast of Britaine, and others were appointed to row in the gallies till the yeare 1550, in which the prisoners we set at libertie, and the others that were in the gallies were redeemed by their friends for certeine summes of monie.

Thus was the castell of saint Andzeus rendered the nine and twentieth of Iulie, fourtene daies after the arrivall there of the prioz of Capoa, whereby his great baliance, well known afore that time, was so renewed, as his praise for his speedie dispatch and good successe therein was much advanced. Shortly after, the duke of Summerfet, heretofore in this booke named earle of Hertford, uncle by the mother unto the yong king of England, and admitted gouernor of his person, and protector of all his realms, dominions, and subiects, minding the advancement of the yong king his nephue, thought good with all speed to procure the consummation of the mariage, betwixt him, and the yong quene of Scots.

But perceiving that the same could not be brought to passe without force, he seemed loth to let passe the opportunitie of time then offered (as he toke it) to serue his purpose; and thereupon by aduise of counsell leuied an armie with all expedition, and came to Berwicke, about the latter end of August, and in the beginning of September entred Scotland with the same armie, containing seauentene or eightene thousand men, which was diuided into three principall wards, the vant-gard led by the valiant earle of Marwicke, the battell by the duke of Summerfet himselfe, and the reere-ward by the lord Dacres of the north.

There were certeine wings and troopes of men of armes, demilances, and light horsemen, and also of harquebussiers, that attended vpon these three wards, garded with diuerse peeces of great artillerie. The lord Greie of Wilton high marshall of the armie had the generall conduction of the men of armes and demilances. Sir Francis Blian, lieutenant of the light horsemen, with eight hundred of them was appointed to the vant-gard. Sir Peter Melotas capteine of five hundred bagbutters, and sir Francis Fleming maister of the ordinance, with a thousand light horsemen, were appointed to the battell. And sir Richard Spanners, with six hundred light horsemen, attended vpon the reere-ward.

In this order marching through the Mers, and

Louthian; they came at length into a place called Backling Braies, nere to the forth side, in which river the English fleet was arrived, and laie before the towne of Leith, but now by order giuen came backe from thence, and lay nere to the armie. The gouernor of Scotland aduertised of the comming of this armie of England thus to invade Scotland, with all diligence sent abroad soleimne summons for the leuieing of a new armie south of all parts of the realme; supposing thereby to be sufficientlie furnished and enabled for the encounter; happen when it should; the contrarie part (no doubt) being likewise opinioned, and both hoping, or greedilie gaping after the glorie of victorie.

For the gouernor did attempt at this time that which is accustomed to be used in the greatest dangers of the countrie: which was, that he sent out messengers through all the realme, who carieing a fierie crosse in their hands, should make signe (and declare) aswell to the laitie, as to the churchmen; that all they which were aboue firtene yeares old, and vnder firtie, should presentlie (with their armes) repaire to Duffellborow, and there be readie to defend the libertie of the countrie; who accordinglie came to Duffellborow (within lesse than two miles of the place where the English armie came to incampe, lieng at Preston) & placed themselves at Inuerneisse ouer against their enemies.

Here we haue to vnderstand, that the Scots light horsemen oftentimes would come picking almost within their haues length of the Englishmen as they marched, whooping and shouting, to the end they might traine them south from their strength, and with railing words would still be in hand to provoke them thereto. But the duke of Summerfet, doubting the goodnesse of the Scottish pickers, gaue secret commandement, that no offer of skirmish by the Scottish horsemen should be taken. But at length the lord Greie of Wilton, not able to beare such bold presumption in the Scots, aduenturing (as he toke it) ouer rashlie, and more than stood with their owne suertie, made sute to the duke of Summerfet, that if they continued in such brauerie, it might be lawfull for him to set them further off.

The duke at the first by no meanes would assent thereto, telling the lord Greie, that his desire proceeded more of a iolitie of courage, than of anie knowledge of the enimie, and seemed to defend the goodnesse of the Scottish horsemen: but when the lord Greie persisted in his sute, and the earle of Marwicke assisted his request, the duke in the end yielded thereto. Whereupon when the lord Hume with the Scots the next time (which was on the Fridaie the vint of September) came south to offer the skirmish after their wonted manner, the lord Greie taking with him certeine bands of horsemen, both men of armes, demilances, and also light horsemen, diuided them in troopes, appointing the Spanish and Italian bagbutters on horsebacke to keepe on a wing, and to gard the hindermost troope of the English horsemen.

He also gaue order to the leaders of euerie troope, that to which soeuer the enimie should once offer, in anie wise, that no answer by skirmish were made them, but after they had drawne them to their accustomed plaie and proffer of charge, that troope that it was offered vnto, presentlie vpon the enemies wheeling about should thoroughlie giue it them; and that so giuen, the next troope presentlie to giue it in the face: and so (as occasion required) both those troopes wholie together to helpe other without breaking. The Scots comming forward, picking and whooping after their old wont, the Englishmen forbore a great while, till at the last, four or five hun-

The English fleet.

The gouernor sent forth an armie.

Fr. Thin. Lessius lib. 10. pag. 485.

The goodnesse of the Scottish horsemen feared of the Englishmen. The lord Greie desired to encounter the Scottish horsemen.

Order giuen by the lord Greie.

ded of them came scattered vpon the spurre, with a maruellous shout within a stones length of the most troope.

Nicholas
Gainefford.

The Scots
horsemen put
to flight.

Fr.Thin.

English cap-
tains taken.

Fr.Thin.
Buchan.lib.15.

These thinking then to haue wheeled about, master Nicholas Gainefford, the leader of that troope, and lieutenant of the lord Greies band of his men of armes of Boullogne, cried: A charge, which as speedily on the English part as vnloked for of the Scots being giuen, from charging at that time in sport, the Scots were driuen to gallop awaie so fast as their horses might beare them, losing of their companies that were taken and slaine, to the number of eight hundred and more (as some haue written) [at what time the lord Hume (as saith Lesleus lib. 10. pa. 486) falling from his horse, was grievously wounded, and caried to Edinburgh, and his eldest sonne was taken prisoner] but yet, as diuerse of the Englishmen aduentured to farre in following the chase, they were distressed, and sundrie of them taken prisoners, among the which were some of their captains, as sir Rafe Bulmer, Thomas Colver, & Robert Crouch, each of them hauing in charge the leading of several bands of light horsemen. Thus much for this Fridays skirmish, wherein the chiefeest force of the Scottish horsemen was defeated, to the great discouragement of the rest.

* The English armie remaining still at Preston, did from a hill behold the number of the Scots, who (supposing that they saw a greater number than in truth there was) assembled in the meane time to consult of the estate of their affaires. And thereupon sent letters to the Scots, desiring that if they might obtaine anie thing by iustice, that they should rather end the warre with covenants than with canons. The effect of which letters tended to this end. That the English did greatly intreat the Scots, first to remember that both armies were christian men, to and of whome (unless they utterly forget their profession) there should nothing be more welcome nor desired than peace & tranquillitie, and nothing more detestable than warre and vnjust force. Besides this, that the cause of this present warre did not grow of couetousnesse, hatred or enuie, but from the desire of perpetuall peace, which could not be better or more firmelie established by any means, but by the league of matrimonie (being promised and confirmed by the publike content and pledge of the nobilitie) with those conditions which were more beneficiall for the Scots than the English, being such as did not call them into seruitude, but into a fellowship and liberall imparting of all their fortunes each to other. For so much more should that marriage be commodious to the Scots than to the English, by how much the hope of profit, and the feare of iniuries should be greater from the stronger to the weaker.

Wherefore they should chieslie consider (and in this kind) this to be their greatest reason, that since that their queene was of necessitie to be giuen in marriage by the Scots, and that the same necessitie was not to be avoided; and the moderation therein verie hard: that the onelie power to chosse hir a husband was left vnto the publike counsell or parliament. And if they would chosse (to their queene) a husband for the publike profit and dignitie: of whome could they better take chosse, than of a king their neighbor, borne in the same land, nere of blood, instructed in the same lawes, brought vp in the same manners and language; not their superiour onelie in riches, but almost also in all commodities and ornaments of externall things, and such a person which did bring with him peace, concord, amitie, and the forgetting of all old iniuries: But if they call to them anie other (differing from them in language, manners, and lawes) to take the kingdome: let them

thinke with themselves, what and how manie discomforts will grow thereby, and to what euill counsels they shall indanger themselves: the which they may learne by the example of other nations, being farre better to be taught it by the misfortunes of others, than to sale the smart thereof by their owne experience.

Wherefore (as touching themselves) if they shall not perceiue the Scottish nation to be estranged from this amitie and concord, they would mitigate somewhat of their former promises (which by late they might challenge) and be contented that the maiden queene should be brought vp amongst them, and be alwaies in their power, vntill the time that nature should inable hir fit for marriage, and vntill such time as she might chosse hir a husband by the aduise of the nobilitie. And that in the meane time (vntill the same might be performed) that both the nations should abstaine from warre: and that also the queene (during that time) should neither be conueied into anie strange nation: nor that they should conclude anie pact or covenant with the French, or anie other foreign prince touching hir marriage. The which if the Scots would most holilie and handfastlie promise, the English would forthwith depart with a quiet armie. And further, that if the English had committed anie hurt or spoile (since they came into the countrey) they would recompense the same by the iudgement of god men.

These letters thus sent, the gouernour did impart vnto a few, and of those especiallie to John his brother bishop of saint Andrews (taken vnto him in place & authoritie of the flaine cardinall.) These two aduanced with great hope of victorie, were the cause that these letters were suppressed, because they feared that if the equall conditions of peace were knowne abroad, the most part would willingly incline to the same quiet aduise. Wherefore they procured a false rumour to be spread through the host, that the English men were come thither with determination to take awaie the queene by force, and by strength of armes to bring the whole kingdome into their subiection. For the gouernour being saint spirited by nature, had chosen vnto him foure such other counsellors (like vnto himselfe) in the affairs of warre, by whose command & becke all things were performed. Of which number were his three kinsmen, John archbishop of saint Andrews, the abbat of Dunfermling, George Durie, with Archembald Beton; and the fourth was Hugh Kigs, a lawyer, rather famous for his grosse bodie and foolish conditions, than anie knowledge in militarie affaires. These foure had so puffed vp the gouernour (inconstant by his owne nature, and changing his counsell by the wind of euerie rumour) that he would with stopped eares heare all other mens opinions. In the meane time, his friends hauing spread a feined tale (through the Scottish host) by him deuised, the Scots ran in all hast to their weapons, whose vnadvised speed was in the end the cause of their vnfortunate proceedings, as after shall appeare.)

For being true (as the Scots haue reported) that the gouernour, and the nobilitie of Scotland meant not to hazard battell within their owne realme, but rather to lie still and defend their ground, if the Englishmen should come forward to giue them battell there. The Englishmen aduertised thereof, the morning after this great skirmish, raised their field verie earlie, purposing to take an hill called Binkhill, where they might place their ordinance, and to shot into the Scottish campe, whereby they should force the Scots to dislodge from their ground of aduantage. The gouernour and the Scottish lords, beholding their enemies thus marching forward, thought best

The Scots
meant not to
haue giuen
battell.

The purpose
of the Eng-
lishmen.

The ordering
of the Scottish
battell.

The English
horsemen
beaten backe.

The valiant-
nesse of the
earle of War-
wike.

The gallie
and two pin-
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The earle of
hunteie ta-
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Men of name
of Scots
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Fr. Thin.

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to staie their enterprisse, and therefore suddenie, notwithstanding their former determination, rushing forth of their campe, passed forward to encounter their enemies.

The ordering
of the Scottish
battels.

They were divided into three battels; Archibald Douglas earle of Angus, with certeine lords with him, led the vant-gard; George Gordon earle of Huntlye, and his friends the rere-ward; and the gouernor accompanied with the earle of Argile and the rest of the noble men, were in the maine battell. The Englishmen hauing got the hill, and perceiuing the Scots to come forward with great haile, staied for their comming: but the Scots were so rash and haire, passing first through the water in their armour, and so by towards the hill, that continuing their march with such speed, as they seemed rather to trot, than to keepe anye ordinarie marching pace, before they could come to ioine with the Englishmen, they were almost out of breath.

The English
hoylmen
driven backe.

Howbeit, the earle of Angus, and the other in the vant-gard, boldlie abid the charge of all the English hoylmen, and forigorouslie reicontred them, that slaieng and beating downe no small number both of men and horses, they put the rest to flight; so that no small part of them retired backe in such disorder, that they ran thorough the rankes of the footmen in the fore-ward, wherewith such feare entered among the Englishmen, that (as hath bene reported) they had vndoubtedlie fled, if the manfull courage of the earle of Marwick had not bene shewed at that present, according to the wonted valure of his often approued prowesse, whereby he caused them to staie, and reliee themselves againe.

The valiant-
ness of the
earle of Mar-
wick.

The gallie
and two prin-
cesses.

In the meane time, the battell and the rere-ward of the Scots advanced forward with great courage. But there was a gallie & two princesses of the English fleet, which from the sea shot so terrible at the Scottish armie, that the same was not onelie soe galled and indamaged thereby, but also staied, that they could not come easilie forward. And herewith the English vant-gard incouraged with the comfortable words and behauior of the earle of Marwick, and other the capteins, made towards the Scottish vant-gard againe: the which not able of it selfe to resist, retired in good order to the great battell of Scotland. Whereupon, the multitude fearing, by reason they saw them in the fore-ward thus retire (albeit in good order) that all had bene lost, gaue backe, and toke them to flight; whome the Englishmen followed againe, slaieng the Scottishmen downe on heaps in passing great numbers. Many were also drowned in the water of Andereske, though the which they toke their flight.

The earle of
Huntlye taken
prisoner.

Men of name
of Scots
slaine.
Fr. Thin.

The earle of Huntlye and the rere-gard stood still with their ensignes and banners, till the chafe was past by them: but at length were driuen to make awaye as well as the rest, and the earle himselfe in the retire being taken on foot, well clad in gilt armour inameled, was led prisoner to the lord protectour. Diuerse other men of name, barons, and knights, were taken prisoners. There were slaine no small number of personages of good account. Among other, the lord Fleming, the maister of Erskin, the maister of Graham, the maister of Speffine, the maister of Ogillie, the maister of Levingston, the maister of Rolfe [the maister of Argendale and Speffane] the lord of Lochinwar, the lord of Glencarnocke, & others. [There were taken prisoners diuerse noble men, the lord Zestrie, the earle of Huntlye chancellor of the realme, and others, as saith Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 487.]

The next day, the English armie remoued to Leith, where the prisoners were put into a church, diuerse of them being soe wounded. But the earle of Huntlye, entering bond for them that they should

well and trulie paie their ransomes, agreed upon be- twixt them and their takers, or else to come and present themselves prisoners in England by a certeine day, they were suffered to depart. * The calamitie of which bloudie day, there were not a few which did impute iustlie to happen to the Scots, because they did arrogantly reiect such honozable and beneficiall peace, and did hope (if they obtained the victorie) to haue used more crueltie to their owne people than vnto the English, either because they would (as I my selfe coniecture) reuenge old quarrels, or else haue used extremitie against such as secretlie misliked this conflict with the English.)

The gouernor escaping from the battell, came to Striueling, where the quene regent was, together with hir daughter the yong quene. Here, by the counsell and aduise of the earle of Angus [Argile, Kotesen, and Castles] and diuerse other lords that were also with him thither after the battell, they were conueied to the countrie of Menteith, where they remained in the abbete of Inch Spahome [deliuering the yong quene to hir mother, Erskine and Leuingstone to be kept there] till the English armie was departed out of the realme, and then they remoued againe, and came to Striueling. [After that the gouernor had deliuered the earle out of prison at Edenburgh] the English name wan the Ile of saint Colmes Inch [in the meane time] and did sundrie other exploits by sea, as in the English historie it may appeere.

Howeuer, the earle of Bothwell, whome the gouernor had before kept in prison, and was the night after the battell set at libertie, repared to the duke of Summerfet, with diuerse other lords and gentlemen of Louthian, whilst he laie at Leith, offering themselves to be at the king of Englands commandement, and so were assured from receiuing hurt or damage by the English power. The duke of Summerfet hauing remained at Leith eight daies, burnt a peece of it, and demanding the castell of Edenburgh, but could not obtaine it, departed thence the eighteenth of December homewards the next waie, ouer the mountains of Southeire, comming the third day before the castell of Hume, where they did so much by countenancing to win that fortresse, that within three or foure daies after their comming thither, it was surrendered.

This castell being wome, & a garrison left there, in to keepe it, they remoued to Rokeburgh, where within the compasse of the ruinous walls of an old castell, they built a fort; & after returning into England, left a conuenient garrison to keepe it. They got also about the same time a strong fortresse, called Fast castell, standing nere to the sea side, and placed a garrison within it. And moreover, in this meane time, their fleet by sea wan the castell of Broughtie crag, and put in like manner a garrison within it to keepe the same (as in the English historie it may further appeere) and in that sort also all the chiefest lords and gentlemen of the Mers and Lindsdale came in, and submitted themselves to the duke of Summerfet, vpon assurance had and giuen.

Furthermore, whilst the duke of Summerfet with his armie did thus inuade Scotland on the east part, it was ordeined by the said duke, and other of the counsell to the king of England, that Mattheu earle of Lennox, and Thomas lord Wharton, then warden of the west marches of England, should with a power inuade Scotland on the west side, to the end that there should not anye of the west borders nor countries come to assist the gouernor against the duke of Summerfets armie, but be driuen to remaine at home to defend their owne countrie. Here vpon, there was an armie leited, to the number of five

The earle of
Huntlye en-
tereth bond
for his coun-
trimen.
Fr. Thin,
Buchan lib. 15.

The quene
remoued from
Striueling.
Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 487.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.

The Ile of
saint Colmes
Inch won by
Englishmen.

The earle of
Bothwell.

1547.

The English
armie retur-
ned homewards.

Hume castell
surrendered to
the Englishmen.

Fast castell
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Broughtie
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The castell of
Milke peiled

five thousand footmen, and eight hundred light horsemen, with which powder the earle of Lennor and the lord Wharton entering Scotland the eight of September, incamped the first night upon the water of Erke, and marched the next day through the nether part of Annandale, till they came to the castell of Milke, a forresse of good strength, the walls being fourtene foot thicke.

Captaine of this castell was one John Steward, brother to the lord thereof, who upon the approach of the earle of Lennor, yeilded the house to him, without any shew of resistance. Whereupon, Fergus Graham, brother to Ritchie Graham of Erke, was appointed with a garrison of souldiours to keepe that castell to the vse of the young king of England, and was afterwards confirmed captaine there with fiftie light horsemen, by appointment of the duke of Summerfet, & the counsell, so that during the wars, he remained there to the great annoyance of the Scots, enemies to England, and preservation of the countrie thereabouts to the king of Englands vse.

Fr. Thin.

On the twentieth of September, the earle of Lennor, and the lord Wharton, incamped nere to the towne of Annand, and on the morrow after approaching nearer to the same, gave summons unto the captaine thereof, called Lion, of the house of Glams, who with an hundred Scots [whereof Martwell and Johnstone, and Cockpull (as saith Lesleus lib. 10. p. 489. being parcell) kept the church and steeple of Annand, being peeces of themselves verie strong and mightilie reinforced with earth: they within therefore refused to yeild, and valiantlie defended themselves. The greatest peeces of artillerie, which the Englishmen had there at that time, were certeine double and single falcons, wherewith they beat one lie the battlements, till they might with certeine engines approach hard to the walls, and undermine the same, so as the rofe of the church was shaken downe, and a great number of them within the church slaine and crushed to death. Such as escaped fled into the steeple.

The church of
Annand
undermined.

The steeple
peiled.

The church
and steeple of
Annand
blowen by
with powder.

Two of the Englishmen that wrought about the mines, were slaine: but at length, the captaine moved by perswasion of the earle of Lennor, to whome he claimed to be of kin, rendered the steeple to him, with himselfe, and 96 Scots souldiours, with condition to haue their liues onelie saued, and the captaine to remaine prisoner, and to go into England. Immediately upon their comming forth of the steeple, fire was given unto the traines of powder in the mines, and so both the church & steeple were blowne by into the aire, & rased downe to the ground. This done, they burnt the towne (after they had sacked it) and left not one stone standing upon an other, so that the same towne had euer bene a verie noisome neighbour to England.

The Scots
that came to
assure them-
selves.

The Englishmen had conceived such spite towards this towne, that if they saw but a peece of timber remaining vnburnt, they would cut the same in peeces with their bills. The countrie herewith was stricken in such feare, that the next day all the Kilpatrickes and the Jordsins, the lards of Kirkmichell, Apgilgith, Claburne, Botomendes, Pubie, and the Terrewings, the Wels, the Rigs, the Purreites, and all the clanes and surnames of the neather part of Annerdale, came in, and receiued an oth of obedience, as subjects to the king of England, deliuering pledges for their assured loialtie. The residue that would not come in and submit themselves, had their houses burnt, their goods and cattell fetched away by the English light horsemen, that were sent abroad into the countrie for that purpose.

These things thus executed, the earle of Lennor, and the lord Wharton, returned backe into England

with their prisoners, booties, and spoiles, receiuing great thanks and commendations by gentle letters on the five & twentieth of September, from the duke of Summerfet, then lieng at Rockesburgh, about fortifying of that place. The gouernor perceiuing thus that without the assistance of France he should not be able to resist the Englishmen, hauing now got such hold within the realme of Scotland, required the queene Dowager, and monsieur Dossell, ligger ambassadoz for the French king, to perswade with him by letters, to send an armie into Scotland, to the aid of his friends there.

The gouernor
is sure to
the queene
Dowager,
and to the
French am-
bassadors.

The earle of
Lennor dis-
sembleth with
dissimblers.

1547. Buch.

The queene and monsieur Dossell, perceiuing a readie waie prepared to bring that to passe which they most desired (which was, to haue the queene of Scotland ordered in all things by the French kings aduise) they undertooke to procure an armie out of France, according to the gouernors desire, if he with the states of the realme would agree that the queene might be sent into France, and a contract made for his bestowing in marriage, as stood with the French kings pleasure. The gouernor condescending hereto, assembled the states, and by their aduices, passed certeine covenants to the effect aforesaid, & sent the same in writing by certeine messengers into France.

The queene
Dowager
promiseth aid
out of France
with condi-
cn.

The gouernor
sendeth into
France for
aid.
Broughtie
crag besieged
by the gou-
ernor.

Hossemen
sent forth to
scurge
Dumlanrig.

They harrie
the countrie a-
bout Dum-
lanrig.

The French king gladlie accepting this message, prepared a nauie of ships and gallies to transport an armie into Scotland the next summer. In the meane time, the gouernor laied siege to Broughtie crag, and the duke of Summerfet, as well for meane to cause the Scots to retire that siege, as also for the annoyance of Clideldale, appertaining to the gouernor and the earle of Angus, and other Scots that would not come in to the obedience of the king of England, appointed the earle of Lennor to make a new inuasion into Scotland, and to vse for trial of their fidelities the helpe, of two thousand Scottish light horsemen, that were already assured & sworn to serue the king of England in all such exploits in which they should be imployed.

The earle of Lennor desirous to aduance the king of Englands affaires, and hauing receiued letters from William earle of Glencarne, with promise of his assistance, and likewise of his father in law the earle of Angus, the lord of Dumlanrig, and those lards and gentlemen of the countries of Aile, Cunningham, Kenfren, and Lennor, entered Scotland about the twelfth of December, accompanied with Henrie Wharton, second son to the lord Wharton, with two hundred light horsemen, of the garrisons in Scotland, and comming first to Dunferrie, where the generall assemble was appointed of the two thousand assured Scottish light horsemen, when the musters should be taken, he found scarce three hundred, and those for the more part of the broken countries of Annandale, Gwisdale, Eisdale, and Liddesdale.

The earle of
Lennor enter-
eth into
Scotland.

Dumlanrig
purleth the
Englishmen.

The earle of Glencarne came thither in dæd, but vnder a counterfet shew of good meaning, where in truth he ment nothing but craft to discouer all the earle of Lennor his purposes: who perceiuing his double dealing, and finding no such forces readie to assist him, as he looked for, and moreover, mistrusting the loialties of the maister of Spawell, & the gentlemen of Fidesdale, meaning (as he took it) to intrap him, and deliuer him to the queene Dowager, and the lord gouernor, stood in some perplexitie what way should be the best for him to follow, thinking it not to stand with his honor to returne, without attaining some enterprise.

The earle of
Glencarne
his double
dealing.

He is put to
flight.

How lord
Wharton.

The earle of
Lennor in
doubt what to
do.

The lord of
Dumlanrig.

The earle of Glencarne had shewed to him two letters written by the lord of Dumlanrig, signifying, that if the earle of Lennor came, accompanied onelie

The siege of
Broughtie
crag raised.

onellie with Scottishmen, he would both serue him and honor him in the best wise he might: but if he brought those Englishmen in his companie, he would not onellie refuse to aid him, but also raise all the power he might make, either by his friends or otherwise, to resist him, and proffer him a repulse. The earle thus perceiuing that he was in danger to be betrayed among them, and that there were all the deuises practised that might be to staie those that should come to the deuotion of the king of England, dissembled the matter with Glencarne, and other that were suborned to betray him; pretending to them, that he would follow the course of their deuises.

The earle of Lennor dissembled with his followers.

1547. Buch.

But in the meane time he got together the English captains that were appointed to attend him, and also such Scottishmen as he knew he might trust. And meaning to scourge Drumlanrig, & to cut him short, for that he was the chiefe instrument to staie all the Scottishmen in those parties from entering friendship with the Englishmen: he gaue secret warning to all the captains & leaders about nine of the clocke at night, that they should be readie with their men to mount on horsebacke at the sound of the trumpet, and keepe with them the earle of Glencarne, the maister of Sparwell, the lords of Clofburne, Kirkmitchell, and others the gentlemen of Piddesdale and Annandale.

Hostemen sent forth to scourge Drumlanrig.

They harrie the countie about Drumlanrig.

He sent forth six hundred chosen hostemen upon sound of the trumpet, at twelue of the clocke at night, vnder the leading of Henrie Wharton, and other the captains of the garrisons, who in the dawning of the next morrow, arrived nere the place of Drumlanrig, where they appointed foure hundred of their hostemen to passe to the forraie, who raised fire, and burnt two miles in length, both townes and villages on each side, euen hard to the gates of Drumlanrig, spoiling the houses of goods and riches, worth to the value of two thousand marks, got three thousand sheepe, two thousand herd of great cattell, be-
side nine score horses and mares.

Drumlanrig pursueth the Englishmen.

The Annandalers laden with spoile and cattell, being in number foure hundred men, departed with their preie homewards. The lord of Drumlanrig, lieng all this while in ambush with seuen hundred men, forbare to breake out to giue anie charge vpon his enemies, doubting least the earle of Lennor had kept a stale behind: but now after he perceiued that the most part of the enemies were departed, and that the residue of the gentlemen & captains of the English hostemen were withdrawing towards Dunfreis, being not past six score men, he fiercely followed after them with his power, in hope not onelie to ouerthrow and disperse them, but also to take the earle of Lennor at Dunfreis.

He is put to flight.

The siege of Broughtie crag raised.

Maister Henrie Wharton and those six score hostemen, retiring beyond the water of Piff, and perceiuing that Drumlanrig and his men entered the water rashly to pursue them, returned, and gaue such a desperate charge vpon them, that Drumlanrig and his companie were scattered and put to flight: yet Drumlanrig himselfe, although there were some speares broken vpon him, through the goodness of his horse escaped. Two gentlemen of his surname and traine, that were in no small estimation with him, were slaine, and six score prisoners taken, and led to Dunfreis. The terror of this overthrow, and the brate of the earle of Lennor his entrie thus made into Scotland, caused the gouernour to leaue his siege from Broughtie crag, and with speed to come from thence, the better to defend his countie of Clidesdale, and Dowlasdale. Sir Andrew Dudgele, capitaine of Broughtie crag, bare himselfe verie valiantlie, in defending the castell during this siege,

so that the Scots certes lost diuerse hardie personages: and among other, Calwen Hamilton, the gouernours kinsman, was slaine at the same siege.

Moreover, the prior of Whiterne by his letters and messengers, offered himselfe to obteine the king of England: and the inhabitants of the burrough and haueu townes of Wigton and Kirkcubright, the knights of Loghinwar and Carleis, the lord and tutor of Bombie, the lord of Cardines, & all the gentlemen of Annandale, Piddesdale, and Galloway, euen to Whiterne, being foure score miles in length from Caerleill, through the inducement of the foresaid prior, and of the knights of Loghinwar and Carleis, (for the fauour they bare to the earle of Lennor) with in two daies after the discomfiture of Drumlanrig, came vnto Dunfreis, and there receiued an oth to be true to the king of England, and afterwards went with the earle to Caerleill, leauing the countie in good quiet, and the king of England acknowledged for lord of Galloway, Piddesdale, and Annandale, by the inhabitants thereof.

And after that the foresaid persons had remained for a space at Caerleill, they belivered pledges, but especiallie for John Sparwell, & returned home to their countie, as assured men & subiects to the King of England. In this meane while, the gouernour hauing held siege before the castell of Broughtie crag, by the space of thirtie daies, and now retiring from thence (as before ye haue heard) by the aduise of the principall lords about him, he caused maister James Haliburton, tutor of those parties, to raise certeine companies of hostemen, and appointed him with capitaine Leirmouth (whome he left in Dunfreis with certeine footmen) to defend the countie against the Englishmen, if they issued forth of Broughtie crag, to atchieue anie enterpryse anie where nere thereabouts.

The Scots beliver pledges.

James Haliburton. Capitaine Leirmouth.

The duke of Summerset by aduise of the residue of the councell in England, minding to bide the Scots that refused to come in & submit themselves to the king of England, took order with the lord of Winton, who (as faith Lelless. lib. 10. pag. 491.) remained in Scotland from the fourth Ides of Apill, untill the tenth kalends of June for the building of one fort at Lauder, and an other at Haddington, as in the English historie it may appeare. And further it was appointed also, that about the end of Februarie, the earle of Lennor and the lord Wharton, with seuen hundred English hostemen, beside the assured Scots hostemen, and about foure or five thousand English footmen, should by the west borders invade Scotland: they according to their commission set forward, and the first night came to Loudoun ben, and there lodged.

1547. Lelless.

Fr. Thin. Fortis built.

1548.

The earle of Lennor and the L. wharton invade Scotland.

The next day they marched to Dunfreis, and whilst they remained there, the earle of Angus being come to Drumlanrig, by messengers entred some talke with his sonne in law the earle of Lennor. But sith it was perceiued that this was done, rather to intrap the earle of Lennor, or rather at the least wise to buye time, vpon consultation had with the maister of Sparwell, the lord of Clofburne, and others the gentlemen assured of Piddesdale and Annandale, it was concluded, that the townes of Forston, Dufere, and others, nere adioining together in those parts, should be burnt; to the end that the earle of Angus might so be drawn to the field, and caught by some one meane or other.

The dissimulation of the earle of Angus.

About midnight therefore, the forraie being set forth, vnder the leading of maister Henrie Wharton, to the number of twelue hundred light hostemen, the maister of Sparwell, now lord Herries, and the residue of the assured men being amongst them kept forward, and in the morning the earle of Lennor,

Maister Henrie wharton.

The earle of Angus put to flight.

Dundere set on fire.

The resol-ving of the as-ured Scots.

A false ru-mor spread.

The Scots put to flight.

Dunfreis spoiled.

Lennor, and the lord Wharton marched forth with the footmen, till they came ten miles beyond Dunfreis. And where the earle of Angus was drawn to the castell of Dumlanrig, under pretense to commune with his sonne the earle of Lennor (but meaning to intrap him) if it were possible, he was so intironed by the English footmen per he could haue sufficient warning, that he was forced to flee onelic with five persons in his companie. But now the English horsemen being come to Dundere, eight & 10 fortie miles within the realme of Scotland, having passed sundrie great riuers, they set that towne on fire.

But the maister of Sparwell, with the other Scottish gentlemen and light horsemen borderers, to the number of foure hundred, being in companie of the English horsemen (as before ye haue heard) had contriued the destruction of the Englishmen afoze hand. And the better to worke their feat, they had procured (as ye haue heard) the earle of Angus to come into Dumlanrig with a chosen power of men for that purpose. There were also upon euerie hill about, great numbers of Scottish footmen, with speares and lancestaves to assit the earle of Angus and his complices against the Englishmen. The lord of Dumlanrig with a number of chosen horsemen was aduanced forward in sight of the Englishmen, as they were busie in firing the towne of Dundere.

The assured Scots therefore, thinking the enterprise to be suerlie enough conueid for their contriued purpose, openlie vpon the field nere to Dundere, hoising vp a blacke pennill vpon a speares point for a token, revolted whole, and ioined themselves to the lord of Dumlanrig and other their countrie men, & thrust in betwixt the English horsemen & footmen, to the great perill of distressing aswell the one as the other. For making toward the place where the earle of Lennor, and the lord Wharton were comming forward with their footmen, nere to the old castell of Daufwinton, sometime the house of the Cumings, they bruted it abroad, that the English horsemen were quite ouerthrowen.

The earle of Lennor, beholding the maner of his aduersaries, lighted on foot from his horse, willing the lord Wharton to do the like; for this day (said he) I will die a true Englishman. At length the English horsemen fetching a compasse in retiring backe from Dundere, came nere to the place where the earle and the lord Wharton were ranged in order of battell: and thinking no lesse but that their horsemen had bene ouerthrowen, were readie to march backe towards Dunfreis. But their horsemen thus comming in, and perceiving how the matter stood, gaue a right valiant charge vpon the Scots, that stood countenancing the footmen, and readie to take the aduantage, if they might haue giuen them through thinking backe into anie disorder.

But such was the violence of the shooke giuen at that instant, with great manhod (vndoubtedlie) by the English horsemen, that the Scots were there with put out of arraie, scattered, & quite put to flight; the lord of Dumlanrig being taken prisoner, corrupted his taker, and so got away. The maister of Sparwell escaped in great danger of life, for he had sundrie speares broken on him in the chafe as he fled awaie. There were yet taken that day of the Scots to the number of foure hundred, beside sundrie that were drowned in the water of fith. Amongest the prisoners were these men of name; the abbat of new abbete, Chrissie Iretwining of Bonshaw, a brother of the lord of Hemptfield, & manie other gentlemen of name. Dunfreis was rifled and spoiled, as the earle of Lennor and the Englishmen returned thither, and a martiall court appointed there for execution of pledges; but yet suspended and staied, till the counceils pleasure might be knowen in that behalfe.

ther, and a martiall court appointed there for execution of pledges; but yet suspended and staied, till the counceils pleasure might be knowen in that behalfe.

There were at the first euill news spread abroad, and certified to the court of England of this tozie, how the earle of Lennor and the English armie was ouerthrowen, so that it was by order appointed, that the earle of Derby, the Lord Scrope, and Coniers, with their powers should repaire to the west borders to garnish the same for defense against the enemies: but vpon the true report how the matter had passed, made by maister Henrie Wharton, and one Bishop a Scottishman, sent in post for that purpose, that appointment was staied; and maister Wharton was at that time made knight, and the said Bishop richlie rewarded for bringing so good news. Here with were letters directed downe from the counsell to the lord Wharton, for the execution of certaine pledges, that is to saie, the maister of Sparwells pledge, being one of his nereest kinsmen of the house of the Herries, also the warden of the Greic friers in Dunfreis, the vicar of Carlawerocke, and diuerse other which were executed at Carlill. In this meane time were the forts at Laidor and Haddington built, the castells of Yester and Dalwhith wone, all the mils burnt within foure miles of each hand of Edinburgh, and other exploits atchued by the Englishmen, as in the historie of England is more at large expessed.

But now the French king, having prepared an armie readie to come into Scotland, caused the same to draw downe to Bess in Britaine, where the ships and gallies were rigged and made readie to passe therewith into Scotland. The chiefe leaders of which armie were these, which had charge chiefe to command in the same: monsieur de Delle lieutenant generall, monsieur Dandelot coronell of the French footmen, the counte Keingraue coronell of the Almans, monsieur de Walleraie, monsieur Doffell, Pietro Strozze coronell of the Italians, monsieur Etanges capteine of the horsemen, sir Nicholas de Villegaignon a knight of the Rhobes (or rather Palta) capteine of the gallies, and monsieur Duno commissarie of the artillerie: with diuerse other worthie personages, and men of approved valancie. These capteins with their powers being imbarked at Bess, sailed alongst by the east seas, and at length about the middell of June came into the rode before Leith, where they landed their people and ordinance. [A little before whose arriuall into France (as saith Lesleus, libro 10. pag. 491.) Chapelle Bironne landed in Scotland, accompanied with other nobilitie of France, to giue good counsell to the Scots answerable to the time, which was (to please their eares therewith) that there should a greater armie shortly come out of France, to succor their extremities.]

Afterwards, with the aduise of the gouernor, and other of the Scottish lords, the French power went to besiege Haddington, and comming thither, incamped themselves in places of aduantage about the towne, cast trenches, planted their ordinance, battered the rampires, and kept them within streialie besieged on each hand, vntill all the waies they could deuise to confreine the Englishmen to yield. They forbore yet to giue a generall assault, because they would not hazard (as they haue reported) the losse of so manie men as might haue bene slaine and maimed thereby, to the great weakening of their power there, hauing not meanes to supplie it when they would.

And yet they had a great armie of Scots with them for a season, and had made the breaches so reasonable,

Pledges executed.

1548. Buch.
1547. Lelle.
The name prepared at Bess in Britaine.

The chiefe capteins of the French armie that came into Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

Haddington besieged.

Fr. Thin.

why the Frenchmen forbore to giue an assault.

The English horsemen ouerthrowen.

The earle of Shyrewarbie remoueth the siege from Haddington.

Sir Nicholas de Villegaignon.

The French gallies compassed about the realme of Scotland by Dungenbie head.

1547. Lesle.

Monsieur de Bironne.

Fr. Thin.

The young queene of Scots conuincd into France.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 494.

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sonable, that with small paine they might haue entered by the same. If the force of the defendants had not sufficed with handblowes to haue beaten them backe, as no doubt there was no want of good will in them so to haue done, if the Frenchmen had put the matter in triall: yet during this siege, they tocht in God in great necessity of things becomen full for the defense of the towne. Whereupon sir Henrie Charton with a band of light horsemen of the west borders, and others, came and put into the towne a certaine number of men with powder, and other necessities, greatlie to the reliefe of the besieged, & no lesse displeasure of the Frenchmen and Scots, that were not aware of this enterprise till it was done in the night season, by the good and fortunate conducti- on of them that had the conuenance thereof.

But after this, there came a powder of English horsemen to the number of little lesse than two thousand demulances, light horsemen, & harquebussiers on horsebacke, under the leading of sir Robert Bowes, sir Thomas Palmer, sir Henrie Charton, capitaine Cambo a Spaniard, and others; the which aduenturing ouer rashlie within danger of the whole French pow- er, were overthrowne and chased: sir Robert Bowes, & sir Thomas Palmer, with a great number of other captains, gentlemen and soldiers being taken prisoners, besides those that were slaine. Yet after this overthrow of those horsemen, the French removed their siege from the places where they had first planted it, and lodged further off from the towne, continuing there; till at length by an ar- mie sent forth of England under the conduct of the erle of Shrewsburie, the lord Creie, and others, they were constrained to retire from thence, as in the English historie ye may find more largelie exp- ressed, to the which for the further report of the euents chancing during that siege, I referre the reader.

But this is to be remembered, that whilst the siege remained at Haddington, by a convention or assem- blie of the lords it was decreed, that the quene should be sent into France. And thereupon monsieur de Tillegaignon, with foure galleies departing from Leith, made semblance as though he would haue sailed into France: but hauing passed the mouth of the Forth, he turned his course on the left hand to passe alongst the shore northward by the Germane seas, that compassing the land on the east side, he might passe about by the Isles of Orkney, and so by the west Isles, till he came to Dunbretton where the young quene laie. His iourne he fortunatelie at- tained, the same neuer before (to mans remem- brance) being made or attempted with galleies.

At his arrivall & convenient landing at Dunbretton, he found all things readie provided, necessaries for the imbarcking of the quene, that he might con- uey hir into France, for the accomplishment wherof he had taken that iourne in hand. Whereupon the be- ing brought aboard into the kings owne gallee, wher- in monsieur de Breze was also appointed to be a- board with hir, as he that had bene sent with expresse commandement to see hir conueied into France, [with the lords (as faith Lesleus lib. 10. 494) of Ar- skine, and Levingston, the ladie Fleming, with cer- teine noble maidens named after the young quene, as Marie Levingston, Marie Fleming, Marie Seton, and Marie Beton] who together with Tillegaignon shewed such diligence in attaining that enter- prise, that finally they arrived with prosperous wind and weather in the haven of Brete in Britaine with that young quene, being as then betwixt siue and sir yeres of age.

* From thence being accompanied with the nobl- itie of that province. He kept hir right course to the kings palace of St. Germins in the towne of Lal-

on, where she was received with great preparation, & there tarried the coming thither of the king. At that time pacifying the seditions and tumults in the inward parts of France. When the king was come, he gladded all men with his presence, and provided that there was a large household, as well of the noble men and women of Scotland, as of others appointed to the young quene, which he still increased (as the quene grew more in yeres) untill such time as she might be married.

But now to returne to the doings in Scotland concerning the warres there. After that the siege of Haddington was raised by the English armie, as be- fore ye haue heard the Frenchmen thereupon reti- red themselves vnto Hushelburgh, and choosing forth a plot of ground for their aduantage, kept them- selues withyn the same. And betwixt there came to them sixtane thousand Scotchmen to assist them, so that when the Englishmen came forwarde to assaile them, they found them so strongly imbatelled, that (whether their commission did not so farre extend, or whether they had no liking of the match) they for- bare to set vpon them in that ground of so great dis- aduantage for the assailants, and so returned backe to Haddington, and after home wards, hauing furni- shed the towne with new supplies of men, munition, and vittels so sufficient.

Here is to be noted, that the English fleet ente- ring into the Forth, was readie to haue aided the ar- mie by land, as occasions might haue bene offered. But the lord admerall perceiving no likelihood of battell by land, took vpon him to attaine some other enterprises, and first coming to Wrent Island, set certaine ships on fire there, of the chiefest in the ri- uer; and saluting the towne of Leith as he passed by with canon shot, he determined to land some of his men on the north side of the Forth, to make some spoile within the countrie of Fife. But John Ersk- kin lord of Dun, as then somewhat diseased, and re- turned home from the campe, caused such dailie and nightlie watch and ward to be kept, that this enter- prise could not be so secretlie conueied by the Eng- lishmen, but that the same was perceived, and so preuented, that vpon their landing they were forced to retire with losse: and happie was he that might first get againe to shipboard.

* For James Steward, brother to the quene (hearing of this tumult) came thither in hast with the common people of saint Andrews, and some other few citizens which were remaining in the towne, to whome the neighbors about did also ioine them- selues, understanding the cause of that assemblie. The English being now come on land, about twelue hundred, stood in warlike sort readie for the battell, and with the feare of the artillerie (which they dis- charged out of their ships, did easilie cause the rude multitude to flie awaie. But this James Steward (by litle and litle suppressing the feare of such as fled) did, with such violence) rush vpon his enemies, that forthwith he overthrow them, put them to flight, compelled them to returne to the sea with great slaughter, when also manie of them (as they fled to their ships) were drowned, besides three hundred that were slaine, and one hundred taken.)

The erle of Shrewsburie being come backe from Haddington vnto Dunglas, order was giuen for the building of a fort there, as in the English historie further may appeare. And in the meane time monsieur de Delle, remaining in campe at Hushel- burgh, hearing that the English armie was remo- ued homewards, & how diuerse new bands of horse- men and footmen being left in Haddington, were readie to come forth to skirmish abroad vpon sight of the enimie; he took aduise, to trie if he might

The French- men encamp- ed at Hushel- burgh.

See more hereof in England.

The lord ad- merall of England.

The lord of Dun.

The English men repelled at saint An- drews.

Fr. Tho. Buchan. lib. 15.

The English horsemen de- mulsed.

Sledges exe- cuted.

1548. Buch. 1547. Lesle. A name pre- pared at Wrent in Britaine.

The chiefe captains of the French armie that came into Scotland.

The erle of Shrewsburie remained in the siege from Haddington.

Sir Nicho- laus Tillegaignon.

Fr. Thin.

The French galleies com- passe about the towne of Scotland by Dunghelbur- gh.

Haddington besieged.

Monsieur de Breze.

Fr. Thin.

The young quene of Scots con- uied into France.

why the Frenchmen forbore to giue an asse- fault.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 494.

draw them forth to their losse, and thereupon was monsieur Dandelot, and the Keingraue appointed to chuse forth a thousand of their lustiest footmen, the which with thre hundred horsemen were conueied and laid close in ambush, behind a little hill not farre from the towne.

This done, a few horsemen were drawne forth to draw the Englishmen out of the towne to skirmish with them. The Englishmen were no sooner aduised that the enimies were there at hand in the field, but that all their horsemen issued out of the towne backe with certeine footmen, and straight had the French in chase; who retiring, maintained the skirmish, of purpose to make the Englishmen more earnest to come forward. But immediatlie as monsieur de Delle saw his time, he gaue signe by sound of trumpet to the footmen to breake forth, who together with the horsemen gaue so fierce an onset vpon the enimies, that they were incontinentlie discomfited: and fleeing toward the towne, were followed by the French euen hard to the walles; diuers were slaine, and aboue an hundred taken prisoners.

After this, monsieur de Delle raised from Glasgow, and comming to Leith set in hand to fortifie that towne. The marshall Strozzi, and monsieur Dandelot, with diuerse other capitains imbarcking themselves in the gallic that yet remained, toke their course to returne to France. One of the same gallies (they being eight in number, beside a fofie and a brigandine) was taken by an English ship called the falcon, as she passed through the narrow seas at a place named the Southfurlong, she being alone, and (as it chanced) hindermost of all the company.

After the departure of monsieur Dandelot, monsieur de la Chapelle de Bron remained colonell of the French footmen in Scotland. As for the furniture on the water, there remained now but foure gallies vnder the guiding of one capteine Bach an Italian, a man of great experience and approved skill. For ye must vnderstand, that before the arrivall of the English naue & armie to the succors of them in Haddington, monsieur de Gallerie viceadmerall of France returned home with the fleet of ships that had brought the French armie into Scotland. In what sort the lord Greie of Wilton afflicted the countreies of Wuldale and Liddesdale, after the returne of the earle of Shrewsburie, is partly touched in the historie of England.

About the same time, there chanced a mutinie to rise betwixt the Scots and the Frenchmen in Edinburgh, by reason that a French souldier fell a quarrelling with two of thre Scottishmen; and falling together by the eares, diuerse Scots that came to depart the fraie, would haue had the Frenchman to prison; but other Frenchmen being there also present, would not suffer the Scots to take him awaie. Whereupon arose a great tumult and strife among them, insomuch that there were diuerse slaine on both parts, namely James Hamilton lord of Stanhouse, knight, capteine of the castell, and prouost of the towne of Edinburgh, with his sonne; and master William Stewart one of the queens seruants, besides sundrie other. For the Frenchmen doubting some contriued commotion against them, assembled together in order of battell in the streets; so that before the matter might be appeased by the capitains that shewed their diligent endeauors therein, they had inough to bring it to passe as they wished.

The beginner of this businesse was hanged the same day in the market place of Edinburgh, where he began first to pike the quarell. Monsieur de Delle, to shew that this variance had not proceeded so farre as the bute thereof gaue forth (for it was rather in-

creased ye may be sure than diminished) undertooke an enterprize in hand to win the towne of Haddington by a camifado, but in what sort they missed their purpose, and how they were well beaten backe, and sent away by the valiant manhood of the English capitains and souldiers then within the towne, ye may read further thereof in the English historie. There were seuen scoe (some say thre hundred) slaine in the bafe court.

But now, so far as I haue said nothing of Broughtie crag, since the lord gouernour raised his siege from thence, ye shall vnderstand, that (as some haue written) shortly after the earle of Argile came thither with an armie of his Irish Scots, and besieged it. But when he saw he could not preuaile, he toke truce with them within for a time, and before the same was expired, there came new succors to the Englishmen: so that the earle of Argile (by reason his people had remained there the full terme of their bounden & ordinarie seruice) was constrained to leaue his siege, and suffer the Englishmen to become maisters of a little hill, where afterwards they builded a fort. And now in the latter end of this yere, they purposed also to haue fortified Dundee, and to haue kept the same with a garrison of souldiers; but hearing that monsieur de Delle with his Frenchmen was comming thitherwards, they auoided the towne of their owne accord, hauing first spoiled the houses, and after set them on fire.

The Keingraue with two bands of his Almains, and monsieur de Etanges with his companie of horsemen were sent before, who comming to Dundee, and finding the Englishmen gone, incamped there, staling till monsieur de Delle was come, that followed at hand with the French footmen. Within two daies after, they going forth to view the fort, were in danger to haue bene caught per they could get backe againe. For the Englishmen and Lance-knights that were there with them (part of Conrad Hennings bands) issued forth, and droue them to retire, not without danger to haue bene distressed, if the Keingraue had not vsed the greater policie in retiring the troupe. To be short, monsieur de Delle, to stop the Englishmen from entering anie further into the countreie on that side, left seuen ensignes of Frenchmen, & two ensignes of Scots within Dundee, with artillerie and pioners to fortifie the towne, & to keepe it in safetie for the Englishmen. This done, he returned to Edinburgh, and sent the residue of his people abroad into the countreie, to lodge in townes and villages here & there, as was thought most expedient, for the better refreshing of them after their long trauell.

While these things were in doing, the gouernour of Scotland sent the lord Carneige knight (and senator) ambassador to the protector of England, which should for ransome (as the custome is) demand deliuerie of the earle of Huntley being prisoner: which if he could not obtaine, that then he should request this libertie, that his wife and children might come vnto him into England. Wherevnto the protector answered, that he would not set the earle free, untill the warres were ended: but for the companie of his wife, he was content to grant it for certeine daies; with this prouiso, that he should not withdrow him selfe by anie means from the custodie of Kase Wane (corruptlie by Lesleus called Wane) who had taken him in the warres. Wherefore, when the ambassador was returned into Scotland, Huntley was committed to certeine keepers, who should carie him from London to Morphet, distant twentie and foure miles from the borders of Scotland. Now whilest the earle doth there loke for his wiues comming to him, he thinketh vpon escape, and to come to hir. For

The Frenchmen giue a camifado to Haddington, & are beaten backe.

Broughtie crag besieged by the earle of Argile. Vlpian Fol.

The raised his siege.

The fort builded by the Englishmen at Broughtie crag.

Dundee abandoned of the Englishmen.

The Keingraue.

Dundee fortified by the Frenchmen.

Fr. Thin. 1548. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 498.

Some castles recovered by the Scots.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 15 1549. Lesle

he had agreed with George Har, that he should one night priuile bring to him thither, two of the swiftest horses that he could get to flie awaie upon them. According whereunto Har was readie out of the borders of Scotland with such horses as he knew would serue the turne, wherof one was for the earle, and the other was for his man.

The earle prepareth a supper for his keepers, wherunto they were solemnelie invited, and to plaie at cards with him to passe awaie the tediousnes of the night. At length (as though he had plaied inough at cards) he left off, but earnestlie desired his keepers that they should continue on their game. During which, the earle (going vnto the window, and looking out) did by a secret signe (for he could not well discern anie thing, it was so extreame darke ouer all the element) easilie vnderstand that all things were readie for his iournie. The earle then doubtfull (being sometime in god hope, and sometime in feare) thought vpon manie things, which he muttered to himselfe: and at length vnauisedlie (as doubtfull men are wont to do) burst out in these speeches; Oh sorrow, all these things be a hinderance vnto me, the sharpnesse of the winter night, the doubt of my weake force and helpe, the let of an vnknown way, and the want of a faithfull guide: God prosper the iournie. His keepers hearing him speake to himselfe, asked him what those secret speeches might signifie: to whom the earle (knowing that he was guiltie of his fault) answered, that those words were used as a prouerbe amongst the Scots: and first had their beginning by the old earle Hoxton, uttering the same in the middle of the night when he lay in dieng. Wherevpon (to the end that his keepers should not haue anie suspicion of his determined flight) he sitteth downe againe to cards.

After which sudderlie he rose from them, as urged by losenesse of his bellie to vnburden nature, by which occasion he forthwith (accompanied onelie with his seruant) leaped forth, found the horses readie furnished for himselfe and his man, got on them, & with speedie iournie did flie to the borders of Scotland. When he was passed ouer the river of Tweed, and had a little refreshed himselfe from the labor of his iournie in the house of Har, he went the same night (being Christmas eue) to Edinburgh, where he was iustitie & honorable receiued of the queene, the gouernor, his wife, and his other friends, with an vniuersall gladnesse of the whole multitude of the towne. As soone as his keepers perceived that he was gone, they speedie run to horse, and doubtfull which way to follow: they seeke him here, and there, and euerie where, but all in vaine, for the diligence of the earle put them out of all doubt for obtaining him. Whose flight was not onelie a freedom to himselfe, but also to manie other noble prisoners, who (vpon the assurance of his faith and word) were permitted to depart into Scotland. The gouernor therefore, to congratulate with the earle for his returne, resioied vnto him the chancello: ship, and the rule of manie of his provinces which he had before his captiuitie. For which cause when he had remained a while at Edinburgh, he returned to the north parts of Scotland, where speedie and easilie he appeased all the tumults of those people.

On saint Stephens day at night, the castell of Hume was scaled, and wonne out of the English, into his hands. One of the surnames of the Humes, a man of threescore yeres of age, was the first that entered on the wall, slaying one of the watchmen that kept his watch on that side. A while after, when the capitaine of Falkland had commanded the battell of footmen, to bring thither, (at a certaine day) great store of vittels, the young men there

bouts hauing that occasion, assembled thither at the day appointed, who taking their burdens from the horses, and laing them on their shoulders, were ceined (after they had passed the bridge, which was made ouer two high rocks) into the castle, where (laing downe that which they brought) they sudderlie (by a signe giuen) set vpon the keepers of the gates, slue them, and (before the other Englishmen could be assembled) possessed the other places, weapons, and artillerie of the castell, and then receiuing the rest of their companie into the same (through the great and open gate) they wholie kept and inioied the castell for their countreimen.

About the same time, the Keinsgrau returned into France, leaving his five ensignes of Almaines behind him, vnder the charge of capitaine Ketouze, a good man of warre and of great experience. Also monsieur de Etanges was taken in a skirmish at Broughtie crag, as I haue noted in the English history: & about the same time, there landed at Dunbarton foure bands of souldiers, Bretonnois and Gascoignes, bringing monie with them to paie the souldiers their wages, behind as then for the space of three moneths. Sir James Wilford also was taken about the same time by the Frenchmen, in a skirmish at Dunbar (as I haue also noted in the historie of England.) Not long after, monsieur de Delle was appointed by the queene Dowager, to go vnto Jedworth, to prevent that the Englishmen should not fortifie there, whereof the Scot in some doubt.

Immediatlie vpon his coming thither, the lord of Fernthorpe requested him to helpe to reconer his castell of Fernthorpe out of the Englishmens hands, which they had taken from him and kept, greatlie to the annoiance of all the countrie thereabouts. Monsieur de Delle taking with him monsieur de Well, and monsieur de la Chapelle de Biton, halsted thither with the chiefest part of his armie, sending before certaine capitaine with their banners to sarue the house, who at their coming thither, vied such diligence in following the offered occasion, that they both repelled their enemies that came forth to grieve them the skirmish; and pursuing them with great rigor, wan the lims of the house vpon them, forcing the capitaine and souldiers to retire within the dungeon, and kept them so short therein, that they had opportunitie to mine an hole through the wall, of such largenesse, as a man might easilie enter by the same.

Wherevnto a great number of Scots hauing broken open the gate of the base court, where the Frenchmen were busie to assault the dungeon, burst in on heapes, vpon desire to be reuenged vpon the Englishmen, and namelie of their captiuitie, who (as they said) had done them manie great displeasures. The capitaine perceiving this, and doubting if he fell into the Scottishmens hands he should die for it, he presented himselfe at the hole, which the Frenchmen had made, and yielded himselfe to monsieur de Well, and la spouthe Rouge, who intruding to vish him as became men of warre, would haue led him out of the pise: but suddentlie a shot coming, he hit him, whose tolfe (as was reported) he had taken, smote off his head so full from the shoulders, that it leapt foure or five yards quite from the body. In this other cruell parts the Scots seemed to the Englishmen, taken here at Fernthorpe, but they excused the matter by the cruell dealings of the Englishmen towards them before that time.

Monsieur de Delle returning to Jedworth, asked by the further advice and counsell of the Scots, ceased not in occasions of advantage to attempt new enterprises against the Englishmen, as time and opportunitie serued: and among other exploits, the castell of Cornewall (an old house built after the ancient

1546.
The Keinsgrau returned into France.
Monsieur de Etanges taken prisoner by the Englishmen.

Sir James Wilford taken

The castell of Fernthorpe wonne by the Frenchmen.

The crueltie of the Scots,

The castell of Cornewall wonne.

The Frenchmen giue a challenge to Haxington, & are taken backe.

Broughtie crag besieged by the earle of Argyle.
Ipsian Fiel.

He raised his siege.

The fort built by the Englishmen at Broughtie crag.

Dunbar abandoned of the Englishmen.

The Keinsgrau.

Dunbar fortified by the Frenchmen.

Fr. Thin.
1548.
Lelles lib. 10.
pag. 498.

Hume castell recovered by the Scots.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. li. 15.
1549. Lelle.

Is k. j.

maner

**Captaine Co
biss.**

A road made
by monsieur
de la Chapelle
de Biron.

Another made
by monsieur
de Wesse.
Fourd castell
swone.

Thomas Kar

**Scots gaine
by spoile.**

Monsieur de
Wesse fleeth
out of Bed-
worth for
feare of the
Englishmen.

The misera-
ble state of the
Frenchmen
in Scotland,

01/01/1970 - 01/01/1970

Englishmen.

maner of fortifying) was taken by the Frenchmen, and spoiled of all things worth the bearing awaite. Also capteine Coblos a Frenchman, hauing a band of fiftie light horsemen Scots seruing vnder him, on a night had a faire hand against a number of English horsemen, whome he charged so on the sudden, as he saw them out of order, that he easilie discomfited them, and toke more prisoners (whome he brought to Jedworth) than he had persons in his companie to assaile them.

Monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron, was sent forth by monsieur de Delfe, with the compante of bestemen that belonged to monsieur de Ctauges then prisoner, and five hundred soldiers beside Scots, to make a road into England: which enterprize he achieved in burning towne and villages, and returned without any great losse sustained at that time. Within two daies after his returne to Jedworth, monsieur de Delfe billoged from thence, & taking with him foure field peeces, and all his men of war, entered into England, toke the castell of Fford and burnt it, with ten small villages in the countie thereabouts, situate within halfe a mile ech of other. There was one towne yet parcell of that castell of Fford, which was kept by Thomas Ikar, so that the Frenchmen could not win it, for they had no time to staie long about it, removing that night over the water, & incamped there within the Scottish ground.

As the Scots and Frenchmen executed these enterprises, they were coassied by certeine light horsemen; but neuertheless the Frenchmen returned in safetie to Jedworth, having soze indamaged the English borderers by that road: insomuch as it was thought, the Scots (which were with them at that road) gained at that time, by pillage and booties to the value of nine thousand crownes. The Englishmen soze grieved, that the Frenchmen lieng thus in Jedworth, should in such wise aduents one enterprise after an other against them, to greatlie to their annoiance, assembled a power together at Korburch, purposing to haue assailed the Frenchmen in their campe at Jedworth.

But monsieur de Wesse hauing warning thereof, departed from thence first to Apellole, and after further off within the countrie, fearing to be constrained to giue battell. Which he could not haue done without manifest losse of his feeble armie, hauing not past fiftene hundred footmen, and foue hundred horsemen able to haue done seruice : for such was the miserie, which they had in manner continuallie sustained through want of vittells, and other necessa- rie helps during the time of their incamping at Jed- worth; that what through sickenesse and hurts recei- ued in assaults and skirmishes, no small number of them were dead, and manie other so feeble, that they were not able to aid themselves; insomuch that now being got out of danger; they thought themselves hamile escaped.

Sheweth after, in the beginning of the summer, the Englishmen arrived five and twentieth saile of men of warre, the which arriving at the Balle; were to the mony of the French, assailed by false and pleasant promises to have persuaded the keepers of the castell, there standing on the height of a great rocke, to have yielded the place into their hands: But perceiving their persuasions would not be regarded, they took their course by into the South; and finding in their waie foure ships of Frenchmen and Scots, seized upon them as a wished prize: and the morrow next following, at the vertie breake of day, they came before the towne, and saluting the towne with canon shot; remained there at anchor ten or twelve daies, in which time as while they landed their people at Inkfish, and began to fortifie with all diligence. But before the

place could be put in anie strength, the ships departed from thence backe towards the sea, and left in the Island foure ensignes of Englishmen, and one ensigne of Italians, to defend the pioners and the Island against the Scots and Frenchmen, if they should attempt to assaile them.

After the English naue was thus departed, monsieur de Delfe, and the queene mother being at Candenburgh, determined with all diligence to imploier all such forces as they might make about the recouering of the Ile, before the fortifications begun by the Englishmen should be brought to anie perfection. Hereupon, monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron, embarked in the gallie of monsieur de Tillegaignon, rowed forth to view the manner of the Englishmens dealing within the Ile, which he did in such effectual wise, that approaching within hargebuse shot, he brought knowledge with him not onelie of the state and whole circumstances of their buildings, but also of the perked number of their enignes, and the quality of the men of warre that serued vnder the same.

At that present also, monsieur de Thermes latelie befoze arrived at Dunbretzen with an hundred men of armes, and two hundred light horsemen after the manner of France, and one thousand footmen, who came to the quene, busie now to further this enterprise. She had got together within Leith haven all the botes that belonged to all the crâkes & havens of the Forth: so that on thurdsdaie after Trinitie sundae, everie thing being prepared ready for the purpose, in the morning by the bzeake of day the quene was come to Leith, to see the imbarcking of the men of warre appointed that day to trie what successe fortune would send them. There was no diligence wanting, neither among the Scots nor Frenchmen, to bestow themselves abroad, & the comfotable words of the quene greatly encouraged them thereto, be- holding them, and dealing with monsieur de Desse and the other captains, till they were all set forward.

Allegaignon with his gallies passed on before to keepe the Englishmen occupied, so as they should not perceiue the Frenchmens meaning: but they discouering the vessels at their setting forth, conceived straight waies what was intended: and thereupon prepared to keepe the enemies off from landing, so that upon the Frenchmens approach, they saluted them with arrowes and harquebuse shot verie hotlie: yet at length by fine force the Scots and Frenchmen got on land, and browe the Englishmen and Italians backe from the sea strand vp to the higher ground, where they stood at defense on a plaine together, doing their best to defend the place against the assailants.

But finally, their generall named Cotton, being
slaine with George Applebee esquire, a capitaine of an
ensigne of footmen lent forth of Wexbshire, and one
Capar Pibon, that was capitaine of the Italians
beside diuers other gentlemen, and the most princi-
pall men of warre and soldiers among them: the
residue were constrained to retire vnto a corner or
point of the Island, where they were taken without
further resistance, although before they had made ve-
rie stout defence; hurt and slaine diuerse Scots and
Frenchmen, both at their landing, and also after they
were entered on land. Among other, monsieur de la
Chapelle de Biran was stricken through the hand
with an harquebuse shot, and his burgonet beaten
into his head; that his friends that were about
him, were faine to conuey him into one of the gal-
lies to be dressed of his hurts by a surgeon. Alwa
gentleman named Desboies, which bare the said
monsieur de la Chapelle his cornell ensigne, was
slaine with a pike by the hands of the forenamed
Cotton the English generall.

Inskith reco:
uered by the
frenchmen.

Monsieur de
D:lle retar-
neth into
france.

**Monsieur de
Thermes
succédeth in
his place.**

It fore built=
ded at Alberla
dis.

The diligence
of the Scottish
queene.

The forward-
ness of the
soldiers.

Insulted by the
Frenchmen,

The earle of
Burland.

**Captaine
Cotton gene-
rall of Inf-
kith and o-
thers Aaine.**

Monfieur de
la Chapelle
burt.

The French-
men in danger
to have been
distressed.

Insaltly reco-
uered by the
Frenchmen.

Monsieur de
Delle retur-
ned into
France.

Monsieur de
Thermes suc-
ceeded in
his place.

A fort built
at Aberla-
die.

The earle of
Rutland.

The French-
men in danger
to have bene
distressed.

Thus was Insaltly recovered out of the English-
mens hands, after it had bene in their possession by
the space of sixteen daies, the more to the high con-
tentation of monsieur de Delle, for that at the same
time he stood upon his discharge and returne into
France, being appointed to surrender up his place
to monsieur de Thermes, latelie before arrived (as
ye have heard) with commission to receive the same.
So that monsieur de Delle, to end his charge with
the glorie of this achieved enterprize, esteemed it
much to stand with his honor: and no doubt with the
swelling humor of the glorie thence redounding he
was blown up; as in cases of victorie it cometh
to passe in them that make a good hand: whereas
the vanquished (God wot) are contrarie qualified.

Shortly after, he returned into France with the
gallies, and monsieur de Thermes succeeded in his
place for the generall conduct of the French armie in
Scotland. Who by the advise of the gouernor, and
other of the Scottish lords, determined with a siege
volant to keepe the Englishmen in Haddington from
vittels and all other reliefe. First therefore, after
that Delle was departed towards France, mon-
sieur de Thermes with his Frenchmen and some
Scots incamped at Aberlady, where they began the
foundation of a fort, so to impeach the Englishmen
from setting on land anie vittels there, to be conueid
from thence to Haddington, as before they had done.

In this meane time, the Englishmen had increa-
sed their numbers of Almaines, and other stran-
gers, and not onelie furnished their forts with new
supplies of men; but also had an armie in the fields
which lay most an end at Dunglas, and one while
besieged Hume castell. But after they saw them-
selves disappointed of the meane, whereby they sup-
posed to haue recovered it, they raised from thence,
and spoiled the most part of Lintdale and other the
marches thereabout; in reuenge (as they alleged) of
the dissolutie and breach of promise proued in the as-
sured Scots. Generall of this armie was the earle
of Rutland, lieutenant at that present of the north
parts, a noble man, right valiant, wise, well aduised,
and staied in his dealings, verie honorable and cour-
teous in all his demeanour.

He was accompanied with capitaines of good esti-
mation and approved provelse, as sir Richard Pa-
ners, sir Francis Leake, sir John Savage, sir Tho-
mas Wolcott, sir Edward Mulsrop, & others. He
so behaued himselfe in that dangerous time of the
bypoies and rebellions of the commons, through the
more part of the realme of England; that although
the appointed forces against Scotland were staied,
and turned to the suppression of the rebels, to the in-
couragement (no doubt) both of Scots and French-
men in Scotland, yet they were so fronted and kept
in awe by that armie under the earle of Rutland, that
they rather lost than gained in this season at the
Englishmens hands.

At one time the same armie, under the conduct of
the said earle, passing forth with a conuoy of vittels
vnto Haddington, came so suddenlie vpon the
Frenchmen where they late in campe, that whether
through default of their scouts, or other negligence
used by them, or through the great diligence and pro-
uident forwarde theiues by the Englishmen, the
Frenchmen were in such hazard to haue bene utter-
lie distressed, that if the Englishmen had not doub-
ted more, than by anie was thought needfull, they
might haue overthrowen, taken, & slaine the French-
men handmoth (as was supposed) at their pleasure.
But the Englishmen euen at their first coming in
sight of them (as it stood with the reason of warre,
sith by the aduenturing rashlie oftentimes in such
cases to late repentance easilie insueth) staied, the

better to conceale of that which they had to doe. Where-
by the Frenchmen had leasure to march their waies
a maine pale, till they were got out of danger: for
after they once beheld all the troops of the English
hoiemen almost at their elbows, and here with
the battell of the Almaines suddenlie appearing on
the hill top ready to come downe vpon them, it was
no need to bid them packe awaie.

The French-
men retire.

The Scottish light hoiemen coming on the
backe of the English armie, perceived where the Al-
maines (to make them ready to giue battell) had
throwen off their clothes, and left the same (with all
their baggage and stuffe which they had about them)
in keeping of none but of their women and boies:
wherevpon those Scottish hoiemen, not minding to
suffer such a prey to escape their hands, came gallo-
ping in, and took all the best stuffe they could lay
hold vpon, and returned in safetie, before anie eni-
mie could come backe to the rescue. The Almaines
were in no small chafe for the losse of their garments
and other necessaries; but there was no helpe then
to seeke remedie in that behalfe: for the Scots were
withdrawen and got quite out of danger.

The baggage
of the English
Almaines
spoiled by the
Scottish hoi-
men.

The English armie, after that the Frenchmen
were thus fled and gone, passed forth to Haddington,
with their cartages laden with vittels, to the great
comfort of them within that fortreffe, standing in
great necessitie before this conuoy came. This
summer also, and a little before the vittelling thus
of Haddington, vpon knowledge had that Julian Ro-
mero with his band of Spaniards, whereof he was
capteine, seruing the king of England, was lodged
in Coldingham, six miles distant from Berwick:
certeine bands of Almaines and Frenchmen came
thither vpon the sudden, and surprizing the Spani-
ards before they were aware of their approach, set vpon
them in their lodgings, took, and slue in maner
the whole number of them.

Haddington
vittelled.

Julian Ro-
mero distressed.

Things passing in this wise in Scotland in the
summer of this yeare 1549, the Englishmen were
not onelie in the meane time sore troubled with com-
motions raised by the commons of that realme; but
also with the warres which the French king made a-
gainst them, within the countrie of Bullognois, so
that they had not meanes to imploye their forces a-
gainst Scotland as they had determined to haue
done; as partlie before, and more largelie in the hi-
storie of England is mentioned. By reason whereof,
anon after Michaelmas they gaue ouer the keeping
of Haddington, and raising their fortifications there,
they returned into England to the great reioicing
of Louthian, to whome that towne had giuen occa-
sion of great troubles and calamities. Vpon the gi-
uing ouer thus of Haddington, the gouernor and the
queene Dowager were aduanced, in hope to reco-
uer againe all that the Englishmen held within the
bounds of Scotland.

Haddington
raised and left
by the Eng-
lishmen.

But first it was thought good to allate the win-
ning of Broughtie crag; for it sounded (as was
thought) greatlie to the diminishing of the estima-
tion, aswell of the Scots as Frenchmen, that the
English should keepe foot so far within the realme,
in despight of their whole puissance. Wherevpon mon-
sieur de Thermes about Candlemasse, hauing all
things in a readinesse for the siege, came thither, and
did so much, what with shot of canon to make bat-
terie, and other meanes of inforcements, that gi-
uing the assault both with Scots and Frenchmen,
they entred the fort the twentieth of Februarie by
fine force, so that all those within were either taken
or slaine. Wherevpon those English also that kept
the castell, rendred by the same without further resis-
tance, amongst other prisoners: sir John Luttrell
the capteine was one.

1550.

Broughtie
crag won by
the French-
men.

A treatie for
peace.

Sir Hugh
Willoughbie.

A peace con-
cluded.

The names of
the commis-
sioners ap-
pointed to
treat of peace.

Fr. Thin.

The articles
of the peace.

Monsieur de
Pourret.

The French-
men returns
home.

The mar-
quess de
Haine.

The death of
the first duke
of Guise.

In this meane time there were certeine commis-
sioners appointed betwixt the two kings of Eng-
land and France to commune of a peace: but be-
cause they continued long in their treatie per they
could agree, the Scots and Frenchmen surceased
not in occasions of advantage to pursue the warre,
so that comming before London they besieged that
fortresse, & skirmishing with the Englishmen that
issued forth, to encounter them, drove them in at the
gates with some losse on either part. And this done,
the French held them within so straitlie besieged,
that if peace had not bene the sooner concluded, Sir
Hugh Willoughbie captaine of that fort must needs
have perished through lacke of shot, & other necessarie
things serving for defense; which were spent, so that
they were constrained to use their powder bestell in
stead of bullets. But as it fortuned, a peace was ac-
corded, passed, and confirmed, that verie selfe time
betwixt the two kings of England and France,
through the diligent and orderlie trauell of the com-
missioners appointed to deale therein, whose names
insue.

First for the king of England, the right honora-
ble John earle of Bedford, knight of the garter,
and lord privie seale; William Paget lord of Beau-
desert, knight also of the garter; Sir William Peter
knight, chiefe secretarie to the said king; & Sir John
Mason knight, secretarie to him for the French
tong. For the French king were appointed Fran-
cis de Montmorence, lord of Rochfort, knight of the
order of saint Michael, and lieutenant for the same
king of Picardie, in absence of monsieur de Man-
douine; Casper de Colignie, lord of Chastillon,
knight also of the order, and captaine generall of the
foemen of France, and the said kings lieutenant
generall in the countie of Bullogne; Andrew Guil-
lard lord Portier, knight also of the order, and one
of the same kings privie councill; and Guillaume
Bouchetell lord of Saille, knight likewise of the
order, & secretarie of the estate of the finances. [And
for the Scots (as saith Lefleus, lib. 10. pag. 506.)
D. Daintier bishop of Ross.]

Among other articles comprised in this peace,
it was covenanted, that all such forts, castles, and
places as the Englishmen held in anie part within
the Scottish dominions, should be delivered and re-
stored to the Scots; and that the forts of Dunglas,
Korburgh, and Alimouth, which the Englishmen had
built and raised out of the ground, should be rased
and thowen downe, to avoide all occasions of new
controversies that might grow by reason of keeping
or defending the same: so as the peace now conclu-
ded, might in all points be firmelie and truelie kept
and observed, as well betwixt England and Scot-
land, as England and France, and betwixt all and
euerie the subjects of the same realmes, both by sea
and land. Monsieur de Pourret was sent into Scot-
land with the copie of this peace, by whose means it
was proclaimed anon after Easter about the begin-
ning of Aprill, and euerie thing used and ordered ac-
cording to the articles of the agreement concluded.

In wate the Frenchmen and Almaines were im-
barked at Leith in sixtene French ships, and cer-
taine Scottish ships, and departed from thence in-
to France. A few there were, as Pigropellie and
Saint Falcie, captains of light horsemen, with o-
thers that passed through England, and so home into
their countie. Moreover the marquess de Haine,
after duke Daumals comming over into England
about the same time for an hostage, passed after-
wards through the realme into Scotland, to visit his
sister quene Dowager, and shortly after returned.
They mourned both for the death of their father
Claude de Lorraine, the first duke of Guise, who de-

ceased the eighteenth of Aprill this present yeare

1550.

How then the French departed out of Scot-
land; there were manie Scots appointed unto them;
partlie, to defend them from pirats, if they should of-
fer them anie iniurie in the streit of the British
sea, and partlie for honours cause to bring them on
their iourne into France. By whose departure
Scotland was free lie delivered from all foren soul-
diers, except certeine Frenchmen, who remained
still in the countie; because they had the Ile of In-
keth and the castell of Dunbar committed to their
charge, which afterwards they did most faithfullie
discharge. Monsieur de Merymes, Chappellie, and
diuerse other captains of France, remained also in
Scotland, (after that the others were imbarked to be
gone into France) for pleasures cause, and to see the
countie; who (trauelling ouer Scotland, and behol-
ding the cities, searching the castles, and marking
the bulwarks of defense) did constantly affirme,
that in the whole world they neuer sawe forts and
townes more pleasantlie placed, or more naturallie
defended. In seeing whereof they consumed the
time with great pleasure, untill the moneth of
December, in which they all went into France
with the quene Dowager.

Thus, as there was peace (by the departing of the
French) with foren nations, which continued three
yeares: so was there within the walls and king-
dome warre and dissention amongst the Scots;
which was most perillous and troublesome. For
they which were the chiefe rulers (as the gouernor
and his brother the archbishop of saint Andrewes
and others) did vse all things with extreme cruel-
tie & courteousness. For the archbishop, being giuen
to all libertie, followed by law his pleasures in all
things, as though it had bene permitted unto him.
For first, as a presage of his following tyrannie, he
permitted the slaughter of William Chycheiston to
go unpunished, the same William being slaine in
the gouernors house (if not within his owne sight)
by Robert Semple: next followed the death of
John Maluill an old man of life; who next unto
the gouernor was most accounted of by him, as chie-
fest of his familiars. This John had his letters
(which he wrote to an Englishman, to whom he did
commend a captaine his friend) intercepted. In
which, although there were not anie suspicion of anie
fault, yet was the author of them punished with the
losse of his head. Whose patrimonie made his death
seeme the more vile; because the same was giuen to
the yonger sonne of the gouernor. The hurts of these
wicked parts did pertaine to few, the enemie there-
of to manie, and the example vniuersallie to all. For
by reason of this unskillfull gouernement of the
kingdome; and the short of his life, which offended
the common people; the gouernor began to be had
in contempt almost of all men.]

In September following, the quene Dowager
accompanied with the earls of Huntley, Castils,
Marshall, Southerland, and diuerse other of the
Scottish nobilitie took the sea, and sailing to France
landed at Diepe: she was conueied thither by the
pilot of Capoa, & Leon Strozze, sent and appoin-
ted with six gallies to haue the conduction of hir.
From Diepe she remoued to Rone, where the king
then late, of whom she was right courteouslie recei-
ued, and had such attendance and seruice done unto
hir, during the time of hir tariance there, as stood
with the dignitie of hir person, and was answerable
to the minds and expectations of hir traine; to the
high praise likewise of the king and his court in that
behalfe.

The causes of the quene Dowagers going into
France

Buchanan
lib. 15.
Lefleus lib.
pag. 508.

Fr. Thin.
Lefleus lib. 16.
pag. 507.

1551. Lefleus
lib. 10. pag.

Buchanan
lib. 15.

Lanchlan
Shaw into
apprehent

Lefleus lib.
pag. 509.

The quene
Dowager sail-
eth into
France.

Buchanan.
lib. 15.
Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 508.

1551. Lefleus.
lib. 10. pag. 508

Lanchlane
Spakintofche
apprehended.

Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 509.

France were, that now having disguised all things at home in Scotland, the might reue to the old league in France, the might see hir daughter and hir other friends; and procure the gouernement of the realme to hir selfe. For the ambitious and subtil woman did thinke in hir mind, that the gouernoz by his euill demeanoz would sone be put out of his office, and that the might easilie find means to be substituted in his place. But before hir shipping into France, and whilest they were preparing, the earle of Huntleie commanded William Spakintofche (chiefe of the familie of the Glenchatens, and his followers) to be apprehended (for a conspiracie secretlie begun against him, whilest he was the kings deputie in thosc north parts) and from thence (being first deyrueed of all his goods) caried him to Strachbolgie, where he was beheaded. Which fact (greatlie offending the minds of the earle of Castils, and others that fauored the Spakintofche) did so stir them against Huntleie, that a commotion and tumult had bene raised by them, vnlesse the wisdom of the quene had appeased the furie of their minds.

For although the quene certeine yeares after, had wisdom the sentence of proseription for the gods of Spakintofche (restoring the same with the possessions and inheritances vnto the sonne of Spakintofche) and thereby had seemed to cut awaie the cause of distinction betwene Huntleie and them: yet the kindred and friends of the Glenchatens (not suffering so great an injurie to their familie to go vnreueged) did secretlie (but eagerlie) pursue the same with great contention of mind. Wherefore entring the castell of Het by deceipt, they apprehended Lanchlane Spakintofche, and (condemning all his followers to banishment) did cruellie kill him (as the betrayer of the head of his owne familie) because they supposed, that he ministered and blew the cole that fired Huntleie, to make the said William Spakintofche out of the waie.

A little before which, the maister of Cresskine, and Henrie Senclere deane of Glasgou were sent into England; who at London did anew confirme the peace concluded before with the English; from whence they passed into Flanders, to make the like league with the low countries, which they did renew, to the great reioicing of both nations; although in the beginning of the treatie there grew great and contentious questions for the restitution of the ships of Flanders and Holland (whereof the Scots had taken manie in the warres) notwithstanding that the Scots had alleged, that they did not offer anie violence to those of the low countries, before that they (by the perswasion of the English) had offered waring to the Scots, in deteining their ships and merchandize.

Thus much digressed from the quene Dowagers going into France, wherevnto aforesaid to direct our pen, we say; that being at home, the king did there openlie make shew of hir welcome vnto him by diuerse arguments. Amongst which, this was not the least: that (besides other shew, honorable triumphs, & manie courtelies shewed to the Scots) calling a chapter of the knights of the order of saint Michael, he admitted the earle of Huntleie and other chiefe lords of Scotland there to the quene, and fauored by him, into the said order. Which honozs and pleasures seemed the more augmented, in that the yong quene of Scots was there present, adorned with such singular beautie, as was not easilie to be spoken, by the iudgement of Lefleus. After that they had thus spent some time in delights of courtelie, to feed the mind and eie, the king of France, the two quens of Scotland, and the other nobles, departed from thence to Paris; where they were with great triumph of

the citizens most iustlie receiued. At what time againe, the French king shewed such humanitie to Huntleie, and the other Scots; that he seemed for euer most firmelie to bind them vnto him. After that they spent some daies there at Paris, the king with that companie remoued to Blesics; where he remained all the winter.

Now the quene Dowager, thinking the time and place fit for the exerting of the cause of hir coming into France, and vsing therein the aduise of the duke of Guise, and the cardinall of Lozeine (hir brethren) openeth the same vnto the French king, shewing that amongst others, the chiefe cause to take that iourne, was to require his opinion, touching the gouernement of the kingdome of Scotland: and to know, if it pleased him that the helme of the same kingdome should be committed to hir rule. Which if he misliked, or deemed the contrarie; that yet he would wholie rest on his determination. The which matter pleased well the king, but yet with this promise, if the gouernoz without anie tumult or raising of quarrels would giue it ouer.

Whereupon the quene, to bring euerie thing about as she desired, did perswade the king to confirme the dukedome of Chateleault in France, vnto the gouernoz, before granted to him and to his heires; & to make his eldest son erle of Arraine chiefe captaine of the bands of Scots in France. And further, to giue the earledome of Purrie to the earle of Huntleie (kinsman to the gouernoz) and to his heires; the earledome of Rothseie to his sonne, which had married the kinsman of the said gouernoz; the whole earledome of Angus, to the earle thereof; and the erledome of Moriton, to the sonne of George Douglasse. All which he should procure likewise to be confirmed by such, as should be gouernozs of the yong quene. These things now done, the French king carefullie receiued the yong quene of Scots into his protection; vntill she should come vnto more sufficient yeers, able to confirme all these gifts; the which if she refused then to do, the French king wold then bestow as large possessions on them in France.

In the meane time the gouernoz had sent Carnegie knight and senator into France, who should in the name of the Scots giue great thanks to the king for the aid which they receiued out of France, against the Englishmen. After this the French king did liberallie open the determination of the quene mother of Scotland to the bishop of Ross (then ambassador for the Scots in France) to Robert Carnegie, and to Calvin Hamilton (to whom, as was said, the abbey of Kilwinin was giuen in commendam) to the end that the same which was at the first secretlie consulted betwene the king of France & the quene Dowager, might now openlie be considered among the Scots which were in France: declaring further, that he desired nothing more, than that the quene mother should susteine the parts and place of the quene hir daughter, in the administration and gouernement of Scotland, with the same moslie stead with reason and equitie; and that he (the better to win the gouernoz to yeld therevnto) had giuen the gouernoz the dukedome of Chateleault, to his sonne the captainship of all the Scots in France, and manie other liberall benefits to manie other of his kinsmen.

And to the end that no deceipt might be supposed to be hidden under this liberalitie, the French king willed the ambassador to take possession of all these things in the dukes name. Robert Carnegie hauing his errand, returned into Scotland; & shortly after, the bishop of Ross was appointed ambassador, who at length with much adoe did wying from the gouernoz a consent to part from his authoritie,

Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 510.

Buchanan.
lib. 16.
Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 410.

h. h. ij. and

and to applie himselfe to the will of the French king: which thus in the end obtained, the bishop of Ross goeth againe into France, to aduertise the king what he had done. Whereupon the king considering his painfull & faithfull seruice, did reward him with the abbeie of Labete in France.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 511.

Blais.

Whilest these things were in doing, Edward the first, king of England, did send the marquesse of Northampton, & other of the nobler sort of ambassadoys to Henrie the second, king of France, then sojourning at Blesies, to moue him to giue his daughter in marriage to the king of England. At what time there were manie martiall games and pastimes shewed before the king, in which the English ioining the Scots with them as companions of their sports, did beare a part, and won the garland (from the others) to their singular commendation. The summer next following, the French king accompanied with the quene mother of Scotland and other of the nobilitie, did with great pompe enter Turon, Amboise, & other cities of Britaine, which he had not before scene since he attained the crowne. After certaine moneths consumed in those iournies, he returned to Fontainebleau.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 512.

But the quene Dowager of Scotland, taking hir courteous leaue and farwell of the French king, hir daughter, & of other the nobilitie, departed from the court, and with easie iournies came to Jamieilie: where remaining a certaine time, she had the pleasant companie of hir mother the duchesse of Guise, and hir other friends to their great ioy: but that she shewed a certaine grieffe (for hir father lately deceased) which somewhat diminished the sweet pleasure of that meeting. Now when the quene Dowager had remained almost 12 moneths or more in France, honorable intertaine, bountifullie feasted, louinglie saluted by hir friends and kintred, and hauing obtained a willing grant of the effects of hir request, the Scots doe urge hir to hasten hir returne into Scotland, preparing at Paris all things necessarie thereunto.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 512.

Wherefore departing thence, and comming againe to Rome, the quene mother moued and perswaded the nobilitie about the taking of hir iourne through England into Scotland. By occasion whereof, losing their ships from Petropost, they passe the seas, and happily landed at Portsmouth, a famous port of England. The knowledge of which arrivall comming to king Edward the first, he presentlie sent thither the earle of Southampton, and the lord William Howard to intertaine hir: who receiued hir with singular ioy and courtesie, and conueied hir through Hampshire, Sussex, and Surreie (three provinces of England) to Hampton court, where the king as then remained; from whence (after that she had bene there most honorable receiued) she came along the riuer of Thames to London, and landed at Poules wharfe in the after none, and from thence rode to the bishop of Londons palace by Poules, and there lodged.

Hir receiuing
at the court.

The fourth of Nouember, she rode in hir chariot to the kings palace of the Whitehall, accompanied with the ladie margaret Dowglas, the three dutchesses, of Suffolke, Richmund, and Northumberland, and diuerse other great ladies and gentlewomen, both Scotish and English. At the court gate the dukes of Northumberland, and Suffolke, and the lord treasurer were readie to receiue hir. And at hir entering into the hall, the king stood in the upper end thereof, and the erle of Marwicke holding the sword before him. She at hir approaching to him, kneled downe, and he courteously toke hir vp, and kissed hir; and taking hir by the hand, led hir vp into his owne chamber of presence, & after into the quenes

chamber of presence, where he kissed all the ladies of Scotland, and so departed for a while.

She dined on the quenes side that day with the king, his seruice and his comming both together: the kings being placed on the right hand of the table, and his on the left. What plentie of all maner of costlie meates and drinks there was, and what rich furniture of plate and all other things was shewed to set forth the feast, it were superfluous to write. All the ladies both of England and Scotland dined in the quenes great chamber. After dinner the king shewed hir his gallerie and gardens, with all other commodities of the place. And about foure of the clocke, he brought hir downe againe by the hand into the hall, where he first receiued hir, and there kissing hir, he toke hir leaue, & returned to the bishops palace from whence she came.

* And here I must not forget that Lesleus hath set downe in this place for the defense of his people, in not deliuering the young quene of Scots to the English, to haue entered the marriage bed of king Edward the first. Whose reasons although they may (the first ground of the warre considered, with the consent of the Scots parlement to that marriage, and the willingness of the English to haue caused them to performe their promise without battell) be well answered, as matters that not verie greatly defend the cause: yet I will not anie way say anie thing of him (being a man estranged from vs in religion, but learned, wise, of great experience, a faithfull seruant to his mistresse, and a graue bishop of Ross) but set them downe plainelie as he writeth them, leauing the same to the iudgement of others, sith I meane not in anie thing to derogate from them, or arrogate vnto our selues more than is due. Thus therefore he writeth.

Fr. Thin.

When the quene (saith he) of Scots was come to London, the king of England sheweth vnto hir his treasure, openeth the monuments, laieth abroad the antiquities of the kingdome, and laboured by manie other such kind of means, that he might prepare himselfe a passage (with the open notes of courtesie) to obtaine the good will of the quene. For he after perswaded hir with manie speeches, that she should giue hir daughter vnto him, as it was before decreed by the Scotish nobilitie: which he proueth by manie arguments to be most beneficiall vnto both nations. When on the contrarie part (if she were giuen vnto the French kings sonne) it should not be profitable either to the Scots, which should giue; or the French, which should receiue hir to wife. Wherewithall adding this vnto it, that there should alwaies be continuall hatred, and deadlie enimitie betwene him and that person which should marrie hir.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 513.

Wherevnto the quene both presentlie and wisely answered, that the cause of hir daughters marriage to be solemnized with the French, was onlie by reason of the protecto; of England, which so bitterlie pursued the Scots with such earnest warre as then was made against them. For it was vnaduisable done of him, to seeke to compell by force of battell a woman, which is to be allured to the marriage bed with false promises and flattering speeches. Wherevnto she ioined, that the Scots were so vehementlie pressed by him, that they were enforced to craue aid from the French: for the more speedie & easie obtaining whereof, they were vrged to leaue the young quene of Scots in France for a pledge. Wherefore she greatly grieued that the matter was so fast knit vp by the necessitie of time, otherwise than the Englishmen would haue had it. But yet, she would labo; the French king by hir letters and messengers, with all the diligence that she might, to see if hir trauell and furtherance could doe anie thing with him therein.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 513.

The archbi-
shop of Arma-
chane.

1551.

1552.

therein. Thus much Lesleus, and so againe to the matter.)

The first of November, the queene Dowager departed from London toward Scotland, riding from Donles through the citie, passing forth at Bishops gate. The duke of Northumberland, the erle of Denbroke, and the lord treasurer brought her to Shewich church, and there took her leave of her. The duke of Northumberland had an hundred men after him with ianelins, whereof fourtie were gentlemen clad in blacke velvet cotes garbed with white, & hats of blacke velvet with white feathers, and chains of gold about their necks. The earle of Denbroke had six score men well appointed also, with blacke ianelins and hats with feathers, and the lord treasurer had an hundred gentlemen and yeomen with ianelins in like manner, well apparelled: which three companies of horsemen furnished the streets on either side, from the crosse in Cheape, to Birchen lane end, as the passed that waie.

The shiriffes of London had the conduction of her to Waltham towne end, where she lodged that night: and in euerie shire through which she passed, the shiriffe, with the gentlemen of the same shire, received her, and gaue their attendance on her, till she came to enter into the next shire, where the shiriffe and gentle men there received her: and that order was obserued till she came to the borders of Scotland, and all her charges for meat and drinke, as well for her selfe, and whole traine, as also the provision for their horses, was borne and allowed by the king. [Besides which, (as saith the same Lesleus) Richard Shelleie, now maister of the knights of Malta in England, and Edward Doubleie baron, were appointed to attend on her all the waie through England, from London to Edenburgh, where she was honorablie received by the earle Bothwell, and the lord Hume.] The earle of Huntlee, and diuerse other of the Scottish lords returned home by sea, the said earle landing at Montrose, about the latter end of December.

* After that the queene was arrived in Scotland, she labored euerie waie to stop all occasion of dissention; and that these brawles which were risen amongest the nobilitie in the time of the warres, and were not yet fullie quenched, might grow no further, to bring the common wealth (alreadie much impaired) into new troubles. Therefore, by the aduise of the gouernor, of the earles of Huntlee, Angus, and Argyle, and by the queenes travell, the controuersies moued about the archbishopricks of saint Andrews and Glasgow, the bishopricks of Dunkeld and Brechin, the abbeies of Aberbrothie, Inchchastrie, and other benefices, were ended: by bestowing some of them vpon noble mens children, and some vpon such persons as moste deserved them.)

Doctor Wanshop, whome Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 514. calleth Robert Warhope, a Scottishman borne, archbishop of Armachane, so nominated by pope Paule the third, and after created *Legatus à latere* by Iulius the third, deceased this yeere in Paris, the tenth of November. This man was blind from his infancie, but yet gaue himselfe so to studie, that he was first made doctor of diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Paris, and after attained to such estimation in the court of Rome, that he was by the foresaid popes aduanced (as before ye haue heard.) So that it is to be presumed, that the sufficiencie of his learning, (where to he must needs aspire altogether by the eare) (sith he was quite deuiued of the benefit of sight) coupled with other good qualities of mind, were means to preferre him first into the popes fauour, and then to promotion of his bestowing.

This yeere in the moneth of Iune, the queene Dowager, and the gouernor, went into the north parts of

Scotland; and at Inuerne, Elgin, Banff, Aberdeen, and Perth, the gouernor sat in iustice for redresse of wrongs, and administration of righteous lawes and orders. And afterwards they repaired to the west parts, and sat like wise in iustice at Dunferrie, Glascow, Lanricke, and in other places of that countrie, where diuerse were put to their fines for transgressing the lawes, but few or none touched by corporall punishment. Which was but a slender course taken in reforming enormities, and little better than impunity; though in leuieng of the fines (perhaps) a proportion were used: for by that meanes manie an offense was redeemed by monie, and iustice was little better than bought and sold, as at a publike mart.

* After this, they returned to Edenburgh, where all things requisite for the establishing of iustice were confirmed by the counsell of the nobilitie, and of the wise senators. Where vpon, when nothing seemed to want for the setting of a perfect peace through all the realme, but this, that certeine of the inhabitants of the east limits (accustomed to spoiles) did by dining booties of cattell from the borders of England, seeme to offer new occasion of warre. At this time, the gouernor goeth to Jedworth, and remoued such magistrats as had negligentlie gouerned their owne prouince, or dispatched the generall affaires of the kingdome: where taking pledges of euerie familie, he made them after that time in better quiet. Where vpon a long time following, there was a mutuall peace betwene England and Scotland. About which time also, the protestants religion making breach into the doctrine of the Romans, there was a prouinciall counsell kept at Withquoe, where the Calvinists with their doctrine were condemned and accurst; and all things decreed in the counsell of Trent vnder Pante the third, were established, with manie other needfull lawes made to purge the corrupt manners of the clergie.

In which meane time, David Painter or Painter (for I find both written) being a man of great learning, and famous by great experience, hauing faithfullie consumed seuen yeeres in France, in the seruice of an ambassadoz legier, came out of France to Jedworth: where, when he had declared to the gouernor (in the assemblie of the nobilitie) the reason, order, and meane which he used in accomplishing of his office; he was greatly commended of all men. And for that he had so diligentlie, wiselie, & trustlie performed that great charge, he was with great solemnitie consecrated bishop of Ross, in the presence of that assemblie. At which time also, the gouernor did dub into the order of knight hood certeine borderers, who had deserved well of the common wealth, to the end that their vertue adorned with such honorable recompense, might be more enlarged toward the care of their countrie. Amongest which persons so aduanced, these were the chiefe: Celsford and Fernihurst, Andrew Bar of Littleben, Coulbinknols, Greinherdie, Balclench, with manie other valiant men.)

In this sojorne (wherein the gouernor was thus the iustice) the queene secretlie travelled with the lords, both spirituall and temporall, to haue their consents to be regent of Scotland, immediatlie after her daughter the queene came to sufficient yeeres, and that the time of her tutorship were accomplished, or sooner; if the lawes of the realme would so permit. And to assure her selfe of their good wils in this behalfe, she contracted sundrie priue bands with them, making large promises of great rewards vnto euerie of them. To conclude, this matter was so handled by her and others, to whome she committed the doings therein, that in the yeere following, the gouernor agreed to surrender vnto the gouernance into her

wronge done
are by iustice
redressed.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 515.

1552.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 516.

The queene
mother saith
to be gouernor

1552. Lesle.
1553.
The gouerne-
ment is relig-

Fr. Thin.

ib. 10.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 513.

The archbi-
shop of Arma-
chane.

1551.

1552.

hir hands, hir daughter the yong quene being not yet full twelue yerres of age.

The gouernour was promised not onelie a full discharge and a *quiers est* of all his doings, as well for receipt of monie, iewels, & other things, during the time of his gouernement, but also a confirmation of the heritable gift of the dukedome of Chateleault: likewise an other confirmation of all gifts and restitutions by him made, during the time he had exercised the office of gouernour. And forthwith the quene Dowager sent into France, to get all these things dispatched, with such assurances of writings vnder hands and seales, as was expedient, and to be sent home into Scotland for his securitie in all things.

Fr.Thin.
Lesseus lib. 10.
pag. 517.

1552.

* But before the gouernour had consented to the quenes demand, there was great contention about the matter: for the well vnderstood that he would not depart with his office, before the time that the yong quene had attained to the age prescribed for hir full yerres. For it is ordeined by the law of the kingdome, that the king shall not remaine anie longer vnder tutors, than to the age of foureteene; & the quene (as it is in other women) at the yerres of 12, at which times they may appoint procurators, which shall haue the gouernement of the kingdome vntill their full age. For which cause, the yong quene chose amongst other (as after shall more appere) the quene Dowager to be one: wherevpon, the quene Dowager challenged the gouernement vnto hir selfe, for that hir daughter was certeine moneths aboue those yerres of twelue. Against which the gouernour did stoutly contend, constantly affirming that the yong quene did not exceed the age of eleuen yerres.

Wherevpon the quene, to take from the gouernour all starting-holes and other shifts, doth vize the custome of that kingdome, and the obseruation of those lawes to be, that they must reckon the yere in which the Scottish king or quene is yet vnborne in their mothers bellie, to be part of that number of twelue or foureteene; in which they may appoint gouernours to rule vnder them. Which the gouernour perhaps did seeme to confesse for the king, but that the same was true for a quene it did not appere; sith it seemeth to be wrought by Gods high providence, that the kingdome of Scotland was alwaies heretofore by manie ages gouerned by kings, and that a woman did neuer before this time (especiallie one within age) challenge that kingdome vnto them, although the male line (as appered from the Wylles to the Stewards) descended from the women, haue sometime possessed the sterne of Scotland.

Lesseus lib. 10.
pag. 519.

1552.

Sundrie
slaughters of
the nobilitie.

But in the end, saie or do what he could, the gouernour did surrender his place (as after shall more plainelie appere) vntill which time we will pursue the orderlie course of things done in this place: which is, that whilist the gouernour & the quene mother were in this discord for the regentship of the realme, manie seditious persons (taking occasion thereby with hope to scape vnpunished) did reneue the memorie of old iniuries. For herevpon it happened, that manie of the familie of the Kars did (at Edinburgh) with great boldnesse vtterlie slay Balcleuche the knight. Besides which, the yonger sonne of the lord Ruthwen or Kelen, did publickly thrust through and slea John Chartrusse a noble and a valiant yong man, for deadly hatred (as was thought) betwixne those two families. Yet it was speed abroad, that the chiefest cause why Ruthwen did kill Chartrusse, was for that Ruthwen (being called into sute of law by the other) distrusting his cause, and supposing that it would passe against him by iudgement, had none other remedie to relieue the matter, than that verie day to kill Chartrusse. Which matter was the occasion of making this law, that whosoever with force or

armes did either pursue or abate, recouer or lose in anie action, should not onelie be punished for the rashnesse of the fact, but also should haue the matter forthwith (even in that moment of time) iudged against him.]

This yere, the first of Julie, Edward the first of that name, king of England, departed this life, after whom succeeded his sister Marie, eldest daughter to H. Henrie the eight. [Touching whose regiments, sith this historie requireth matter appropriate vnto it selfe, we will saie little in this place, remitting the readers to the conuenient course of time wherein they flourished and baded. Onelie this is to be noting, that the realme of England was not so much in hir time afflicted with exquisite troubles of barbarous persecutors, to the diminishing of Gods seruants, and the increasing of satans synagog, as it was like to haue triumphed vnder the glorious title of the victorious gospell, if God had not (for the vntowrthinesse of the English people) taken the yong king awaie. For the prosperous beginning of his gouernement foretold an happie proceeding, and a blessed ending. But to returne to Scotland.]

* About this time, Porman Lesle, who (as you heard before) had fled for the death of the cardinall Beton bishop of saint Andrews into France (where he then was imprisoned) being now set at libertie, did prauile conueie himselfe into Scotland. Which vnderstand of the gouernour, he fined all those that had receiued him into their house, & compelled Porman to flee to Denmarke, for feare that (if he were taken) he should suffer extreme punishment. But when he knew that there was no place of safetie for him in that countrie, wandering ouer manie prouinces, he came at last into England, in the reigne of Edward the first; of whom, with the rest of his companions, he was most courteously receiued, with yerrelie pensions out of the exchequer or common tresurie assigned vnto them for their maintenance, according to their estates.

But after that king Edward was departed the world, they all were also commanded to depart the realme, to whom earnestlie vying that their pensions might be paid to them in an other place where they should remaine) the duke of Norfolk did publickly say in the counsell, that it seemed not iustice, that a catholike prince should paie anie pensions to such as had murdered a catholike cardinall. With which answer the said Porman was almost stricken dead, and being then wearied with the griefe of his exile, went againe into France, and there by king Henrie (by the meanes of the baron Bunsfone, whom this Lesle had sent before to request the same) he was made capteine of the Scottish light horsemen in France. This man did so valiantlie, worthilie, and honorablie behaue himselfe in warres, which the French king had (with Charles the fifth then emperor) on the borders of Flanders, that he was alwaies foremost in the front of the battell, to assault the enimie; hoping by that meanes to wipe awaie the blot of the cardinals slaughter, and more firmitie to bind the French king vnto him.

But after certeine light skirmishes (which he happily performed against the enimie) following the battell at Kenton (a towne in Picardie) most hotlie, and drawing nere within danger of the enimie, he was so wounded with a shot, that he could hardly turne to his companie: but being relieved by his owne souldiers from the hands of the enimie, he was caried to Spontulle, where he shortly after died, greatlie repenting him of his former wicked fact, and greatlie abhorring the other authors thereof, as furtherers of him therein. Towards whom (after his death) the French king was yet so louing (for the singular

1553.

Abr. Fl.

Fr.Thin.
Lesseus lib. 10.
pag. 520.

1554.

The con-
nants and ar-
ticles are per-
fected.

1555. Buch.

1554.
A parliament.
Edinburgh
cattell deliue-
red to the lord
Eskin to
keep.

The quene
made gouer-
nor by parles-
ment.

The gouernour
made duke.

Fr.Thin.

The gouernour
resigned his
office vnto the
quene.

The quene
grieth the go-
uernance of
the realme vn-
to the quene
mother.

Fr.Thin.

Buch. lib. 16.

Lesseus lib. 10.
pag. 522.
Buchan. lib. 16.

ingular fortitude of mind that was in him that he procured all such of his Scots (as returned from the warres with Bunsone) to be received into their owne countrie; and restored to all their goods and possessions.]

In lent all the lords of the realme of Scotland assembled at Striueling, where all the covenants and articles of agreement, betwixt the quene and the gouernor, were perused and fullie concluded, and thereupon a parlement appointed to be holden in Edinburgh, the tenth of Aprill next ensuing: and in the meane time the gouernor deliuered the castell of Edinburgh vnto the lord Erskin to keepe, as it were by waie of assurance for his part, that all things at that parlement should be accomplished, according to the points of the agreement made by full consent. The lords then assembling in parlement at Edinburgh, on the said twelfth day of Aprill, all the covenants of agreement had & made betwixt the quene Dowager and the gouernor were presented & read, touching the dimission and giuing ouer of the gouernors authoritie, confirmed by the quene hir selfe in France, with consent of the king of France hir husband, the duke of Guise, and the cardinall of Lozrain hir curators, with a gift of the dukedome of Castelaunt vnto the gouernor, vnder the great seales of France, and others, to whome it appertained.

The quene made gouernor by parlement.

The gouernor made Duke.

Fr. Thin.

The gouernor resigned his office vnto the quene.

The quene giueth the gouernance of the realme vnto the quene mother.

Fr. Thin.

Buch. lib. 16.

Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 52. Buchanan. lib. 16.

After this, there was read a confirmation of the three estates of Scotland, touching the premises, in which they bound themselves to warrant the quenes discharge made to him, & to establish him as second person of the realme [& to haue the gouernement of the castell of Dunbretton (as saith Buchanan) with other things contained in the contract: to the which there in open parlement all the estates subscribed, and put therevnto their seales. Which done, the gouernor gaue by his office of tutorship, in presence of the said estates, the quene mother, & monsieur Dowager being there present, who received the same in the quenes name, at that time remaining in France. And herewith presentlie was a commission shewed, giuen by the quene of Scotland in France, with consent of hir curators, making the quene Dowager hir mother, regent of hir realme: which office she toke vpon hir, and was thereto admitted by the estates of the realme. Then was the parlement newlie authorized in the quenes name, with consent of hir curators, and in name of the quene regent.

* Where is to be noted, that as at the first they which had the administration of the common-wealth vnder the king of Scotland in his minozitie, were first called gardians, and then gouernors: so now began they to haue a new title for the same, to be called regents of Scotland, not before accustomed among the Scots, which name hath euer since remained to all such as execute that place (euen in our age) during the minozitie of Charles James the first, now ruling the scepter of Scotland. In which declaration of things (as before you heard) to the gouernement of the French, the Scots could neuer be persuaded that the castell of Edinburgh should be deliuered to the rule of strangers: fearing that if the quene should die without issue, that then the French would there by tyrannie settle themselves. Wherefore the same was committed to the defense of John Areskine, which he should not deliuer to aie, but to one of the order, and of the nobilitie and parlement.

About this time, the quene regent sent George Gordon earle of Huntley to apprehend John Mordaunt (or Morderac, as saith Buchanan) chiefe of the familie of the Reginaldins, a notable theefe, & one that was traught with most wicked deeds: which iourne it is supposed that Gordon did not verie faithfullie discharge. Wherefore, when he returned without the

dispatc thereof, in not taking of that man, he was committed to prison vntill the day appointed, where in he should answer the cause. Whose friends in the meane time (to mitigate the enuie against him for the same) did spread false rumors thereof, laing all the fault in the familie of the Cathans: for they said that the same was hindered by them for the malice that they bare vnto the Gordons: which speeches did one lie rise almost vpon this occasion.

Whilest the quene prepared for hir iourne into Scotland, Gordon did cast into prison William (the head of the familie of the Cathans) a yong man liberallie brought vp with the earle of Arrerie for kinreds sake, being sisters son to the said earle; for none other cause but for that he would not yeld him selfe to the protection of him. Gordon therefore grieved at this man, did not thinke it safetie to leaue him free and at libertie behind him, when he should go into France with the quene, although he could find no fault to laie to his charge worthie aie punishment. Wherefore (by his friends) he persuaded the yong man (ignorant of all deceit) that he should yeld him selfe into his protection and tutorship: for so by that one meanes, both the fame of the one and safetie of the other might be provided for, which the yong man did accordingly lie.

Wherefore Gordon being now lord ouer the life and death of this William, did (dissembling his hatred to him) breake with his owne wife to execute the yong and guiltlesse man in his absence, supposing thereby to transerre all the malice which should rise thereof vnto the fact of his wife, as not done by his consent. Which fell out quite contrarie: for when euerie one knew the subtill wit of Gordon the earle of Huntley, and that his wife (a chosen and rare woman) had passed all the rest of hir life within the bounds of womanlie modestie; they were all easilie persuaded, that he alone was author vnto hir of that wicked counsell. Whereupon, Gordon being now cast in prison for that fact, there was (in a councell holden by the regent) great contention and varietie of opinions, touching the punishment which he should haue. For some would haue him banished into France for certeine yeares, & some would onelie haue an excessive mulct to be laied vpon him.

Both which opinions were reiected by the chiefe of his entimes, Gilbert earle of Caillies. For he, perceiving by the present state of things, that peace would not long continue betwene Scotland and France; did bitterlie withstand his banishment into that countrie. For he would not haue that man (being so subtille and unconstantlie witte, proud, and desirous of reuenge, of and vpon such as were envious, or backbiters against him) to be a firebrand and capteine to those French, who (he was assured, for their insolent pride) would haue warre with the Scots. For although he thought, that of right he ought to be punished, yet he did not iudge, that aie domestical enill was so much, or the punishment thereof should be thought so great, that they should accustom the French to shed the Scottis blood. Wherefore at length his punishment was agreed vpon (as after shall appeare) in renouncing of all his right to the earldome of Arrerie, & other things.

The quene hauing the disposition of all things, did at hir pleasure change all the officers, and made the earle of Caillies treasurer, & William a French man controller; also an other Frenchman called monsieur Rubie, keeper of the great seale, as vicerent in place of the earle of Huntley, who was chancelor; and then in ward; and James Macmill regisler, and the abbat of Couper keeper of the pite seale, as saith Lesleus, lib. 10. pag. 521. Donald gouernor of the Alex. These mens counsell and mon-

Officers are changed.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Huntleye renounced manie things.

Fr. Thin.
Lefleus.lib.10.
pag.522.

1551.

The law for fishing.

Covenants for seamen.

Lefleus lib. 10.
pag.523.

1555.

sieur Doffels the used principallie in all things. The earle of Huntleye being to be deliuered out of ward, did for his punishment renounce his title to the earldome of Purreie; whereof he had a gift in heritage. Also he renounced his interest vnto the farmes of Dykencie and Sheatland, and to the earldome of Mar, and of the quenes lands of Straits Die: and further was contented to go ouer into France, there to remaine for the space of fīue yeares. But yet afterwards the quene was contented, that he should still remaine within the realme, for the which he gaue to hir fīue thousand pounds in monie.

* About the same time Marie the quene of England, and the regent of Scotland, thought good to haue a peace betwene both nations, and that their commissioners should meet to determine all controuerfies. At what time for the Scots, were Robert of Kintwardie, and John Bellenden of Achintole knights: and for the English, were Thomas Cornwallese, and Robert Bowes knights. At what time there were lawes made touching fishing, aswell in the sea, as in certeine other limited riuers; by which all occasions of contention was taken awaie from both nations. Richard Porron, a man of great counsell in prosperitie, and of great stomach in aduersitie, being capteine of Dorcham castell in England, was at that time cause of the making of this law for the commons; That if anie Englishman from a Scot, or a Scot from an Englishman, did by force take away anie fish that was taken; that he should paie the milt of twentie shillings for the same: beside other punishments of the common law.

Further it was agreed, that whosoever by force of tempest, or for anie other cause, were driuen into Scotland or England, he should not by anie pretense be staied; but he might frelie by land or sea, either on horsebacke or on foot returne home. Provided, that he had the testimonie of the next maiſter of the port, or of the next towne, to witnes the cause of his arriual; and that during the time of his abode in such a countrie, he attempted nothing against the lawes of the kingdome. Not manie daies after this, Henrie Sinclair deane of Glasgow, senator, and vicepresident of the high court, did returne into Scotland out of France; being a man greatlie familiar with James the first, aswell for the singulartie of his wit, as the excellencie of his learning.

But in the time of the gouernor, the courtiers (not greatlie esteeming such wisdome & learning) made no account of him, although the quene Dowager, and diuerse of the nobilitie held him in great honor; aswell for his deepe studie in the best arts, as for his rare knowledge of the publike lawes and antiquities of Scotland. This man, vpon his first returne, was forthwith both author and persuader to and of the bishop of the Orkades chiefe president, and to the other senators; that there should be new lawes made for the short ending of lutes in law; for the obseruation of a right course of iudgments, and for the taking awaie of all euill customs. In the making & tempering whereof, he was of so great iustice; that such things as were set downe in the law, were more holitie and perfectlie brought to their ancient forme than they had bene before.

The reason is readie; to wit, aswell for that in equall deliuering law to all men: as in pleading, there was by his meanes more diligence used by the magistrats, aduocats, scribes, and officers; in cutting awaie vaine and superfluous formes and orders: which ministred occasion, that their lutes did long hang in court, before they could be determined. At this time also the marquesse of Spaine (being after made duke of Almaine) who in the meane time

with manie other nobles of France, had remained pledges in England, did (hauing licence thereunto) come into Scotland to see his sister, accompanied with sir Thomas Stetokleie of England now knight; who after he had remained some daies with his sister in pleasure & delight, discharged his faith, and returned againe into England.]

In Julie was a parlement held at Edinburgh, in the which manie acts and statutes were made, right profitable (as was then thought) for the common-weale of the realme. Amongest which, to passe ouer the rest, these same two things to remaine choyced to posteritie. First, that none of the citizens (in the feasts of Whitsondie, or anie such times, in which their hirselings are accustomed to go forth) should assemble armed, to cast forth the husbandmen after the old maner. Secondlie, that the inhabitants meeting together, should no more assemble vnder a certeine colour of gaine, which for exercise of the bodie (as it was supposed) was holden after the example of one (I can not tell who) Robert Wood a wild or vplandish man. Thirdlie, that there should be no priuat leagues contracted betwene subiects. Which lawes did after bring great peace, ease, and quiet to the publike state.

In the verie same yeare 1555, in the eight kalends of August, fell the marriage of Marie quene of England with Philip king of Spaine in the citie of Winchester. Wherefore ambassadoers were sent from the quene regent to Philip and Marie, to congratulate their marriage. Besides which, these ambassadoers did require a renewing of the league, and that commissioners should be appointed to meet the next summer in the borders, to end all controuerfies. In the meane time, whilest the quene regent did administer the affaires of South Scotland, John Steward earle of Atholl was sent into the north parts with a chosen companie, to breake the force of John Mudiard or Muderace. At what time this earle used such courtesie and counsell in pacifying, and such celeritie and wisdome in executing of things; that he brought the seditious Mudiard (impatient to haue anie gouernor) to the quene, to whome the said Mudiard did willinglie yeld himselfe, his children, and his kindred.

To which man, the quene (in respect of singular clemencie, and pietie to all men, according to the disposition of hir nature) did wholie remit all his offenses, with this condition; that he should faithfully remaine prisoner in the castell of Speffens, and in the towne of Perth. But as the for (as the proverbe is amongest vs) cannot liue without his starving holes; so this Mudiard and his companions, imbued with more than forlike conditions, did (deceiuing their keepers) returne to their owne causes, and afresh trouble all the north Scotland with their raised seditious and spoiles. Which things enforced the quene, that she did go into those parts, to hold iustice of oires: in which she might bide the euils of wicked men, and purge those prouinces from all the roots of sedition.

Wherevpon, in the moneth of Julie, the quene accompanied with the earles of Huntleye, Argile, Rothes, Castils, and Marthall, the bishop of Aberdeen and Rolfe, M. Doffell, K. R. and others, went to the towne of Inuernesse, in which citie (the faults known by publike accusation) there was iust punishment taken vpon the offenders. And because there were manie bidden in the higher and mountaine countries, which by their absence fled the punishment; she commanded the heads of the mountaine families, that they should bring their guiltie countermen and kindred to iudgement, according to the law established by James the first; with a great paine

Lefleus.lib.10.
pag.524.

1555.
parlement.

Fr. Thin.
Lefleus.lib.10.
pag.524.

Lefleus.lib.10.
pag.525.
Buchanan.
lib.16.

Lefleus lib.10.
pag.528.

1555. Buch.
1556. H.B.

Lefleus.lib.10.
pag.527.
Buchan.lib.16.

Committio
nary Unit.
Lefleus lib. 10.
pag.527.

parlement.
Gentlemen
rejoyned.

paine set vpon the chiefe of those families ; if the o-
ther did like resist, & would not come into iudge-
ment.

Whereupon it followed, that sundrie of diuerse
families, that were by contempt departed awaie,
did come to publike iudgement. Where manie, and
those not of the meanest sort, paid the punishment
for troubling the peace; amongst which, one Grant
a baron being commanded to bring James Grant
and diuerse other wicked persons before the iudges,
did prouide to bring their dead heads, when they
could not take their liue bodies. The earle of Cath-
nes also, because that being warned therunto, he did
not bring his people before the iudges; was first
committed to prison in Inuernesse, then at Aber-
den, and lastlie at Edinburgh, from whence he pur-
chased his libertie with a great masse of monie.

Spackeie in like sort, head and chiefe of the tribe
of Strathnauerne & of Glencone, being called to
iudgement (for that he had often wasted the countrie
of Southerland next adioining) did contemne the
precept. Whereupon the quene prouided a great ar-
mie, which vnder the erle of Southerland brake into
Strathnauerne, where he possessed all the places of
doubt, least anie hole might be left for the theues to
passe awaie from thence. Whereupon Spackeie,
when he saw himselfe so beset (as that no place of
flight was left him) yielded himselfe to Hugh Bene-
die, who led him to the quene, by whom he was com-
mitted to prison at Edinburgh a long time, but they
of Glencone put in pledges, & (being committed to
safe and strong prisons) were referred to the iudge-
ment of the quenes pleasure.

After this, the quene leaving Inuernesse, and
progressing the province of Koss, she came to El-
gine, Bams, Aberdeen, and the chiefe places there-
abouts, diligentlie to inquire of the misdeemeanors
of those people. At what time she did temper the rigor
of law with such courtesie, that she punished the of-
fenders by fine, and not by death. From thence she
came to Dundee, and to saint Johns towne, obser-
uing the same cause and course of hir coming.
When she had thus passed over the summer in bring-
ing the mountaine people to their dutie, she sent
the earle of Huntlie to ioint with the bishop of
Koss and Dioclesie, and to Hugh Benedie, to whom
she did substitute a better and more commodious
forme of dispatch of their affaires by others: who
should receiue the libels and accusations of puiuate
persons, and diligentlie to inquire of them, in the
townes of Inuernesse, Elgine, and other places.
By whose diligence it came to passe, that all those
countreies (being reduced to the rule of iustice) were
made the more quiet.

Here I will not (saith Lesleus) now declare how
honourable & sumptuouslie the quene in all hir pro-
gresse was receiued (without anie charge to hir) of
the pères, bishops, and other nobles and gentlemen
of Scotland, with the Frenchmen (which were then
present with hir) haue opened to other nations as
well as to their owne people (with singular commen-
dations to the Scots) the gorgeous shew of this
Scotland, being a most worthy signe of the fauour
they bare to the quene. In the meane time there
were sent commissioners to the borders, as the bi-
shop of Dunblane, the lord of Lethington, & maister
James Spagill: where doctor Tunstall bishop of
Durham, & certeine others for England met them
at Duns, and remained there till the quenes com-
ming backe forth of the north in September next
following.

This yere was a parlement holden, in which the
lords Winton, Dunblane, and Grange, with ma-
ster Henrie Balnauie, and others, which were for

saluted in the gouernours time, were restored. At the
same time the quene, by the counsell of monsieur
Doisell, and Rubie, and certeine of the nobilitie of
Scotland, requested that a new order might be
made, whereby euerie mans substance should be put
in an inuentarie, and according to the rate thereof
to paie a yérelie taxation, to be put and kept in the
treasure-houise till warres began, and that then men
of warre might be waged, therewith to lie vpon the
borders, and none in that case to be charged to come
from their owne houses, but when anie great armie
came forth of England to inuade Scotland.

Diuerse of the great lords were agreed to this
ordinance: but the most part of the barons hearing
thereof, assembled together in Edinburgh, to the
number of two hundred & aboue, and sent the lards
James Sandlandie of Calber in Louthian, and
John of Wlemis in Fife, to the quene and lords, be-
seching them not to set such new taxations vpon
them, for they could not beare such burdens; but
would defend the realme, as before time their elders
had done, not meaning to put their goods in inuen-
tarie, as if they should already make their last will
and testaments: and be past all hope of inioieng
their temporall goods, as persons not to liue longer
in the world, but to take their farewell, and glue o-
uer all that they had by law of fatall necessitie not
to be auoided. * Adding further, that their elders
did not onelie defend themselves, and their goods a-
gainst the English, when they were of farre greater
power than they now be; but did also manie times
make further inuasion vpon them into their owne
countrie. For which cause, they being not anie so
now so degenerat from their ancestors, that they
would not, when need required, bestow their substance
and life in defense of their countrie.

And as touching the hired souldiers, it was a
thing full of danger, to commit the state of Scot-
land to men without substance, or without hope of
advancement, and to such as for monie will dare to
do anie thing, being a thing apt to kindle their depe
counetousnesse, and to minister occasion to them to
attempt other matters. But to the end all other
things may the better be looked vnto, let them more
remember the dérenes of their countrie, than their
owne estate or condition. For will anie man
belæue, that hired souldiers will more valiantlie
fight for strangers, than the owners will fight for the
defense of their owne? That a little hire or wages
readie to be abated in peace, will greatlier incense
the minds of the common people; than gods, chil-
dren, wiues, and temples, will moue the hearts of
the nobilitie?

Whereunto may be ioined, that this matter per-
tainto the highest god of the kingdome of Scot-
land, and that the same is of farre more importance
than that it should be communed of at this time, and
in the tender age of our yong quene. Besides which
the greater part of men do suspect and feare, that the
same new order for warre is vnprofitable, and such
as cannot be perfozmed without some commotion
of the Scottish nation, especiallie with so great sums
of thonie can hardlie be wzong out by tribute im-
posed on the same Scots, as may suffice to nourish
a hired armie to defend the borders. Wherefore it is to
be feared, least the end of persuation grow to this
point, that it do not rather open a gap to let in the
enemie, than to be a barre to keepe them backe. For if
the English, after this example, being a farre richer
nation, shall gather a much greater summe: who
doubteth, but that they may with lesse trouble to the
common people, suffice an armie twise as great as
that of the Scots, & such as shall not onelie enter the
borders, but rushen into the verie bowels of the
king,

A yérelie tax
to be leuied is
proponed.

This taxati-
on is not
granted.

1556.

Fr. Thos.
Buchan. li. 164

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 528.

Commission-
ners sent.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 527.

A parlement.
Gentlemen
restored.

us. lib. 10.
24.

555.
element.

hin.
us. lib. 10.
24.

us. lib. 10.
25.
man.

Buch.
H.B.

lib. 10.
lib. 16.

kingdome of Scotland:

For the other part of the oration, I cannot tell whether it be better to suppress it in silence, or to deliver it (saith Buchanan) to common eyes & eares. For I doe heare (wisteth he) manie which doe murmur and aske who shall gather this monie? How much thereof shall be necessarie to and for the hired souldiers, and how much to be left in the hands of the treasure? Where be manie things which put vs in great hope, that no such thing shall be established for the especiall goodnesse and temperancie of that woorthie princeesse (in whose hand the whole government now resteth) doth encourage vs, that we shall not be feared. But yet when we remember the outward deeds of others, and our owne at home, which haue before time bene done; we cannot so gouerne our selues, but that we must feare the same hereafter to fall vpon vs, which we haue already felt.

But letting these things passe, which perchance
we baine lie feare, let vs come to those things in which
our ancesfors did place their chiefe helpe (for mainte-
nance of their libertie) against the weapons of their
aduersaries. Robert the first of that name (in com-
parison of whome none of the Scottis kings were
counted moze wise, and without all doubt none moze
valiant, as we all confesse) did not onelie profit his
subiects whilste he liued, but also after his death: for
when he laid at point to surrender his life, he gaue
this admonition, that we should neuer make con-
tinuall peace, nor long truce with the English. For
that man (by nature and by vse of long time exer-
cised in both fortunes) did well perceiue, that such as li-
ued in idleness and sloth, had their stomacks and
minds abated, and their bodies weakened with de-
lights of pleasures, and that couetousnesse and le-
cherie did spring vp as it were in untilled ground,
when seuer discipline and sparring was quenched,
which made them also to be impatient of labor, and
to hate battell, whereby their strength being dimi-
shed, they should easilie giue place to their enemies.

After that these two noble men had said thus much, the regent fearing tumultuous insurrections if he persecuted in this erection, left off anie further to pursue this far, and is (in often acknowledging his error) said to haue vsed this speech; That some of the best of the Scots, and not he, were authors and woorkers of the same. By which words manie supposed that the merit the earle Huntleye, a man of a sharpe wit, latelie deliuered out of pison, and rather readie to reuenge the iniurie receiued by restraint of his libertie, than mindfull of anie benefit shewed vnto him in his deliuerance. Wherefore when he saw the regent bent to this one thing to inure the Scots with taxes and payments of monie: and fearing least his power being overmuch increased, that the world abate the strength of the nobilitie, diminish their authoritie, and call the whole government of Scotland into the hands of his people, it was supposed that he gaue his counsell answerable to his disposition for; the gathering of monie which he had then in hand, being in deed the part of an enimie to him, because he knew that the Scots would not paye anie tribute, nor be so obedient vnto him as they had bene before. There were also some that supposed this deuise to grow from David Painter bishop of Ross; for he being a man of rare wit, and no lesse learning, was with manie benefitts tied to the Hamiltouns, and was not anie waie estranged from their counsels and kinreds.

I 557.
Lesleus, lib. 10.
pag. 328.

In this year, an ambassador of Apulconie going into England with a great ship, & another bote, was cast on land by sudden tempest of the sea in the coast of Buchquane, a province in the north part of Scotland; who having lost all his goods by shipwreck,

was saved himselfe, and some of his companie, because they lighted on a rocke, where he & they might save their lives. The inhabitants did liberallie intertaine this strange man, and brought him to Cadenburgh to the quene, who would not permit this new guest to want anie thing so long as he remained with hir: and further, commanded and procured, that his goods lost by sea, and come into the hands of the people, should be faithfullie restored to him againe, appointing moreover the lord Hume for honor sake to accompanie him to Werboke.

This yere also in the moneth of Iulie was Hoyer Traberne sent ambassadoz (from Anna duke of Oldenberge, and Delmensoze, and earle of Embden) out of east Frisia into Scotland, to require that the ancient covenant of an hundred yeres made betwene the Scots and the people of Embden (which by course of some yeres past, was now of no force) might now againe be renewed. Which being granted & solemnlie established, both those nations from that day did liue together in mutual & perfect friendship. After this, warres arising betwene England and France, quene Marie of England, fearing least the Scots would be stirred at the motion of the French to attempt something against England, sent ambassadozs to the regent, to require that some of the Scots might with hir people meet on the borders, to treat of matters belonging vnto them both.

Wherevpon in the moneth of Iulie, the procurators for both the kingdomes met at Caerleill, whither for the Scots came Robert Keith bishop of Dikeneie, Henrie Scintclere deane of Glasgaw, Robert Carnegie knight, senators, and the lord Harrates, at that time president of the west borders. For the English did come Tunstall bishop of Durham, the lords Dacres, and Wharton; amongst whome there was talke for peace, and recompense of such injuries as were committed by both the nations. In the meane time a certeine Frenchman landed at the west part on Scotland, and declared to the queene the warres betwene England and France, desiring hit to make warre vpon the English. Wherevpon the queene sent for the lords to commune with them at Newbottell, where the opened to them diuerse wrongs done on the borders by Englishmen, and how no redresse could be got: wherfore the requiered that warres might be moued against England in reuenge of those injuries, although the bishop of Dikeneie was the same time at Caerleill in talke with Cutbert Tunstall bishop of Durham and others, commissioners for England. The principall cause that moued the queene regent to seeke to make war against England, was for that the Englishmen aided the Emperour in fauor of his sonne king Philip against the French king, because their queene had taken to husband the same king Philip, and sent the earle of Penbrooke ouer with an armie to ioin with king Philips power.

It was thought therefore, that if the Scots invaded the English borders, it might cause them to call backe their power forth of France to defend their owne countreie. But the Scottish lords would not consent in anie wise to begin anie warres : which their dealing when monſieur Doſſell perceived, he ſpeedily went to Wainmouth beſide Werboke, and ſoſtified the ſame with all diligence, making inuaſions into England. Whereupon the Scottiſhmen in their owne deſence were conſtrained to make warre, and the erle of Huntley was made lieutenant vpon the borders, who came thither : and remaining there by the aſſiſtance of the Frenchmen, made ſundry inuaſions and rodes into England, burnt diuers townes and villages, and caſt downe manie ſtone houſes,

Lesleus, lib. 10.
pag. 529.

Lesleus, lib. 10.
pag. 52.

1557.
The queene
regent desir-
ed swarres.

In assembly
at Caerleon.

The occasion
why the queen
regent desired
to have war.

The Scottish
lords refuse to
take warre in
hand.
Dunmouth is
fortified.
Inuasions
are made into
England.

An armie af-
 fumbled.
 The lord's doe
 not consent
 thereto.
 The castell of
 warke besie-
 ged by the
 Scots.
 Captaine
 Rind.
 The earle of
 westmerland
 gathereth an
 armie to resist
 the Scots.
 The Scots
 beake by
 there armie.
 The Scots
 discomfited by
 the earle of
 Northum-
 berland.
 Sir John
 Folger.

which are the same.

In this manner with them the Scottish commission-
ers at Carlisle: and the master of Scotland's
army of the best soldiers being their assistance, both
must stay yet longer and come home into Scotland.
The queen attended a great army out of all parts
of the realm. The which came forward to battle in
the month of October. when the queen & French
army met them in a place of marshy and boggy
land. But they meeting to take further about, rather
than to fight in that place. when they met
and after some skirmishes the battle of Flodden
commencing the same with a large to the issue of
the which day. James the first at that present was
captain of that battle. with him a large number
of French and other foreign soldiers. Henry the sixth
with the Scottish army to fight.

The state of Scotland being thus leave-
ning to the nobles gathered together together
as to supply make and came to London. accompa-
nyed with the lord Lathom. Sir James Croft. and
others. to have their most high honour appear. The
Scottish army, receiving the Englishmen's
reasons, were not their enemies. those who were
given and concluded that it was not to be made
of the realm. at that time the great battle of
the which day. James the first at that present was
captain of that battle. with him a large number
of French and other foreign soldiers. Henry the sixth
with the Scottish army to fight.

James the first at that present was
captain of that battle. with him a large number
of French and other foreign soldiers. Henry the sixth
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James the first at that present was
captain of that battle. with him a large number
of French and other foreign soldiers. Henry the sixth
with the Scottish army to fight.

beginning and following, the Scots kept their quarters
large, and were more than as he was appointed
late on the borders with a thousand soldiers. He
coming his own army to him. And on the other side, the
English army was gathered both near and far
of men's hands, but they were better armed and
more numerous than the Scots, so the great damage
and loss of the houses and villages in the
the borders of both the realms.

In December the queen attended a parliament
at Chertsey, where the English lawers the
French lawers both the extent of Henry the
first, to be made of the most attentive, touching
the determination of the marriage between the
queen of Scots and the French king's son, which
James the first was.

The marriage of the queen of the
French king's son, touching the
marriage of the queen of the
French king's son.



James the first at that present was
captain of that battle. with him a large number
of French and other foreign soldiers. Henry the sixth
with the Scottish army to fight.

James the first at that present was
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of French and other foreign soldiers. Henry the sixth
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James the first at that present was
captain of that battle. with him a large number
of French and other foreign soldiers. Henry the sixth
with the Scottish army to fight.

News lib. 10,
3.529.

News lib. 10,
3.529.

1557.
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nobilitie, that maie honor the mariage with their presence, and that (hauing publike authoritie therefore) may frelie and according to law, dispose of those things which are accustomed to fall in such matters and affaires.

The which if you shall doe, I promise that hereafter
 they shall liberallie vnderstand how acceptable they
 shall be to me: and how that you shall recieue all
 the fruit and benefit which shall arise of my sons ma-
 riage (for the performance whereof, by reason of his
 sufficient age, we will shew the prouide) which said co-
 moditie shall not enclie now remaine to you that be
 present, but also most abundantlye with great plea-
 sure shall continue to your posteritie. For sith both
 our and your people of France and Scotland shall
 be so firmelie conioined (as we hope) by this mutuall
 knot of marriage, and our affaires both yours, and
 yours with ours, shall hang the one vpon the other,
 as if were by a certaine mutuall linke and knot, that
 both we (being out of the danger of such as would di-
 minish and ouerthrow our states) maie, for euer in-
 to such quiet as we did neuer hope to doe before this.
 From our castell of saint Germans, the fourth da-
 yends of Nouember. 1557.

Subscription, By the king, Henrie:
A little below: De Laubespine.

Upon the reading of which letters in the parlement, by the consent of the whole estates, there were elected and chosen James Beton archbishop of Glasgow, Robert Read bishop of Dkeneie, George Leslie earle of Rothes, Gilbert Kennedy earle of Cailes, James Stewart prior of saint Andrewes [the quenes bassard brother] George lord Seton [capitaine of Edenburgh] James Fleming, and John Erskine lord of Dun [gouernor of Montrosle] ambassadors and commissioners to go into France, and there to contract mariage betwixt Marie quene of Scotland, and Francis Dolphin of France, and to solemnize the same mariage. Whereupon, sufficient commissions and instruments were made to them by the estates of the parlement, and they accepting the same, made preparation for that iourne, and departed in the moneth of februarie forth of the roode of Leith, and with great winds & boisterous stormes came into France, losing in their iourne one of their ships, with men and horses before saint Ebbes head, in the Fozth of Scotland, and an other with great riches & manie gentlemen, with the captaine called Watferton in the roode of Bullongne.

The ambassadoz themselves neuertheless escaped, and comming safe vnto the french court in the moneth of March, were honorablie receiued of the king at Paris, where the contract of mariage was made, and thre score thousand franks assigned in doynge to the queene of Scotland, & thirtie thousand franks of percelie pension, with manie rich iewels. There was also a perpetuall bond of league concluded betwixt france and Scotland, and great preparation made for the mariage, which was solemnized in Paris with great triumph and assistance of all the cardinals, dukes, earles, barons, lords, and bishops of the realme, in the chatch of Notre dame, the 24 of April in that present yeere. 1558.

After the solemnitie of this marriage, the legat of Scotland were called into the counsell-house of the French king: at that time the chancellor of France delt with them, that they should represent the crowne and scepter, and other ornaments of the kingdome, to the end the husband of the young queene might be crowned king also of Scotland. There bin to the ambassadors did hostile make answer, that they had no such thing given in charge to them. After

Which, the cardinall said; We desire nothing more at
your hands at this time, but that which lieth in your
power to performe; which is, here now to confirme by
writing that you will hereafter, forward, approve &
worske that this hono^r; (which now we inflie demand)
maie be granted to the Dolphin, when the same shall
be talked of in the parlement of Scotland. Which re-
quest (when it seemed full of impudencie) they suppo-
sed best more constantlie and sharpelie to resist.

10 Therefore they answered, that their ambassage
was restrained within certaine bounds, which they
neither could nor would exceed. But and if they had
bene sent with free libertie of their ambassage, that
yet it were not the part of faithfull friends (as the
French professed to be) to require that which could
not be granted without certaine and assured danger
and infamie of treason; though danger of life were
absent from it. All which notwithstanding, in all ho-
nest things which might well be granted they would
20 yield vnto the French, ioined vnto them by so manie
necessarie occasions. Wherefore they requested the
French that they would not in their demands exceed
the limits of modestie.

30
40
Whereupon the ambassadoꝝ being dismissed from the court, foure of the chiefe of them (before they departed home) which were these, Gilbert Kennedy, George Leslie, Robert Kead, and also James Fleming, all men of singular vertue and loue to their countrie, besides manie other of the companie, died there, not without mistrust of poison. It was also beleeued, that James the queenes brother had receiued the same daught: for (although he were of a better composition of bodie, stronger constitution of complexion, and of more youthfull strength, whereby he escaped death) he had alwaies after a continuall and dangerous infirmitie of his bellie whiled he liued, of the death of all which shall be somewhat more said hereafter. Thus leauing the Scottish lords ambassadoꝝ there in France for a time, we will retorne to thew what happened betwixt the Scots and Englishmen at home, where the warres were pursued, to the losse or little gaine of both parts.]

50 About Whitfuntide, ſir Henrie Perſie with di-
uerſe bands of the countrie garrifons, & ſir George
Bowes then marſhall of Berwikke, with ſundry
bands of the garrifon of that towne, paſſed forth in-
to Scotland; they being in all about ſeven or eight
hundred horſemen, and two thouſand footmen. They
burnt the townes of Duns and Langton; and ha-
ving got together a great number of caſtell, retur-
ned homewards. The Scots that laie in ſkello, and
other places, keeping their quarterage on their hor-
ders (for the realme, as ye haue heard, was quar-
terd euerie part keeping their turne, as the manner
is) aſſembled together to the number of two thou-
ſand horſemen (or ſeu leſſe) and thre bands of foot-
men, haſting forth to defend the countrie. And per-
ceiving where the Engliſhmen were, folloved and
coaſted them as they returned with their bottie, till
60 they came to Swinton, where they ouertooke them,
and ſkirmined with them ſharplie as they were paſ-
ſing through the towne.

The Scottish footmen beat backe part of the Englishmen thof into their battell, and pressed verie forward in hope to be assisted by their horsemen, the which (as ye haue heard) overmatched greatly the English horsemen in number: but the fight grew soone what hot, and the more vnto the disadvantage of the Englishmen, for so much as their shot powder began to faile them, by reason the miste morning had made much of their powder dahly, so that they could haue no vse thereof: But here withall Sir Henrie Lee capitaine of the reare, and others, being in the battell, behaue themselves verie stoutly, causing the

Lesleus. lib. 10.
pag. 533.
Fr. Thin.

Ambassadors
 sent into
 France: to
 consummate
 the marriage
 betwixt the
 quene of
 Scotland and
 the Dolphin
 of France.
 1558.

Two ships
lost.

The assigne-
ment of the
Scots queens
dowrie.

Fr.Thin.
Buchan.lib.16.

The Scots
bo:stinen flæ.

**The Scots
women Aatne.**

The lord of
Keith with o-
thers taken
prisoners.

29. Edging-
ton taken.

Sir William
Biereton.

I rode into
Scotland.

Duns and
Langton
burnt,

**The Scots
put to flight
at Grendon.**

**The Scots
assault the
Englishmen
at Swinton**

The good order of the Frenchmen in their retire

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the footmen to staie, and boldlie to abide the enimie : & herewith procured the horsemen to giue a charge in such conuenient time, as if the same had bene protraied, it might haue turned verie euill to the English side.

The Scots
horsemen flie.

But now as well the horsemen as footmen playing their parts, the Scottish horsemen abiding without the towne in troope (while their footmen were in skirmish) fled awaie, leaving their footmen to be slaine and spoiled of the Englishmen, and yet those footmen fought it out right manfully : so that if the Scots horsemen had done their parts so well as the footmen, it was like to haue gone harder on the English side than it did. But now the Scottish horsemen not entering the fight, their footmen were inclosed by the Englishmen : for those that were in the foreward, and were passed by, returned, and coming behind their enemies, holpe to beat them downe, so that few or none of the Scots or Frenchmen (whereof there were some few amongst them) escaped, but were either taken or slaine.

The Scots
footmen slaine.

The lord of
Berth with o-
thers taken
prisoners.

Amongest others, capitaine Cullane, and capitaine Isenchie, two chiefe leaders of the footmen were taken : diuerse of their horsemen also in the retire were taken, amongst whom William lord Berth, sonne to the earle Parthall of Scotland was the chiefe. But this victorie was not achieved without losse of diuerse Englishmen. Amongest other one Pell, ensigne-bearer to sir John Markeham's band of footmen was slaine. Also master Edzington a capitaine of light horsemen was taken prisoner by the lord of Edmonston, at the first charge giuen by the Scottish horsemen, and led awaie without rescue. Beside the manfull prowesse of sir Henrie Persie, and the other English captains before mentioned, the forward valiancie shewed that day of sir William Bereton, and Thomas Markeham, that led his father sir John Markeham's band of footmen, also of Rafe Clerk a capitaine of horsemen, are not to be forgotten, who with diuerse other captains & souldiers behaued themselves in such wise at that present seruice, as their dealings therein deserue speciall memorie.

By Edzington
captain.

Sir William
Bereton.

Howeuer, at an other time the Scots & Frenchmen entering into England, the Scottish horsemen, to the number of a thousand or thereabouts, passed forth to burne and forraie the countrie: but the earle of Northumberland, & his brother sir Henrie Persie, assembled together a power of horsemen: and sir Henrie Persie meeting with them at Grendon, set upon the Scots and chased them ouer the water of Twissell, unto the foot battell of the Frenchmen: who retiring to the riuer of Twed, passed ouer the same at Chapell Fould, where they were assailed both by certeine foot bands of the garrison of Berwick, that were come forth to aid the earle, and also by the horsemen: so as diuerse were drowned in the riuer before they could get ouer.

The Scots
put to flight
at Grendon.

The good op-
der of the
Frenchmen
in their retire.

Edzington
burnt.

But after they were once got to the further side, they put themselves in order of battell againe, and retired in a squadron verie stronglie, sustaining little or no hurt at all, notwithstanding that the earle of Northumberland (being then come) and his brother sir Henrie Persie, with the rest of the captains and gentlemen of the countrie, pursued them ouer the water for the space of two miles, skirmishing with them still as they marched awaie, but could doe them no harme, because they kept themselves in so good order, & the English footmen were not able to reach them. Whereupon the English horsemen suffering the Frenchmen to depart, left them, and passing into the countrie, burnt long Ednam, and diuerse other hamlets and villages, and so returned. Diuerse Scots that day at the overthrow and chase of

their horsemen were taken prisoners, as the lord Greie, and others.

The lord
Greie of
Scotland taken
prisoner.
Cawmils
come by the
Englishmen.

And after this, the Englishmen won the strong pile of Cawmils, wherein were sitteene Frenchmen that defended it for the time verie stoutlie, so that it cost the liues of diuerse Englishmen, before they could take it. Shortlie after, there was a foze skirmish at Halidon hill, for whereas the most part of summer it was ordained, that euerie date certeine bands of souldiers should ward on the same hill, to giue libertie to the inhabitants of Berwick, to mow and carie in their haie; they continued for a time without anie trouble offered by the Scots or French, so that the warders standing in no doubt of the enemies, bled out of their armor to shot, bolle, quait, & exercise such like games of pleasure. Whereof the Scots & Frenchmen being aduertised, came one day from Almouth in so secret wise, that they were drawn verie nere to the Englishmen, yet they had anie warning of their approach.

10

20

This approach as it was priue, so was it likewise sudden, insomuch that before they could be got into order, the Scots and Frenchmen were almost at their elbowes; and falling in skirmish with them, handled them verie roughlie: although sir William Bereton, sir John Markeham, maister William Dzelozie, Cutbert Laughan, and other the captains of the Englishmen did behaue themselves right manfully, bringing their men in order, incouraging them, and doing what appertained vnto hardie and skillfull warriors. But yet three times that day the Scots and Frenchmen put them from the highth of the hill, till at length sir James Croft coming from Berwick, bled such diligence and policie in the matter, that the Scots and Frenchmen were repelled and constrained to retire, withdrawing backe into Almouth, after they had continued in skirmish from one of the clocke till it was past foure with no small losse on both parts.

A foze skir-
mish vpon
Halidon hill.

40

After this, the earle of Bothwell, lieng on the borders as lieutenant, according to the order for the time of his quarterage, entred on a day into England, and sent his forraie to burne Fenton towne, keeping himselfe in ambush at Haltwell Sweire. Sir Henrie Persie aduertised that the Scots were thus entred, got together a thousand horse, and making forth to defend the countrie, set upon the earle at the aforesaid place of Haltwell Sweire; but some feare entering into the hearts of the Englishmen, by reason of certeine shot which the Scots had there with them, fled, and were pursued by the Scots ouer the water of Till. There were taken aboute sir scoze Englishmen, amongst whom capitaine Edzington, and capitaine Bar, that had the leading of light horsemen, were two: beside diuerse other men of good account in seruice, as one Laughan a gentleman and such like.

The earle of
Bothwell.

Haltwell
Sweire.

The English
men put to
flight.

60

About this time, whilest the lord Cure commonlie called Cues, remained capitaine of Berwick, one Kirkandie consine to sir William Kirkandie lord of Orange, chanced to be taken prisoner into Berwick; and afterwards being ransomed, at his coming home to Almouth, he made report that he had bene so freckle bled, during the time that he remained prisoner, at the hands of the said lord Cure. By reason thereof, upon challenge made by Orange to fight a combat with the lord Cure, the matter grew to this issue; that where their degrees were not equall, Rafe Cure brother to the lord Cure undertooke (in his brothers behalfe) to breake a staffe with the lord of Orange vpon the side of Halidon hill at a day appointed: where they met, either of them bringing twelue gentlemen with them, to see the trial of this challenge perfoymed.

The lord of
Orange chal-
lenged the lord
Cure.

Al. g.

But

The lord of
Grange and
maister Rafe
Cure ran one
against ano-
ther.

Sir John
Clere slaine
in the yle of
Dykeneie.

The tourne
of the earle of
Sulfer into
the west parts
of Scotland.

Kentire.

James Ma-
conell.

The earle of
Sulfer burnt
the yle of Ar-
rane.

But when they came to haue their armor & weapons viewed, the truth is so, that Grange was armed in a cote of plate, and a curace aloft vpon it: wherewith some fault was found, because maister Cure was clad onelie in a single cote of plate, without anie other peeces of armor for defense of his bodie. But yet such was the great courage of the said maister Cure, that he would not refuse the chalenge, notwithstanding his aduersaries aduantage of armor. Wherevpon they ran together, and brake both their stances; and as it fortuned maister Cure was hurt in the shanke. The warre being thus pursued betwixt England and Scotland, beside the incuners and roads which are before mentioned, there were two great roads made into Scotland; the one by the earle of Westmerland, and the other by the earle of Northumberland: the lord Talbot being there, & having the leading of certeine demilances.

Moreover, it was thought good by the Englishmen, not onelie to annoie the Scots by land, but also by sea. Wherevpon sir John Clere with certeine ships of warre sailed forth alongest the coast, till at length he arrived at the Isles of Dykeneie; where going on land about an enterprise, & staid longer than was requisite, he was incountried by his aduersaries, and slaine with manie of his people, which were there on land with him. But though the Scots had good successe in that part, they sustained great damage on the west side of the realme, by a tourne which the earle of Sulfer then lord deputie of Ireland attempted against them. For the better understanding wherof ye shall note, that after the lord Clinton high admerall of England had burnt the towne of Conquest in Britaine, there were seuen ships of warre appointed to passe into Ireland, as the Marie Willoughbie, the Jew barke, the Sacret, the Gervais, and three other that were merchants, and appointed that yeare to serue the quene of England in hir warres.

There were also beside those seuen ships of war, two vittellers appointed to attend vpon them. Sir Thomas Cotton was ordeined their admerall, and one Southweke of Dover was assigned to be their viceadmerall. Now vpon their arriuall in Ireland, the earle of Sulfer having also prepared three other ships, with sufficient and necessarie provision for his tourne, imbarke with so manie souldiers as conuenientlie might be bestowed aboard in that fleet, containing twelue saile in the whole; and departing toward the west of Scotland, landed in a part of the countrie called Kentire, with as manie souldiers and mariners as might be spared out of the ships, leaving them furnished with competent numbers for their safegard; and being got to land, he passed forth into the countrie, & burnt two houses that belonged to James Maconell chiefe gouernor of those parts, & a great enimie to the Englishmen.

He burnt also diuerse townes, villages, and hamlets belonging vnto the said Maconell, with great store of coine and other things which came in their waie. The Scots oftentimes skirmished with the Englishmen, but durst not aduenture to ioine with them in battell, they kept so good order by the earle of Sulfer his politike and valiant conduction. There were a sort of Scots gotten into a bodier meaning to haue fled, but being apprehended by the Englishmen, they were executed. Finally, after the earle had remained there on land, in burning and spoiling the countrie for the space of three daies, he returned to his ships, and in safetie went aboard againe with his men: and making saile to the yle of Arrane, entred the haven called Amalasche, and landing at that place, burnt the countrie, and after

went to Lumber, where he likewise burnt and harried that yle.

This done, he meant to haue gone into two other Ilands, Fla and Jucere: but the winds grew so terrible with tempests and foule weather, that they lost one of their ships; and some of the rest were so rent & spoiled of their tackle and furniture, as they escaped in great hazard of being cast afloat also. There were six and twentie mariners drowned, the which perceiuing the ship to be in danger of sinking, fled into the boate, and so perished: the other that remained in the ship were saued, as maister Francis Kandoll, and others. By reason therefore of such foule weather, the earle of Sulfer was constrained to returne into Ireland, arriuing in Cragfergus, where he landed with his souldiers: and appointing the ships to returne into England, he passed by land vnto Dublin, spoiling the enimies countries by the waie, and taking from them a great preie and bottie of cattell; notwithstanding the painfull passage that he had to make through the cumbersome waies, bogs, and woods, without reliefe of all necessarie things in that so troublesome a tourne.

Thus far for those yeares warre in the daies of Marie quene of England, betwixt the Englishmen and Scots: wherof sith I haue found none that hath written anie thing at all, I haue yet set downe these ob notes, as I haue learned the same of such as had good cause to know the truth thereof, being eie-witnesses themselves of such enterprises and exploits as chanced in the same warres; namelie capteine Head, capteine Wood, capteine Crington, capteine Curleie, and capteine Parkham; with others, which of their courtesie haue willinglie imparted to me the report of diuerse such things, as I wisht to be resolued in. Which accordingly (so far as my remembrance hath serued) I haue here delineated, to the end the same maie giue occasion to others (that maie happilie light vpon more full instructions) to impart to posteritie a more perfect discourse, where otherwise the matter might peraduenture wholie passe in forgetfulness.

And now to returne vnto the Scottish ambassadors that were sent into France, for the conclusion of the mariage betwixt their quene & the Dolphin. After that the same mariage was consummat, and euerie thing ordered and brought to passe according to the effect of their commission; in the moneth of August they toke their leaue of the French king, the quene, and nobilitie there, to returne homeward into Scotland: albeit few of them came home, for the bishop of Dykeneie departed this transitorie life in Diepe, the fifteenth of September; the earle of Rothes deceased there the ninth of November; the earle of Cassils lord treasurer departed in the same place the fourteenth of November; and the lord Fleming deceased in Paris the eighteenth of December. And so onelie the archbishop of Glasgow, the prior of saint Andrews, and the lord of Dun returned into Scotland in October. After whose comming, there was a parlement summoned by the quene, to be holden in December next.

In August Archemald Campbell erle of Argile, whose wit was singular in dispatch of the affaires aswell of peace as of warre, was made high iustice of Scotland; and in France was advanced to the title of a knight of the order of saint Michaele. Few daies betwene these things departed this life the bishop of Brechin, and Andrew Durie bishop of Whithchurch. To the one did succede the abbat of Couper, in place of the other came Alexander Gordon archbishop of Athens by the quenes benefit. David Painter or Painter bishop of Ross, & James Seteward, whome James the sixt (being illegitimat father

Foule wea-
ther.

The earle of
Sulfer returneth into Ire-
land.

The ambel-
sadors died
almost all.
Lesseus, lib. 10.
pag. 538, 539.

These came
hinc againe.

Lord of Dun.
A parliament.

Fr. Thin.
Lesseus, lib. 10.
pag. 539.

Candida Cafa.

Lesseus lib. 10.
pag. 542.

father unto him) had made abbat of Spelroffe and
 helia died also this yeare. Whose monasteries the
 quene did forgiue unto the cardinall Guile;
 long after which followed also the death of the ab-
 bat of Sanctoquod. At this verie time manie pro-
 digious sights, which I will not here recite, being
 touched by Lebeus did appeare by a marker of such
 ominous things, whereof these verses were made:

*For certen cōsumptio est, quæ mortis legē
 Dignis iactis amaret imperium.*

In September there was a parlement holden at
 Edinburgh, in which the acts of the former legats in
 France about the marriage of the quene of Scots
 to the Dolphin were confirmed. At what time the
 Dolphin of France by his ambassadours did vber-
 nuntiate request, that the crowne (which they terme
 matrimoniall) should be giuen unto him by the de-
 cree of the states, whereby he might be called king
 of Scotland as long as the quene liued. The
 quene also touching it a point of honor, to craipe all
 title of glorie which she could vpon her husband, as
 one that by a certaine inclination of mind did ver-
 rouslie fauor him; gave in charge also to the ambas-
 sadours, that they should earnestlie follow the same
 cause amongst the Scots. And to the end to brayn
 them the more easilie into his opinion; the duke the
 matter into certaine articles, deliuered to the am-
 bassadours with more ample instructions touching
 the same: the summe of all which was this.

First, diligentlie to beat into the Scots with what
 disposition of mind the Dolphin was affected toward
 them, as well as his father, who held the Scots in
 that account as he did his owne people, and so al-
 waies would haue them: which good mind of the
 French towards the Scots to be plaime without a-
 ny dissimulation, it maie well appeare as well by the
 cōuenants established for the marriage, as also by the
 benefites which he hath not onelie bestowed vpon the
 Scots and Scotland in generalitie, but also in par-
 ticularitie vpon certen speciall Scots, of his
 owne free will, almost without the request of anie
 bodie. And that they should also further late abroad,
 what helpe the quene and Scots haue had of the
 moste honorable cardinall of Lorraine, & the duke of Guile
 the quenes vnckle. All which the ambassadours them-
 selues (as they haue fullie proued) did well under-
 stand.

Secondlie, where the quene doth thinke that she
 is greatly benefitted with manie honors by so great a
 king, but especiallie in this, that so mightie a
 prince hath taken her into the fellowship of the holic
 bed, by which there can not anie other commoditie
 grow to the king than the reuenues of the kingdome
 which he hath purchased with his great charge and la-
 bor: and that the quene considering all this (with
 great griefe of mind) doth seeke by what meanes she
 might at least expresse some small token of a thank-
 full mind for so manie benefites (because if she should
 not doe some thing, no small blot would seeme to be
 imputed to the quene and the Scots) it came into
 her mind to thinke by what meanes she could requite
 some part thereof, which she could doe (as she thought)
 if at the least she did but honor her husband with the
 kinglie title, & giue unto him the marriage crowne of
 Scotland.

This thing therefore the quene her selfe doth ear-
 nestlie desire, and doth courtouslie request all the es-
 tates of Scotland, that the same maie be established
 by the voices of the full parlement, and that they will
 commaund some three or foure of the chiefe nobilitie
 honorable to carie the ensignes of the kingdome to
 him, that at the least by this token of loue, the king
 & the best of the court maie well perceiue, with what
 reverence and with what dutie they fauour the king

his husband.

And to the end that this request of the quene for
 the rareness of the example, should not haue anie
 doubt in the mind of the nobilitie, and to hold them
 as it were in suspence, it was giuen in charge also
 to the ambassadours, that they should in manner point
 with their finger, that manie ages past, the quene
 of Spaine did not onelie for loue she did beate unto
 him, adorne the duke of Anou her husband, with
 the bare name of a king; but did also by the consent
 of the nobilitie, giue him rule and gouernment o-
 ver the same kingdome. The like whereof was al-
 so done in our memorie by the quene of Spaine to
 her husband the archduke of Auirich, & by the quene
 of Castille to the duke of Candoline.

But if that the Scots be moued by the example
 of the English, who haue creinde Philip king of
 Spaine, that then the ambassadours should easilie
 wipe away that doubt, if they admonish the Scots
 that the English are not tied to the Spaniards with
 that firme and needfull band as the Scots are to the
 French, both which nations haue one priuilege, ma-
 gistrats to gouerne, and one fellowship and parti-
 cipation of the administration of all the things in
 either kingdome. Whereunto they must further adde
 that it was so far off, that the English should craipe
 anie fruit or commoditie by the Spaniards that the
 king of Spaine himselfe did (as it were) buying
 from the English all the commoditie he could, to
 performe his affaires out of the realme. And fur-
 ther, that the English being out of all hope for their
 quene to haue anie issue by the same marriage, they
 would not grant unto it, when there is a certaine
 and full hope left to the Scots, that issue may come
 of this marriage.

Besides all this, let it be opened unto the Scots,
 what great benefite maie redound unto them by this
 signe of a thankfull mind. For it maie so happen,
 that if the king Dolphin shall take himselfe increa-
 sed with this title of honor by the Scots, as a note of
 their good fauour to him, that he maie raise by his
 father the king of France, that he will not by anie
 meanes permit the quene of Scots his wife to be
 excluded from the kingdome of England, after the
 death of quene Marie, who was not like to liue long
 being soe troubled with the droppe.

These things and manie others were giuen in
 charge to the ambassadours (comen out of France) to
 declare to the parlement of Scotland. Which being
 thus declared to the states and the quene regent,
 with might and maine seeking the furthering there-
 of; at length it was granted that he should be king
 during the life of the quene. For which cause Sil-
 lester Campbell earle of Argile, and James Ste-
 ward, bassard brother to the young quene, being pri-
 or of S. Andrews, were named to execute their con-
 sent unto the Dolphin, to declare him king, and to
 inuest him with the ornaments thereto belonging,
 and further to shew the readie minds of the Scots
 toward him, not onlie in this but in all other things:
 by which anie honor or profit might anie waie rise
 unto him.

But whilst these men doe prepare all things for
 such a iourne, certen factious persons did beat in-
 to their eares, how beaue a iourne that would be
 vnto them. For it would happen, that whilst they
 were busie in prouiding for small things abroad, they
 should by delate corrupt, or by absence cleane ouer-
 turne matters of greater importance at home. For
 they did know how the subtil wit of James, and
 the great power and strength of the earle of Argile
 would be missing in those new things which were in
 hand amongst these of the religion: for which they
 neuer left off intreating and perswading, untill they

L. I. iii.

had

well liked to
 catch a frog.

Not so likely
 as that his
 drop out of
 your pen.

the Socie-
 ty.

the Socie-
 ty.

the Socie-
 ty.

the Socie-
 ty.

the Socie-
 ty.

the Socie-
 ty.

the Socie-
 ty.

the Socie-
 ty.

the Socie-
 ty.

the Socie-
 ty.

Buch, lib. 10.

had wholie staied them from that iournie.

During these affaires, Marie quene of England died, and that worthie ladie Elizabeth succeeded in hir place. Immediatlie thereupon, the yong quene of Scots bare hir selfe as heire to that kingdome, and caused all hir hangings, bedding, vessels, and o^rther household stufte to be stamped and marked with the title and armes of the kings of England. And although France were then miserable afflicted in chalenging the dominion and gouernment of Scotland, as being vnto them a verie scoone and mockerie (as Buchanan tearmeth it.) Neither did the wiiser sort of the French looke into that matter: for the Guises, who at that time gouerned all things, did consent to this error of the Scottish quene, because they would thereby seeme to haue gotten to themselves a singular honor in adding the title of England to the French name.

The regent hauing now gotten a consent (as before you haue heard) of the matrimoniall crowne to be bestowed vpon the husband of the yong quene of Scots, began after a sort to put on a new mind: for by little and little she conuerted that old and accepted courtlesie, into commanding arrogancie; and the gentle answers wherewith she was wont to appease all parts, were turned contrarie. Which before she durst not do by reason of the present state, which then was such, as she feared not to promise what she would not haue to be performed, because she had not then obtained the grant of the matrimoniall crowne: but now hauing all things after hir owne mind, she vsed other conditions, and other speeches. There was also a parlement appointed at Striueling in the first Ides of Aprill.

And because she was heard oftentimes to saie, that she would not suffer the maiestie of the chiefe gouernement to be cast downe from the seat thereof, but wold restore it to the former place. By which sayings manie were admonished of some troublesome tempest to follow. Whereupon diuerse came to treat hir for the protestants, amongst which for the dignitie of his name, to make the matter to be more easilie obtained, there were sent Alexander Cuningame earle of Glenearne, and Hugh Campbell thiriffe of Aine, a worthie knight, before whom the regent could not restraîne hirselfe, but burst forth into these wordes.

These men (saith she) sith they haue preached not verie sincerlie, shall be banished, though you and your ministers resist against it. And when they replied, beseeching hir that she would remember what she had often promised: she answered, that the performance of promise is to be chalenged of princes, so farre as it seemeth commodious for them to performe it. Wherevnto they replied, that they therefore renounced all dutie and obedience vnto hir, and did further forwarne hir of the great mischiefes that would flow out of this founteine: with which answer she being stroken more than she looked for, said in the end, that she would both thinke on it and them.)

An assemblee
of the cleargie.
Fr. Thin.

Common pra-
yers to be had
in the bulgar
tong.

In Iulie and August, there was a conuention of all the prelats and cleargie holden at Edinburgh, in the which certeine men & women of Edinburgh were accused of heresie, and abjured at the towne crosse with faggots on their backs: [whereupon (as saith Lesleus lib. 10. p. 538.) were great tumults raised at Edinburgh, for the appeasing wherof, the lord Seilton was made gouernor there.] In this assemblee it was required, that the common praiers might be read in the Scottish tong in churches, with certeine other articles of reformation, whereof the

answer was deferred till March, in which moneth a prouinciall council was appointed to be holden at Edinburgh. The second of March, the said prouinciall council of all the prelats and cleargie of Scotland began, wherein diuerse articles were propounded by the temporaltie; as to haue the praiers and administration of the sacraments in the Scottish language, the election of bishops and all benefited men to passe by the voices of the temporall lordes & people of their diocesses and parishes, with diuerse other reformatiōs: all the which the bishops refused to grant, where through there arose shortly after great trouble in Scotland.

The quene regent caused summons to be given to John Innes, John Mulloche, John Douglas, and Paule Pessane, to appeare at Striueling the tenth day of Aprill: and for lacke of appearance they were denounced rebels, and put to the horne. Whereupon the said John Innes being in Perth, perswaded the maister of Lindseie, the lords of Tulibardin, Dun, Pettarow, and diuerse other being there assembled, with the burgeses of the townes of saint Johns towne and Dundee, to pull downe the images and altars in all churches, and to suppress the houses of friers, & other religious places. Who after a sermon made by him to that effect, the same tenth of Aprill they began in saint Johns towne, and cast downe the abbey of the Charterhouse, the Blakie and Carmelite friers, called the Cullelum [and so cleane, that (as saith Buchanan) within two daies there was left no signe thereof almost to be seene] and reformed all other churches thereabouts, breaking downe the images and altars in Jfife, Angus, Pernis, and other parts there next adjoining.

The quene regent being aduertised thereof, sent for the duke of Chatelerault, and diuerse other of the nobilitie, as the earles of Atholl, Argile, Marshall, and others, who came with hir to Perth, otherwise called saint Johns towne, hauing with them two thousand Frenchmen [to whom also repaired (as saith Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 548) the archbishop of saint Andrews and Glasgowe, the bishops of Dunkeld, and Dunblane, James prior of saint Andrews, the abbat of Coldingham and Dunfermeling, with manie o^rther chiefe of the cleargie] who entered the towne vpon appointment of the lord Ruthen capteine thereof, and so receiuing it, gaue it in keeping to capteine James Stewart, and capteine Cullane, with their bands of men of warre. In the meane time the erle of Argile, and the prior of saint Andrews, left the quene in Perth, and went to saint Andrews, joining themselves with the other, and made reformation of the churches, casting downe altars, images, houses of friers, and abbeies in that towne, and in Coldingham, and other places thereabout: and assembling a great companie of countrie men, came to London, Balmeare, & Coldingham, to make resistance against the Frenchmen that were in Falkeland with the quene [come thither from Perth, after that she had left in Perth six hundred men vnder the charge of James Stewart cardinall, & James Cullane.] But when they should haue met on Coldingham more in battell, the duke of Chatelerault, the earle Marshall, and others, laboured betwixt them, so that the battell was staied, & the quene with the Frenchmen returned vnto Edinburgh.

The earle of Argile, the prior of saint Andrews, and their assisers came to saint Johns towne and besieged it, till it was to them surrendered. The erle of Huntly was sent to them from the quene to treat with them of some accord, but he profited not. At the same time a certeine number of persons of the townes of Dundee & Perth, came to the abbey of Scone, and spoiling the church, burnt it with the most

A prouinciall
council.

Requests
made by the
laitie.

The friers in
Striueling
disturbed.

The quene
departed from
Edinburgh.

The friers hou-
ses over-
throwne.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 551.

Images and
friarhouses
pulled downe.

Fr. Thin.

Two armies
pacified.

The quene
regent came
to Perth.

Fr. Thin.

Edith baptised

St. Andrews.
Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10
pag. 553.
Buchanan,
lib. 16.

Coldingham.

Fr. Thin.

Two armies
were pacified.

Saint Johns
towne be-
sieged.

Scone abbey
burnt.

The friers in
Strueling
distroyed.

The quene
departed from
Edenburgh.

The frierhouse
is over-
throwne.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.
Lelles lib. 10.
pag. 551.

Two armies
parried.

Leith fortified

most part of the house, the earle of Argile, and the prior of saint Andzeus being with them in compa-
nie. After this they went to Strueling, and to Liff-
quid, where they caused the houses of the blacke friers
and grate friers to be throwne downe. From thence
they passed to Edenburgh, where the quene hearing
of their coming, departed with the Frenchmen
vnto Dunbar, the duke of Chatelerault, and the erle
of Huntley being with hir in companie.

The earle of Argile and his companie, called the
lords of the congregation, were receiued into Eden-
burgh by the bailiffes of the towne, where the places
of the blacke and grate friers were suddenlie over-
throwne, & the Church a field, and Trinitie college,
and saint Giles church were reformed, and the ima-
ges and altars pulled downe. The lords remaining
thus in Edenburgh [apprehended Robert Richard-
son (as saith Lelles) that was gouernor of the pub-
like treasure, took the keys by force from him, ente-
red the abbey] the coining house, took the coining
10 rons, seized vpon the quenes moueables, which they
found in the palace, and kept the same. * Whilest
these things were thus done at Edenburgh, Mar-
well lord Harries gouernor of the west marches,
which at that time was detained prisoner in Eden-
burgh castell, did priuillie get out of the same by a
rope hanged to the wall, and hauing speedie horses,
departed to his owne companie, thortlie after ioi-
ning himselfe to the lords of the religion.]

Monsieur Doifell and the Frenchmen came from
Dunbar to the links of Leith, accompanied with the
duke of Chatelerault, the earles of Huntley, Both-
well, Pourton, and others. And the lords of the con-
gregation came forth of the towne of Edenburgh of
purpose to haue giuen battell to the Frenchmen, al-
beit they were not sufficient partie to resist them.
But the erle of Huntley travelled betwixt them, by
whose meanes there met twelue on euerie side, who a-
greed vpon certeine articles, and so the quene and
Frenchmen entered into Leith, and forthwith began
to fortifie it.

The articles of agreement betweene the regent and the lords of the reformed religion.

1 **F**irst, that all the souldiers of the reli-
gion, and such as did belong to them,
should depart from Edenburgh, and
leave the same to the gouernement
of the quene: with this prouiso, that the citizens
should either remaine, or depart at their pleasure.

2 Item, that those of the religion should restore
vnto the magistrats wholie and trulie all such sums
of monie, or other pretious things, which they had et-
ther priuillie taken, or by open force spoiled from the
magistrats.

3 Thirdlie, that the quenes palace, which they of
the religion did possesse, with all the furniture and or-
naments thereof, should be deliuered by againe to
such as should be appointed therfore.

4 Fourthlie, that they of the religion should not
depart, before they had committed the lordlyshewen
and detarrow (whome they promised to put in pled-
ges for their credit and good dealing) to the keeping
of such as were on the quenes part.

5 Fifthlie, that all men should acknowledge the
gouernement of the king and the quene to be law-
full, which before they had gaine said by the pretense
of religion: and that they should faithfully obete the
regent, and the old lawes of the kingdome, except
such decrees as pertained not to religion.

6 Sixthlie, that they should not by anie meanes
trouble the catholike priests and ecclesiasticall per-

sons, or hinder them from quiet gathering and intol-
eng their rents, tithes, and profits, vntill the fourth
Ides of Januarie.

7 Seuenthlie, that they should not from hence-
forth violate or deface churches, religious houses, or
anie other holie places.

8 Eightlie, that euerie man might at Eden-
burgh professe and vse what religion he would, which
they commonlie called the libertie of conscience.

9 Ninthlie, that the quene regent should faith-
fully prouide, that the preachers of the reformed reli-
gion should not be molested or hurt, either by hir, or
by anie of the catholike gouernors. Both parties be-
ing thus satisfied with these conditions, the French
entered Leith.]

Shortlie after this, the duke of Chatelerault, part-
lie through persuation of the earle of Argile his
sisters sonne, and the Westland lords; and partlie be-
cause he understood that his sonne the earle of Arrane
was fled forth of France to Geneva for the religion;
he took part with the lords from that time forth, a-
gainst the aduise of the bishop of saint Andzeus, and
diuerse other his friends. This yere in June, Henrie
the king of France, at the triumph of the mariages
betwixt the king of Spaine and his daughter, and
duke of Sauoie and his sister, was wounded in fusts
at the tourneillis in Paris by the count Montgo-
merie, and died of the hurts the tenth of Iulie next
insuing, being the eleuenth day after he was woun-
ded. Then Francis his sonne, that had married the
quene of Scotland, was crowned king at saint De-
nis, and annointed at Reims in September fol-
lowing.

* In the moneth of September, Croke a noble
man of France was sent to the regent, to comfort
hir in the kings name; declaring vnto hir that an ar-
mie was preparing to come into Scotland, vnder
the leading of the marquesse of Albus or Elbusse (as
saith Buchanan) and that in the meane time with all
speed some troopes of men should thortlie be there
with monie, and other defenses of warre. And to the
end that nothing should want to further hir, the king
would thortlie send certeine noble men into Scot-
land, which should counsell hir in these troublesome
affaires. Besides which, he brought letters out of
France from the king and the quene, to the prior of
saint Andzeus, in which they rather sought to in-
cline his mind by courtessie to obedience, before that
they would inforce him therevnto by warre. Which
letters being by Lelles turned out of French into
Latine, are by me thus deliuered in English, with
the answer of the prior to the same.

Francis king of France to Iames prior of the monastrie of saint Andrewes.

60 **A**fter that I understood by certeine let-
ters, & by the common report of all (my
cousine) that Scotland did flame in euerie
part with tumults and seditions, it is
strange to see how greatlie I was astonished therat.
But when I heard that you (to whome my dead fa-
ther, my deere wife, and my selfe, haue giuen so
manie large benefitts) should be forgetfull of them
all liberallie bestowed, and become the author, head,
and nourisher of this fire of contention and bialles;
I could not be perswaded that you would so farre dis-
gresse from that office and dutie of pietie, which you
haue alwaies made shew to beare vnto the quene.

But if the thing were so, as the common fame
doth report of you, I did verelie thinke that the pro-
mises and flattering wordes of others had inticed you
to this deceit, onelie to take the fault vpon you; for
whose

Duke Chate-
lerault taketh
part with the
reformers of
the churches.

King Henrie
was hurt and
died.

Francis the
Dolphin suc-
ceeded his fa-
ther.

Fr. Thin.
Lelles lib. 10.
pag. 554.

Lelles lib. 11.
pag. 554.

their wasthe force in taking upon him the defense of those things.

Wherefore he would not have the king or quene to thinke that their authoritie is touched, when he labored to putt away the acuties of the papists. From which onlie thing (as he supposed) the honor of God, the glorie of the king and quene, and the helpe and health of his countrie to be continued therein; he will not be inchoyance by the force of any man, nor be in quest for all the threats of the king and quene, until he have whelie cut away the branches of superstition, and utterlie pulled by the roots thereof.

Cresser had scarce performed his ambassage for which he came (as before you have heard) in delivering these letters: but forthwith alanced at Leith a Frenchman, with foure troops of soldiers, with a great masse of monie, & other furniture needfull for the warres: whome after a few daies the regent sent backe againe into France, to request of the king, that foure other companies of soldiers might be sent over; which might with those already now in Scotland, supplye the number of twentie companies: to whome also it were expedient to joine a hundred baynemen, which number the assured would suffice to pacifie all the tumults in Scotland, so that foure ships well appointed might abwaies lie in the haven of Leith, to watch the port. All which if the Scots were promised by the benefit of the king, and that the coming of his brother the marquisse of Albani were hastened, he promised them to bring all things to an end.

Besides which, he did also signifie unto the king, that the Scots of the reformed religion, for the increase of their faction, had secretlie grovlen in league with some of the nobilitie of France, who did daily send letters and messengers to the Scots, to encourage them not to leave off from their attempts; promising also unto them that they would hinder (by all the means they could) that no great armie should be made out of France against them: and moreover, in that the Scots had sent ambassadors to Germany, and into Denmark, for religious cause, to request aid from thence, but their chiefest and principall hope did rest (as saith Lellius) in England.

During these things, the duke of Chatelaunt and the lords of the congregation sent to the quene, whereof we will speake more hereafter, beseeching her to leave off from making of foies within the realme. But she would not grant so to do: wherefore they assembled their whole forces in Edinburgh, and besieged the towne of Leith in October: the quene and Frenchmen, with the bishops of saint Andrews, Glasgow, Dunferme, the lord of Seton, and divers other Scottishmen being within it. But the Frenchmen of warre issued forth of Leith, and met nere to the abbey of Holie rood house, with the Scottish lords and their companie, where manie Scottishmen were slaine, & the rest chased into Edinburgh: the Frenchmen also following them unto the gates of Edinburgh, had entred, if those within the castell had not shot off the artillerie at them, to stae the slaughter and pursue.

In the time of this siege, the young lord of Leithington, secretarie to the quene, being with her in Leith, lest the towne, & secretlie departing, got him to the lords, and holpe greatlie afterwards to obtaine aid out of England. After this, the quene and Frenchmen came to Edinburgh, which was peaceable rendered to them, where they remained all that winter. About the same time, Nicholas Pelue the bishop of Arras, monsieur de la Brosse, & two doctors of divinitie, came to Scotland in September, and la Brosse was made lieutenant of the French armie, monsieur Partiguers colonell of the footmen.

And with them came a great companie of French soldiers unto the quene regent, so that then the French power was thirtie five hundred good men of warre, besides two bands of Scottish soldiers, under the leading of capteine Anthoine Benedic, and James Stewart of Cardonald.

The Frenchmen being thus entered France, the chiefest of the nobilitie were assembled at Edinburgh, of whom there was a day required of hearing to be given to la Brosse, and to the bishop, affirming that they were sent thither as ambassadors. To whom it was answered, that they did not seeke peace, as they did dissemble: but threaten war: for otherwise to what end were it to bring armed soldiers to dispute thereof? For the Scots were not ignorant of the state of things, that they would commit them selves to that deciding of matters, in which they might be compelled to accept conditions answerable to the mind of the adversarie. But if amongst weapons it pleased them to make peace, they would also provide, that they would not rather seeme to be beaten there unto by compulsion, than quiettie led by reason. For if they did truite & from their heart require that in deed which they seeme in words, they would discharge those strange soldiers, and meet (as they have often done in other places) unarmed, as to a thing that by words and reason is to be decided, and not by swords the strength to be compassed. And thus much for the ambassadors.

Now you have heard before of the battell of Leith, the besiering and the regaining of Edinburgh: touching which, because it is omitted before in the recting of the things done in those places, I thinke it not amiss, though it come a little out of course, to set it downe as Buchanan hath placed the same: next after the speeches used to those ambassadors. Thus therefore he toucheth touching the defense of Leith. These noble men, hearing those at Edinburgh did invite to the quene much after this manner, That they did greatlie marvel, that the regent provoked with no injuries, did so soon depart from the former covenants, and expelling the ancient inhabitants of Leith, and placing there a colonie of strangers, she would in that place build a castle to the destruction of the lawes and liberties of the realme, and to the danger of the lives of them all. Wherefore they did earnestlie intreat her, that she would desist from this thing rashlie attempted, against the faith of her promise, the publike commoditie, and the lawes and liberties of the kingdome: least she inforce them by necessitie to raise in aid of the whole people.

Besides which also, they which were assembled at Edinburgh, did write to the same effect, about a moneth after that they had dispatched the other letters, adding these petitions to the same last letters; That overthrowing the new fortresses, she would command all the strangers and hired people to depart out of the towne, to the end that it might be free for all men (according to justice) there to traffike and use their mutuall trade of buying & selling one with an other. The which if she refused to do, they would take it for a sure token, that she ment to bring this kingdome into servitude; against which evil they would provide all whatsover remedie that they could. Within three daies after, the quene sent Robert Forman chiefe herald to answer the matter, with instructions and commandements delivered to him in these words.

First of all, you shall shew unto them, that nothing could happen unto us more contrarie to our opinion, than that there should be any other having authoritie here, besides my daughter and her husband my sonne in law, upon whom all our authoritie dooth depend; that the former acts of the nobilitie,

1586.

Embassadors

The Frenchmen were banished.

The quene came to Edinburgh

The men sent in Scotland.

tie, and this present request, or rather commande-
ment doth well declare, that they acknowledge no
other superiortie; and that their demands (or rather
threatnings) with what shew of words soever they be
cloked, are sufficientlie known unto vs, as
no new things. Again, you shall require of the duke
of Chastelaunt, that he call to mind what he hath
promised to vs by his words, and to the king by his
letters. Which was, that he would not onelie hear-
ken to the kings commandement; but also worke,
that his sonne the earle of Arrane should not at all
come with those tumults of the countrie, and whether
the things which he now doth, are the performance
of his promises.

To their letters also you shall answer; that we
haue openlie shewed our indenor to bring things to
quiet; that we will grant to anie thing, which maie
not resist the pietie due to God, and doth not fight
with their duetie towards their king and quene, and
that I did neuer so much as once thinke of the over-
throw of their lawes and libertie; and much lesse, so
much as dreame of conquering the kingdome by
violence. For to whome, or for whome should I seeke
the kingdome, when my daughter doth already
possesse it? Touching the defense and fortifying of
Leith, you shall aske them this; whether that we at
anie time haue attempted anie thing that waie, be-
fore that they with manie assemblies, and at length
with conspiracie among themselves, did openlie
shew that they would shake off the lawfull gouerne-
ment, and before that they at their pleasure troubled
the whole publike state (unknowledge to vs, who
held the place and authoritie of the chiefeest gouernor)
strengthened their factions with strong cities, and
made league and couenants with our ancient en-
emies.

And to omit other things, what cause can they (in
the end) bring forth, whie it was lawfull for them to
retein an armie at Edinburgh, to invade the go-
uernors of those affaires? And that it is not lawfull
for vs at Leith for our owne defense and safetie, to
haue anie other gard about vs? Cruelie they seeke
thein, that we should labor to shun their furie
(as hitherto we haue done) by continuall and daillie
change of places. Is there anie thing in their let-
ters that mentioned their dutie to the right magi-
strate? Doth there lie open anie waie for the resto-
ring of concord? Or do they shew anie token that
they would haue these seditions pacified, and that
they would all things should be reduced to their for-
mer state?

Let them cloke this with that colour they will of
publike commoditie; yet it is manifest that they
thinke and seeke nothing lesse. For if they had one-
lie staid upon a concord, we haue often shewed
them a waie thereunto. Neither are they ignorant
that these French had (by the commandement of
their king) bene long before dispatched out of Scot-
land, vnlesse their doings had bene the cause of
their staid. Therefore, if they will yet now offer
anie honest conditions which may induce vs to hope;
and that (the maiestie of the gouernement alwaies
saued sound) maie declare that they will modestlie
and obedientlie obeie their superiours: we will re-
fuse no means to restore a concord & quiet amongst
them and vs, nor omit anie thing that maie tend to
the publike commoditie.

Neither are we alone so affected towards them,
but also their king and quene; who hath sent vnto
them a worthy knight of the order of the scallop
shell, and one of the chiefe of the ecclesiasticall order,
with letters and commandements touching the
same: whome they did so contemne, as that they
would not boughsafe them answer, no not so much

as hearing. Therefore, you shall demand, and
command the duke, the nobilitie, and all others of
what condition soeuer, that they depart in sunder;
or otherwise, that they shall not be kept together,
vnlesse it be by strengith of armes. To all this the
next day, which was the three and twentieth of Oc-
tober, the nobilitie answered after this order.

We easilie vnderstand by your letters and com-
mandements sent by the herald, how obstinatlie
you be euillie minded against pietie towards God,
the publike commoditie of the realme, and the com-
mon libertie of vs all: all which things we must &
do defend, as of right we ought. Therefore, from
henceforth we do suspend and forbid your gouerne-
ment, in the name of the king and quene, or by
what other name or title you do usurpe the publike
administration of the kingdome; as persons cer-
teinlie knowing, that those things which are now
done by you, do with the mind of those princes fight
against the publike safetie of this realme.

And as you do not esteeme vs lawfull subiects of
those princes & of this kingdome, to make a publike
senate or counsell: so we do not acknowledge you
for a regent to execute supreme authoritie, speciallie
with the gouernement (if you haue anie such commit-
ted vnto you by the princes) is for most iust & weigh-
tie causes forbidden you: and that in the name of
the same princes, whose counsellors we are borne to
be, chiefe in matters which pertaine to the safetie
of all the people. And although we haue determi-
ned not to see anie danger, in deliuering of that
towne, in which you haue placed strange and hired
souldiers against vs: yet for the reuerence which we
beare vnto you, as vnto our quene mother; we
earnestlie with all faithfull intreatie beseech you,
that you depart from thence; whilst the cause of
publike commoditie doth inforce vs to recouer that
towne by weapons.

Besides which, we further request, that you will
leade them out of the towne with you, within foure
and twentieth houres; if there be anie which chal-
lenge vnto themselves the names of ambassadores,
either to decide controuersies, or to gouerne the af-
fares. For it is but equitie that we prouide for the
safetie, and willinglie spare the blood of all those
hired souldiers, aswell for the ancient amitie which
hath bene betwene the French and the Scots, as
for the mariage of our quene with their king:
which friendship we would rather should be increa-
sed than diminished. The same day also, the said
herald declared at his returne to the regent, that the
day before it was perswaded in an assembled coun-
cell of the nobles and the other commons; that all the
oaths and sayings of the regent did onelie tend to
verie tyrannie.

Hereupon, there was a decre made to take the
gouernement from hir: so that the whole com-
panie subscribed, as to a most iust matter: and
that there they did forbid anie ambassage, giuen or
sent to hir by hir sonne in law and hir daughter:
further, commanding hir to execute no gouerne-
ment, untill the generall assemble of a parlement
to be appointed by them in such place as they should
thinke convenient. The five and twentieth daie, the
lords of the religion sent an herald to Leith, to will
all the Scots to depart to the towne within foure and
twentie houres, and to separat themselves from the
subuerter of publike libertie. Thus much Buchan-
nan of this done about the state of Leith, before the
nobilitie besieged the same (as is before set downe.)
And so againe to the order of the historie.]

The lords of Scotland, perceiving the French
men increased, so that they by their owne forces onlie
were not able to resist them, sent William Bevel-
lan

They had
their request
granted them.
1560. Buch.
1559. Lelle.

pledges sent
into England

Lord Hamil-
ton taketh
part with the
side of Argile.

The towne of
Glasgow is
taken.

Certaine
Frenchmen,
name.

1560. Lelle.

The towne
Burnt Island
is destroyed.

The lords
for aid vnto
the quene of
England.

lan to Elizabeth the queene of England for assistance, to repell the Frenchmen. Which the queene of England granted, not onely for to serue the Scottish mens turne; but speciallie for the suertie of hir owne realme and state, which as then was thought to stand in danger of trouble, in case the Frenchmen were suffered to remaine in Scotland: considering the euill dealing of the French king and his counsell in some points already shewed. The queene of England therefore sent the duke of Norfolk to

They had their request granted againe. 1550. B. 1559. Lelle.

pledges sent into England

And Hamilton was taken with the aid of Argyle.

The towne of Glasgow is taken.

Certaine Frenchmen, 1 same.

1560. Lelle.

The towne of Burnt Island is fortified.

lords sent into name of land.

And for sure keeping hereof, the Scottish lords deliuered pledges into England, there to remaine during the life of the king of France, and one yere after his decesse. The pledges were these: David Hamilton, sonne to the duke of Chatelerault; another called Colme Campbell, coufine to the earle of Argile; Robert Douglas, brother to the prior of St. Andrezus; and the lord of Lochleuin, and a sonne of the lord Ruthuen. About the same time, James Hamilton earle of Arrane, eldest sonne to the duke of Chatelerault, and capteine of the Scottish compaignie of men of armes and archers in France, being fled for religion secretlie to Geneva, from thence came by the conuoy of maister Randall Englishman into England: which at his comming into Scotland he performed, and ioined himselfe with the earle of Argile, and other lords in the cause aforesaid.

The duke of Chatelerault, the earles of Argile, Arrane, and others, came to the towne of Glasgou, and caused the images & altars to be taken downe, seising the bishops liuing into their hands, and take the castell of Glasgou pertaining to the bishop, and put certeine gentlemen into it to keepe it. Whereof the Frenchmen being aduertised, marched forward to Glasgou, to the number of fife thousand men: the bishop of Glasgou, the lords Sempill, Seiton, Kos, and diuerse others with them, toke the castell againe, and staid one night of the towne, returned on the next morrow to Kirkintulloch, and from thence to Lishquod and Edendurgh.

After their returne from Glasgou, a certeine number of Frenchmen went to Striueling, and passing by the bridge ouer the water of Firth, came into Fife, in purpose to haue gone vnto saint Andrezus, and to haue fortified the towne. But they being in Kingcome, there assembled together in fife the earles of Arrane, and Kosbes, the prior of saint Andrezus, the lord Ruthuen, the master of Lindie, and diuerse other, hauing with them no great number: but yet they daillie skirmished with the Frenchmen, and would not suffer them to come from the sea side: where diuerse Frenchmen were slaine, and one of their capteins, with thirtie of his souldiours, and felfe Scottishmen, or in manner none: except that the earle of Southerland, who chanced to be with them at the picking, was sore hurt and maimed in the arme with the dregge of a calauer shot.

As the Frenchmen were in their progresse, at the mouth of the water of Leuin in fife, there arrived in their sight a naue of ships: which at the first knowing they toke to be French ships, but shortly after perceiuing them to be the English naue, they returned with great diligence to Burnt Island, where they passed the ferrie of Kingcome in botes and craiers to Leith, and instantly began to fortifie that towne, calling great trenches about it, and making great blockhouses for their defense, as preventing such perils as otherwise might haue befallen them, and

using remedies in due time, by warlike policie of present deuse, to provide against afterclaps. The English ships came to the rode of Leith, where they cast anchors, the fourth Ides of Ianuarie.

In English name.

* In the meane time, which these of the religion had almost destroyed all monasteries, certeine barons of Berne, partlie for hatred to the catholike religion (as the Romish cleargie fearmeth it) and partlie blinded with desire of preie (as in all assemblies of battell there will be some) ouerthrew the monasterie of the Carmelite friers in Aberdeen. Who going about also to haue spoiled the monasteries of the Trinitie, and of the friers Minors, were hindered thereof by the lord Lelle, and the baron of Buchquhane, at the commandement of the earle of Huntlie. Notwithstanding which, they could not be so sufficientlie repressed, but that they went to old Aberdeen (for so they call that place in that towne, which is beautified with the bishops palace, the canonrie, and the vniuersitie) and would haue assaulted the magnificent and statelie church thereof. But to keepe them from the same, the bishop, & John Lelle (the officiall of that place, the one by counsell, the other by preaching, and both by the aid of the earle of Huntlie) did their endeavour, at what time the Lelles put them besides their purpose.

Lelles lib. 10. pag. 563. 1560. Fr. Thun.

This Lelle is now called bishop of Kos and compit d an historic of Scotland in Latine, printed at Rome.

The queene regent hearing of the arrivall of the English, sent vnto the viceadmirall of that fleet, named maister Winter, requiring to know of him, for what cause he was come into those waters. This gentleman addresting himselfe to accomplish the commandement imposed and laid vpon him, came face to face to the said viceadmirall, and with countenance, wherein appeared tokens of inward courage, put forth his demand as he was intoned. The viceadmirall answered, that he had bene abroad on the seas seeking after pirates, and in case anie of them came thither, he was arrived there in the forth to wait on them: where as the principall cause in deed was to impeach, that no Frenchman should land there in case anie came forth of France, and also to keepe them that late in Inskith from vitfels, and that no Frenchman should passe by sea forth of Leith.

* Whereupon the queene regent did send Maile the king of Frances orator in that realme, to request the queene of England, that she would call hir ships home againe, and that she would not send adding souldiers to the lords of the religion (whome Lesleus neuer fearmeth by anie other name than sedaries and seditious persons) whereby the peace might be broken with the French, and so occasion of warre giuen. Wherevnto hir maiestie answered (with no lesse care of hir kingdome than became the maiestie of so good a mother to haue of hir children) that she had no such mind as to make warre. But because that the certeinlie vnder stood, that great troops of Frenchmen did daillie land and increase in Scotland, for what cause she knew not: she could do no lesse than place souldiers in diuerse forts and hauens, which might defend the English from the mallice or hurt of such strangers, if they should attempt anie thing. Neither would she suffer that hir people should set foot in Scotland, vntill that they were prouoked thereto by injuries offered them.

Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 564. Fr. Thun.

About the same time, the queene regent, hearing that the duke of Norfolk was come to Newcastle as generall lieutenant of the north, sent an herald with a letter to him, in which letter it was signified that the herald had credit to declare whether maiestie was contained in the same letter. But when he was demanded what he had to say, he denied to haue anie credit at all. Wherefore William Flower, then Chesser herald, and now Parrele king of armes, was

A Scots herald sent to the duke of Norfolk.

was sent unto the queene, who comming to Holie rood house nere to Edinburgh, was receiued by sundrie heralds, & so was had to one of their houses, and there kept for that night. The next day after he had dined, he was brought to the court, and at his entering within the gates, there were a number of harquebussiers readie with their pices that discharged and shot off the same.

At his comming to the presence of the queene, he with dutifull obeisance deliuered his letters, and after the same had bene read, he was demanded what credit he had to utter. Whereupon he declared, that the duke of Norfolk, being the queenes maiesties lieutenant in the north parts of England, marvelled greatly that he would send an herald with letters, and wrote therein how he had giuen credit to him; and yet when he was demanded to utter his credit, he should confesse that he had none. The queene herewith called for the herald, to vnderstand whether he had credit or not: who denied to haue anie at all. Wherewith the queene seemed to be somewhat abashed, but neuertheless she brake forth and said, that she marvelled greatly that the queene of England should send hir ships into hir riuer, without giuing hir knowledge aforesaid.

Chester answered thereto, that where it was certeinly knowne, that the French king had prepared to send a powder of men of warre into Scotland, without aduertising hir thereof; she could not but thinke that dealing verie strange, and therefore had in verie deed sent certein of hir ships, with vittels for provision to be laid within hir townes and castels on the frontiers. Which ships by tempest being dispersed, might happilie be diuen into the riuer there, albeit he had not spoke with anie of them since there comming forth. But yet (as he had heard by others) they had bene verie incourteouslie vled: for comming in after that maner for succor, the canon had bene bent against them. Herewithall the count Martigues standing by, began to speake verie stout words vnto Chester, alleging that where it was perceived well enough, that the queene of England ment to make war against his maister the French king, he trusted she should gaine as little thereby, as his sister had done in breaking with hir father Henrie the late French king. Chester herevnto answered, that he thought to haue found but one regent in Scotland, to whome he should need to make answer: whereupon Martigues was commanded to silence.

All this while the queene had talked with Chester in the Scottish tong. And because he did not so well vnderstand hir, he began to speake in the French language: whereat the queene seemed greatly to reioyce, & so began againe to discourse with him of hir griefs; and he on the other part made hir answer as fell best to purpose. And at length, when he was demanded what further credit he had; he declared, that where she had requested a safe conduct for monsieur le Brosse to passe through England into France, if she would see him safelie conueied to Berwicke, he durst assure hir of a sufficient safe conduct for his safe passage through the queene his mistresse realme: but at length, there was another gentleman commended to him, in lieu for la Brosse, that was his cousine. And now when Chester shuld take his leaue, he declared that he had not bene courteouslie dealt with: for since his comming thither, he could not be suffered to passe anie where abroad out of his chamber, but at meale times. And therefore if anie of hir messengers should come into the queene his mistresse dominions, he would procure (if he might) that they should tast of the like intertainment. But the queene seemed not to vnderstand that he had bin

in anie wise so hardlie dealt with, shewing that she was not well contented therewith; and so Chester toke his leaue, and returned backe into England, without anie rewarde for his paines taken in that iourne, at the hands of the Scottish queene: how so euer she liked of his message.

In the meane time, there was an armie prepared in England, of seven or eight thousand men, who were sent into Scotland; the lord Greie of England being appointed generall, who came to the links, beside the towne of Leith, on saturday the first of Aprill. Before they pitcht downe their field on the said links, monsieur Martigues, cozonell of the French armie, issued forth of Leith with nine hundred harquebussiers of Frenchmen, to a little knoll called the Halkie hill, where a foze, continuall, and hot skirmish was begun betwixt the Englishmen and Frenchmen, with bagbuts, calauiers, and pistolets, which skirmish continued five or six houres, in the which there were manie slaine on both parties, and diuerse hurt. At length Martigues was forced with his companie to retire backe to the towne of Leith, and the Englishmen pitched downe their campe, and planted their ordnance beside the said hill.

The lord Greie being in Hushelburgh, sent to the queene regent, that late as then in the castell at Edinburgh, desiring an abstinence of warre for foure and twentie hours, that in the meane time he might send some of his counsell to declare to hir the cause of his comming with that armie, and to commune of such things as might stanch the shedding of bloud. The queene granted herevnto, and sent an herald to Leith, to cause the said assurance to be taken: but yet he came to the towne, the skirmish aforesaid was begun with forwardnesse inough of both sides.

In this meane time, the lord Greie sent sir George Howard, and sir James Cross to the castell of Edinburgh, to speake with the queene to that effect: who had long conference with hir vpon the blockhouse at the vtter gate of the castell, during the time of the skirmish; where they declared, that the occasion of the comming of the armie, was for the cause aboue mentioned, desiring the queene to procure the Frenchmen to depart the realme of Scotland; and they promised in that case to returne againe into their owne realme, and neither to disquiet Frenchmen nor Scots. Whereupon the queene toke time to be aduised till the next day, that she might consult with the principall personages within the towne of Leith, requiring that it might be lawfull for hir to send to them to that effect, which was granted.

The next day she sent one Wyndmond a trumpet, or herald (as saith Lesleus) with a letter to monsieur de la Brosse, to the effect aforesaid, directing him to passe to the English campe, and to get a guide with him to go to the towne of Leith, as was agreed: and there was one appointed to go with him. But immediately after his departing from the English campe, he was suddenlie called backe againe, and his letters taken from him, was commanded to repaire to the castell of Edinburgh to the queene, and to declare to hir that they would not haue anie talke, but would be reuenged on the Frenchmen, for the slaughter of their men the night before. Thus the parlex ceassing, the siege was enforced with right thatpe pursute, and strong defending on either part.

The Englishmen cast trenches vpon the south-east side of the towne, and raised a little mount which they called mount Wellam after the capitaine name, and placed their ordnance aloft thereon: but because it was so faure from the towne, they did not so much scall thereto as they intended. The lord Greie, lieutenant of the English armie, lodged (during this siege)

1560,
An English
armie.
Lesleus lib. 10,
pag. 565.

They were
backed with
500 pikes
which kept
aloofe.

The lord
Greie sent
vnto the
queene.

The castell of
Blackenelle
same.

He wrote
hereof in
England.

Lesleus. lib. 10
The queene
laboured for
an agreement

When are sent
to speake with
the queene
mother.

The French-
men to depart
the realme.

Saint An-
thonies steeple
beaten downe

Mount
Summer set.

They are be-
ten backe.

Mount Fal-
con.

A trench cast
so little pur-
pose.

Martigues a
forward cap-
taine, but an
intricue pro-
phet.

siege) within the towne of Lifford, in the deanes house, and the most part of their demerances and other hostemen late in the same towne. The footmen with their capteins lodged in hailes, tents, and pavilions, upon the south and south-east side of the towne of Leith, and diuerse Scottish lords incamped with them in the fields, as the earles of Argyle, Arrane, Spozton, and Glencarne; the lords Boid, Ogiltrae, the prior of saint Andrews, the maister of Sparwell, and others. The duke of Chateleault, and diuerse with him remained in Holie rod house: and with the queene in the castell, the bishop of S. Andrews, the bishop of Dunkeld, the earle Sparshall, the lord Erskin capteine of the castell, maister James Spagill cleark of the register, the prouost of Dunglas, called maister Abraham Chrichton, and diuerse others.

On Easter euen, capteine Wood, and capteine Dethicke, seruing on the sea vnder maister Winter the English admerall there, were appointed by him to passe by the riuer to Blackenelle, who with their bands going aboard into a barke prepared for that purpose, sailed forward: and on Easter day in the morning, presenting themselves before the castell, it was yelded to them by certeine Frenchmen that were within, and thereupon it was deliuered to the keeping of James Hamilton, an ancient gentleman; and capteine Wood, being set on shore, came to the campe before Leith by land. On blacke Spowday, the Frenchmen, issuing forth of Leith, set upon the Englishmen in their trenches, and did much harine: as in the English historie it further appeareth. During the siege thus afoze Leith, the queene regent was sore vered with sickenelle, but neuertheless, she continued to labor for agreement, not ceasing to send to the lords for to haue the matter taken vp. And for the better accomplishing of hir desire, she procured the earle of Huntley to come forth of the north, who toke vp his lodging in Edinburgh, and toke great paines to treat betwixt the queene and lords for some agreement: but when he perceived his trauell to be in vaine, he returned into the north againe, and left the siege lieng still as he found it.

In this meane while, the Englishmen, lodging on the south side of the towne beside mount Pellam, battered with their great artillerie at the parish church of Leith, and at saint Antonies chapele, in which the Frenchmen had laid certeine peeces of artillerie, and at length beat it downe: but perceiving they could not do anie great hurt to the walles on that side, they cast new trenches upon the south and south-west side of the towne, and raised a mount there, naming it mount Summerset, & placed there on certeine peeces in batterie, and so beat the wals, that a great part thereof was ouerthrowne, and a breach made. Whereupon the Englishmen & Scots on a morning came with their ladders, and presenting themselves to the assault, found the breach nothing reasonable: so that although they egerlie pressed forward to enter the towne, yet they were sterce-ly beaten backe with great slaughter and bloodshed on both parts, but namelie of the assailants.

The Englishmen, perceiving that they were too rash in assaulting the towne, being not assailable, devised other shifts to obtaine their purpose, raising an other mount of earth on the west side of the wa-ter of Leith, and named it mount Falcon. Aloft on this mount, when it was brought vp vnto a great height, they planted their great artillerie, which continually beat into the towne, soze annoiing them within, but speciallie beating the houses and places by the shore side, so that none might go vp nor downe the towne on that part, without danger to be slaine

with shot from that mount. The Frenchmen, during the time of the siege, manie times issued forth to-wards the sands, and sometimes towards the trenches, so that sundrie soze skirmishes chanced betwixt the Englishmen and them, with the slaughter of di-nerse, both of the one part and the other. Amongest other of them within, there were slaine two Scottish men of name, to wit, capteine Benedie, and young Henrie Drummond: and of them without, there was slaine a Scottish gentleman, called the lord of Cleish.

The English armie was thoroughlie furnished with vittells forth of all parts of the realme, and that vpon reasonable prices: but the French within the towne could get none, more than they had prouided before the coming of the English armie, which when it began to faile them, they were constrained to eat their owne horses, whose flesh seemed to them in that ne-cessitie more delicious, than before that time anie maner of venison. Those within Inkeith also were in great necessitie of vittells: but yet neither they within the one place, nor they within the other, would render their strength, looking still for aid forth of France. Whilest these things were done in Scot-land, the French king, to shew how he favoured the pope, and how farre he maligned the reformed lords of Scotland, sent his ambassadoz John Babone a Burdsele knight, and that eloquent man Anthonie Paret of France to pope Pius the fourth of that name, to yeld all the dominions of France & Scot-land at the popes commandement.

In the meane time, the queene regent, perceiving hir sickenelle so to increase, that she looked for present death, sent for the duke of Chateleault, and all the lords of Scotland that were in the towne of Edinburgh, and in the campe: who came vnto hir altog-ther into the castell of Edinburgh, where she made vnto them a graue and pithie exhortation, persua-ding them to vnitie and concord with their ancient friends of France; and now moze stedfast to them than at anie time before, by reason of the marriage of the queene their good soueraigne, with the king of France. And herewith she brake out into certeine words, to dissuade them from the amitie contracted with the Englishmen, declaring that the Englishmen aided them not for anie other respect, than for their owne turne and commoditie. Moreover, for hir owne part she said, that she favoured the weale of the realme of Scotland, as much as France; conside- ring she had the honoz to be queene and regent there, of, and hir daughter heritable queene of the same.

Furthermore she said, that if she had attempted anie thing that seemed or appeared to the noble men contrarie thereto; the same came to passe rather for lacke of wisdom and iudgement, than for want of anie good will: and if it pleased God to prolong hir daies, she would be glad to amend that had bene done amisse: and if he called hir to his mercie, she prayed them most hartlie to acknowledge their dutie vnto the queene their soueraigne, and to maintaine their ancient amitie with the king and realme of France, & to make some good accord with the French that were within the towne of Leith, who would gladly accept the same, to the end that as well they as the Englishmen should depart this realme. For she feared greatly (as she said) least if the Frenchmen departed, the Englishmen would still remaine, and subdue the land to their obedience: and therefore she besought all good Scottishmen to haue respect to the libertie and weale of their countrie.

After she had talked thus a good while with manie teares, she desired the lords to forgive hir in anie thing wherein she had offended anie of them, during the time of hir being in Scotland, which they gladly

The towne of Leith improuided of vittells.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 568.

The queene sent for the lords.

The queene's exhortation vnto the nobles.

A mistrustful mind.

Ap m. f.

seemed

1560, in English mie. Lesleus lib. 10. p. 565.

they were sicked with 10 pikes which kept off.

the lord rete sent into the towne.

The castell of Blackenelle home.

He moze hereof in England.

Lesleus lib. 10. The queene laboured for an agreement.

then are sent speake with the queene other.

the Frenchmen to depart the realme.

Saint Anthonies chapele beaten downe.

Mount Summerset.

the English desire the reuenge the wies done to them.

They are beaten backe.

Mount Falcon.

trench cast little gate.

The queene
taketh hir
leafe.

The earle of
Huntleie and
Atholl are at
variance.

The matter
is pacified.

Fr. Thin.
Lelious lib. 10.
pag. 571.

The castell of
Kosse taken.

The castell is
besieged.

The castell
was restored
again.

Ambassadors
sent.
Monsieur
Monsieur bi-
shop of Wa-
lence.

An ambassage
sent by the
queene of
England.

The Scottish
queene mother
departed.
Fr. Thin.

seemed to doe: and on the other part, she forgave them
with all hir hart (as it appeared) all offences which
they had committed against hir: and thus diuerse of
them weeping, she took euerie of them by the hand,
and so they taking leafe of hir, departed, and return-
ed into Edinburgh, and to their campe. Whilist the
siege thus late before the towne of Leith, diuerse
great troubles rose in sundrie parts of the realme,
and speciallie betwixt the earle of Huntleie, and the
earle of Atholl, so that there was taking of priso-
ners, and overthrowing of houses on either part, and
great preparation made, and armies put in a readi-
nesse to invade either others countreies.

But this businesse was pacified by the trauell and
good mediation of maister Alexander Gordon, then
postulat of Galloway, maister John Lelle official
of Aberdeen, and William Lelle the young lord of
Buchanan, who agreed them for all matters in con-
troversie, & caused them to go to either others house.
[During which siege of Leith also, the earle Both-
well, and Sarlatouffe, then capitaine of the souldiers,
and gouernor of the castell of Dunbar, did at Dun-
bar with manie light excursions intercept manie of
the English and Scots going to Leith, whome they
ransomed for a great summe.]

At the same time, one maister Donald Frasier,
archdeacon of Kosse, took the bishops castell of the
canonie of Kosse, and kept the same against mai-
ster Henrie Sinclair, then bishop there, and the chie-
fest men of authoritie in that diocesse, as Spachenze,
Balnagoun, Foulis, and the thirrie Tramerice, who
assembled about the same, and besieged the castell,
where great force was used, both by them without to
win it, and of them within to defend it. The bishop be-
ing then resident in Cromerice castell, hearing that
the house wold not be gotten without great slaugh-
ter, thought it against his conscience, his profit, and
honor, to win it in that manner: and therefore sen-
ding for maister John Lelle, official of Aberdeen,
and maister Alexander Dunbar, subchanon of Pur-
reth, by their labour and diligent treating in the mat-
ter, the bishop by reasonable appointment recovered
his castell of them that held it against him.

The French king, vnderstanding in what distresse
his men remained that were besieged within Leith,
and perceiuing himselfe not able to send an armie to
succour them within the time that their necessitie re-
quired, thought good to trie if the matter might be
taken vp, and to that effect sent two ambassadors, the
earle of Randon, and monsieur Monluc bishop of
Valence, who declared to the queenes maiestie of
England, the cause of their coming; which was, to
desire hir to retire hir armie forth of Scotland, vpon
some such reasonable conditions as might be agreed
vpon. And herewith they declared that they were
sent to the queene, and not vnto the subiects of Scot-
land: for it was not meet that the king should send
to his owne subiects (as they were by the mariage
of their queene) to require peace, or to condition with
them for agreement.

The queenes maiestie of England therefore sent
for William Cecil knight, hir principall secretarie,
and doctor Wotton deane of Canturburie and of
Wolke, one of the priuie counsell, with the French
ambassadors into Scotland. Whilist they were yet
vpon their iourne, the queene regent (whome they
thought to haue found aliue, and to haue bled hir
helpe as an instrument to haue furthered the treatie
to some good end) consumed partlie through melan-
cholie, thought, and grieuous displeasure, and partlie
with long and incurable sicknesse, departed this life
in the castell of Edinburgh the tenth of June, in the
yere of our Lord 1560. Her bodie was first con-
ueied into France, to the monastirie of Feschampe,

which is in Normandie, from whence it was caried
to the abbey of St. Peter at Rhemes in Champaig-
nie (whereof hir sister was then abbess) in which it
was after most honorable buried. She was a wise
and verie prudent princeesse, and in hir time had lear-
ned good experience of the nature and inclination of
the nobilitie and people of Scotland.

During the time that she was regent, she kept
god iustice, and was well obeted in all parts of the
realme in Dikeneie, and the westerne Isles. And if
she had to hir owne experience joined the counsell of
the nobles and wise men of the realme of Scotland,
without following the aduise of strangers, there had
bene neuer question nor debate betwixt hir and the
nobilitie, as some deemed. But because that others,
and namelie, monsieur Dossell, and Kube, were ad-
ioined to hir by the estates of Scotland, who daily
pressed hir to deuise new alterations of lawes, im-
positions, taxation, and such things as were not in
vse in Scotland: therefore the estates and people of
the land did grudge, although not for any mistaking
they had of hir, who suerlie deceased, to the great
griefe and lamentation of the whole number of the
estates and people of the realme.

The death of that noble princeesse made the French
men within Leith, and also the ambassadors more dis-
courage than otherwise they would haue bene.
But neuerthelesse these four ambassadors of Eng-
land and France coming to Edinburgh, entered
in conference among themselves, vpon articles pro-
posed as well for reliefe of the Scottishmen, as for
the weale and suertie of the queene of England and
hir subiects. Whereupon certaine lords of Scotland
were admitted to talke with them also: and after
long treatie, a peace was concluded the tenth of Ju-
lie, in the yere of God 1560, with certaine articles
touching as well Scots and French, as English-
men. The effect whereof here insueth.

Articles of the peace.

Item, it was agreed, that all the French-
men should depart forth of the realme of
Scotland by sea into France, & to that
effect should imbarke and make saile
within the space of twentie daies next following:
and because the Frenchmen had no ships, the Eng-
lishmen should lend them ships, and certaine of the
Frenchmen remaine as pledges in England, till the
same ships were returned.

Item, that they should render the towne of
Leith, and the Frenchmen to haue their munition,
bag, and baggage, to conueie awaie with them at
their pleasure; and that the walls of the towne should
be throtowne downe and demolished.

Item, they should cause monsieur Charlebois
capitaine of Dunbar, to demolish and raze the fort
which they had built before the castell there.

Item, that the Englishmen should raise their
siege and depart forth of Scotland: after the depart-
ure from thence of the Frenchmen, and razing of
the walls of Leith and Dunbar.

Item, that there should be made an act of obli-
uion, in which the queene of Scotland, with consent
of the French king hir husband, should forget and
burie in obliuion all attempts made by the lords of
Scotland against their authoritie, from the tenth
day of March 1558, to the first day of August in the
yere of Grace 1560. And for confirming thereof, a
parlement should be holden in Edinburgh, in the
moneth of August next insuing, in which parlement
the same should be ratified and allowed by the aduise
of the estates of the realme of Scotland.

Also it was agreed, that there should be a com-
mission

Lelious lib. 10.
pag. 569.
1560.
The prince of
the queene
Dowager.

The ambassa-
dors came to
Edinburgh.

They haue
conference.
Peace is con-
cluded.
1559. Buch.

Articles of
the peace.

French sould-
iers depart
the realme.

Leith they
should render
it.

The fort be-
fore Dunbar
to be razed.
The English-
men should
depart also.

An act of ob-
liuion to be
made.

A parliament
to be kept.

To put awaie
the armes and
carme of
England.

possession to
be kept with
souldiers.

The French-
men depart out
of Scotland.

parlement.

A confession
of faith publi-
shed.

Learned men
called.

Disputation.

Fr. Thin.

Lelious lib. 10.
pag. 574.

Things be-
lowed.

The Scottish
queene went
into Lorraine.

Fr. Thin.

Buch. lib. 17.

mission sent from the French king and the quene of Scotland, to hold the same parlement to the effect aforesaid.

7 Item, that the quene of Scotland and king of France should cause to blot out and put awaie the bearing of the armes of England out of their scutcheons.

8 Item, it was agreed, that there should remaine still in the Ile of Inchith three score Frenchmen, and as manie in the castell of Dunbar, to keepe (as it were) possession to the quenes blood.

The whole number of the Frenchmen (a few excepted that passed through England) went aboard the English ships in Julie, and sailed into France, and in companie with them went the bishop of Glasgou and the lord Seton. The Englishmen departed also, and in their way caused the fort of Dunbar to be rased, as by the agreement of the peace it was appointed. A parlement was holden in August, and the act of oblivion ratified by the states, & a confession of faith published in the same: it was concluded also to send ambassadors into England, which was done.

And shortly after, the lords summoned the principall learned men of the realme forth of the uniuersties of saint Andrews, Aberdeen, Glasgou, and other parts, to giue a reason of their faith.

And amongst other of Aberdeen that toke upon them to dispute with John Anor, John Wolloche, and maister Godman [were John Elle, doctor of both lawes, chiefe iudge of the diocesse of Aberdeen called officiall; who shortly after was senator of the high court, and of counsell to the quene of Scots, and lastlie made bishop of Ross] Patrike spirit of the treasurer, James Stragubine canon, and Alexander Anderson a verie graue diuine. At that time these Roman prelats behaued themselves so well, that they were commanded not to depart the towne; but to be present at the sermons of the ministers.]

In the winter, the lords of the counsell gaue faculties of benefices to diuerse of their friends, who put forth the prelats, and receiued the fruits. The earle of Argile disposed Dunkeild and Dunblan. The earle of Arran had the ordering of the bishoprikes of saint Andrews, also of the abbacies of Dunfermling, and Melrose, and other small benefices. The like was vied by other noble men, through all parts of the realme. Shortly after, Francis the French king, husband to the quene of Scotland, departed this life in December, and Charles his brother was crowned in his place. The quene being then widow, and Dowager of France, departed from Dowleance (where the court lay when hir husband deceased) and went to the towne of Reims in Champagne, where she remained till the fifteenth daie of Aprill following.

And then purposing to returne into Scotland, she toke hir iournie towards Januille, and so into Lorraine, there to take leaue of hir kinsfolke by hir mothers side. The bishop of Glasgou, and the abbat of Dunfermling Scottishmen, were still attendant on hir in this iournie. There were with hir also the cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, the duke Daumale, and the marquess Dalbeut hir vnckles. Amongst whom there had bene great disputation touching the quene of Scotlands returning into hir owne realme, whereunto hir vnckles were verie willing; although some did saie to staie the iournie, whose speeches tended to this effect as followeth.

That the iournie was dangerous, especiallie because the quene of England did not greatlie fauor it; then that she should come to men by nature barbarous & seditious, which would not easilie obey the

gouernement of a man. Whereof she had fresh experience before hir eyes, of hir father, and of hir mother, whom (when they either could not or durst not openlie oppose) they forced to a desperation of things with their manie deuises, with theyr dailie liued by them in danger of honor or of life.

On the contrarie part, they which would haue the Dowager of France returne to hir naturall countrie, and were skillfull of the affaires of Scotland, did allege that those seditious were rather occasioned by the default of the kings & gouernors, than of the subjects; whilst they strived to reduce that kingdom (which from the beginning had alwaies bene free) to infinit bondage, and to the free power of the lawes: which that nation (being more warlike than welthie) could not indure. When contrarily, they did not onelie defend all their gouernors (which did not attempt the ouerthrow of their liberties) from the outward enemie, and from the inward tumults of the people; but they also made them (through loue and dutie towards their kings) inuincible over their enemies, and famous amongst strange nations.

And that the chieffest meane at this time to pacifie all those troubles in Scotland, was not to make alteration of anie thing in Scotland, from the state wherein euen now it standeth. Whereupon the resolved to come speedilie into Scotland, whereof more shall be said hereafter; untill which, we will treat of other matters done in Scotland. The quene of Scots having hir mind still felled upon hir returne into Scotland; Joallus a senator of Burdeaur landed before this in Scotland (whither he was sent) a little after the end of the publike parlement, for which cause he was staied and turned ouer to the next assemble of parlement, which was appointed the twelue kalends of June.

But when at that time also the nobilitie assembled did not sit in counsell, because they were yet uncerteine of the quenes mind; in the meane time James Stewart returned out of France, and brought with him a commission, which gaue them authoritie to hold a parlement, therein to treat and conclude of matters touching the common wealth. Whereupon in the end there was audience given to the ambassador, the effect of whose legacie was, to renew the old league with France, to vnder the league with England, and that prelates should be restored to their livings, out of which they had bene thrust by violence.

To these things it was answered, that concerning the league of France, they were not anie waie guiltie of the breach thereof; and contrarily that the French had manifoldlie neglected the same; but speciallie of late; in seeking the authoritie of their publike libertie, in that they would haue brought the people (their friends and gittles of anie euill) into miserable seruitude. For the league with England, they could not by anie means dissolve that, except they should be counted most vntankefull, recompense so great a benefit with great wickednes, & conspire against the defendours of their liberties. And as touching restitution for such as they called prelates, they did acknowledge that they had not anie office, use, or authoritie in the church.

In this counsell also it was decreed, to ouerthrow all the monasteries of monks, for which cause diuerse were sent out into all places of the realme to execute the same. By occasion whereof, the quene being in France, and desirous to haue peacefull landing in Scotland; would not for this present meddle with religion, but dissembled the same: although Durens abbat of Ferline, and John Sinclair latelie appointed bishop of Brechin, did vehementlie persuaide and labor hir to the contrarie.

Ann. 15.

Fr. Thin.
1560.
Abbridged
out of the
printed booke
thercof.

In this yeare also on the ninth of March, was the election of superintendents at Edinburgh, which was published to serue for the election of all other ministers in this forme following (John Knor being the minister thereof.) first was made a sermon, in which these parts were intreated; principallie the necessitie of ministers and superintendents. Secondly the crimes & vices that might disable them of the ministerie. Thirdlie the vertues required in them. Fourthlie & lastlie, whether such as by publike consent of the church were called to such office, might refuse the same.

The sermon finished, it was declared by the same minister John Knor (the maker of that speech or sermon) that the lords of the secret counsell had giuen charge and power to the churches of Louthian, to chuse maister John Spotswood superintendent, & that sufficient warning was made by publike edict to the churches of Edinburgh, Linlithgoue, Strueling, Treuent, Haddington, & Dunbar, as also to earles, lords, barons, gentlemen and others, which haue or might claime to haue voice in the election to be present that daie at the same houre. And therefore inquisition was made, who were present, and who were absent.

After this was called the said maister John Spotswood, who answering to his name, the minister Knor demanded, if anie man knew anie crimes or offences of the said Spotswood, that might disable him to be called to that office. Which thing thise demanded, there was after question moued to the whole multitude; if there were anie other whome they would put in election with the said Spotswood. When the people were asked whether (if they admitted the said Spotswood for their superintendent) they would honor and obey him as Chappes minister in euerie thing pertaining to his charge.

Whereunto the people answered that they would, which thus granted, there were further questions and matters touching the articles of the apostles creed, and concerning the state of religion propounded to the superintendent, intended to be created. Whereunto, when he had answered affirmatiuelie, the people were againe demanded for his allowance; which they easilie granted with the consent of the nobilitie. These things thus performed, and a certeine praier (to obtaine the spirit of God to be poynted into this new elect befall) finished, the rest of the ministers (if there be anie) and elders of the church present, in signe of their full consent, shall take the elected by the hand.

And so the chiefe minister giuing an especiall benediction (the forme whereof is there set downe, with the exhortation which they must also vse to the elected) this election is wholie finished (without anie imposition of hands on his head) and he sufficientlie created a superintendent minister; of whose election of elders, deacons, excommunications, and other ecclesiasticall regiment, I meane not to speake anie moze (as matter impertinent to my discourse, though not to the nature of an ecclesiasticall historie) sith I haue onelie here in hand the politickall and temporall gouernement, and not the discourse of religion and essentiall forme thereof.

Before this, in the beginning of the winter this yeare, the lords sent the earle of Hopton and Clercarne, and the young lard of Ledington secretarie, ambassadours into England; to giue thanks to the queens maiestie of England, for the aid which they had receiued of hir, to repell the Frenchmen. The earle of Murreie passed through England into France. He departed from Edinburgh the eighteenth of March, and in Aprill came to Vitrie, as hereafter shall appeare; where he found the queene,

meaning to submit himselfe. But the day before he came, maister John Lelle officiall of Aberdeen was come thither, who was sent from the earle of Huntley, and other the lords spiritual and temporall of the north parts; he took ship in the roade of Aberdeen, and landing at Wyle in Holand, passed through the lowe countries in post till he came to Paris, and from thence unto Vitrie aforesaid [the eighteenth kalends of March] where he found the queene, whom he most dutifullie saluted.

After which (being most courteously receiued of hir) he opened vnto hir the effect of his ambassage, which consisted speciallly vpon these parts; to admonish the queene that she should not suffer hir selfe to be blinded or deceined with the flattering words of James the prioz of saint Andrews (hir bastard brother) for his onelie drift was, that he (hauing no French aid with him into Scotland) might obtaine of the queene the whole gouernement of the kingdom, vnder the colour whereof he might moze easilie feare & cleane ouerthrow the catholike religion; which he did assault by all meanes possible.

Wherefore Lelle did with all the firmest aduise and counsell which he might, vize the queene not to yeeld to his cloaked words. For the obtaining of which demand from the queene, he did titlie ad to his persuasions, that James did rather aspire to the kingdom, than that he fixed his mind and eye vpon the overthrow of religion. Wherefore, if she had anie care of hir owne and the realms affaires; she must prouide that this James should remaine in France, untill she were arrived in Scotland, & had pacified all the tumults there.

But if she would not do so, that yet at least she should take order, that she with hir nanie should lye in the north parts of Scotland, & first go to Aberdeen; for by that meanes she might prouide, that the setled lords of the religion might sone be pacified; and the rest which were yet wauering, might moze frelie and willingly be brought againe to the catholike religion. For there was an other order to be vsed in Scotland, than that which the French obserued, whilste they gouerned there; at which time vndoubtedly the Scots were hopelesse euer to haue inioied the presence of the queene.

But now, sith that the Scots doe vnderstand, that their queene (contrarie to their hope) will retorne vnto them, hir presence will (like the rising sun) so cause the clouds of all tumults to banish out of the minds of all hir subjects, that they will easilie incline to the mind of the queene, whatsoeuer she shall thinke, attempt, set downe, or decrea, in restoring of religion. For the Scots are of that mind towards their princes, as they will in all things obey their vpright gouernors; and are accustomed with no lesse mind to resist tyrants, if they vsurpe vpon them in cracion of authoritie.

Wherefore Lelle did earnestlie persuaide the queene in the name of the earle of Huntley, and the other nobilitie, that she should not giue hir selfe (as vanquished) into the hands of the enemies, and especiallie of James Steward hir brother, from whome (as from a founteine) all their seditions haue had beginning. For James Cullen (kinsman to the earle of Huntley, an expert seruitor in the warres by sea and land) was sent forth with Lelle (as captaine of that iourne) to bring hir safe to Aberdeen. For all the nobles of the north prouinces will sone be ready with twentie thousand men to gard hir to Edinburgh, and to defend hir against all the counsels, receipts, and forces of all men.

Which message being thus ended from the mouth of Lelle, the queene commanded him not to depart from hir, untill she returned into Scotland; and further

Euerie nation
is to haue his
peculiar gou-
ernement in
religion, as
is best liking
to the godlie
disposers of
the religi-
on of that
countrie, sith
vniuers monstria
multitudo capi-
unt.

Ambassadours
sent into
England.

Fr. Thin.

This is he
which before
was called the
earle of Murreie
that went
into France
but not right-
lie, for he was
not earle vn-
till long after
this time.

The nobles
assemble at
Edinburgh.

Ships wait
in the narrow
chas.

A safe conduct
required.

Certaine
ships taken.

Monstria
Dofell,

The queene
was conducted
into Calis.

She taketh
her iourne into
Scotland.

The queene
arrives at
Leith.

further gaue in charge, that letters should be written to the pères and nobilitie of Scotland, to let them vnderstand of hir comming into Scotland, & to be a witness of hir good will vnto them. The next day after came to the quene at Vitrie, in Champagne, James Steward (which is touch'd a little before) the prior of S. Andzeus. Who after he had in reverence done his dutie, bound himselfe with all delicie, trauell, and diligence, most religionlie vnto hir; faithfullie further promising, that he would prouide that the Scots should willingly obeye hir, without anie fourteen powers to be brought by hir into Scotland.

For it was thought that he went into France for that purpose, to dissuade the quene that she should not bring any power of the French with hir. But in the end, vnto her mind more fullie, and putting alwaie all suspicion of deceit, he did with more familiaritie request the quene to honor him with the erldome of Murreie. Wherevnto the quene did courteouslie answer, that she would satisfie his request when she came into Scotland. Wherefore, when this James perceived that the quene was somewhat well bent towards him, and that she credited his words, he attended on hir vnto Jancruille, and there remaining with hir a certeine space, did after go into Scotland (as is before said) to prepare the minds of the people, that they might receive the quene comming into the realme, with good consent and dutifull honor; who passing through England, came into Scotland in the halends of Maie.]

The nobles
assemble at
Edenburgh.

Ships wait
in the narrow
seas.

A safe conduct
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Certaine
ships taken.

Monseigneur
Doisell,

The quene
was conducted
into Calis.

She taketh
her iourne into
Scotland.

The quene
arrived at
Leith.

The duke of Chateaufault, the earles of Huntleie, Atholl, Marthall, and all other the noble men of the realme, aduertised of the quens comming, assembled at Edenburgh with all possible diligence. In the meane time, whilst the quene was preparing to take hir iourne, and to come into Scotland, the quene of England let forth some of hir great ships to the seas, to watch & gard the coasts of hir realme. Whereof they being aduertised in France, sent the abbat of saint Colmes Inch to the quene of England, to desire of hir a safe conduct, in case by wind or tempest she chanced to land in England. But before he was returned to Calis therewith, as he was appointed; the quene and hir retinue were safelie landed in Scotland, neuertheless, the English ships took some of the Scottish lords, as the earle of Glenton his ship, and others, which were brought into England, and staid for a time; but were after released, and sent home into Scotland.

The quene also, by the aduise of the K. of France, sent monseigneur Doisell into England, to passe through the same into Scotland before hir coming, there to haue receiued the forts of Dunbar and Incheith, of monseigneur Charlebots, and to haue kept the same till hir comming. But he was staid, and passed no further than to London: for it was thought that his going into Scotland would turne to no great benefit of that realme: because that he & monseigneur Kubele were the principall authors of all the troubles in Scotland, betwixt the quene regent, and the nobilitie there. She was attended on from Paris vnto Calis with manie noble men; namelie hir six vnckles, the dukes of Guise, and Daumall, the cardinall of Lorraine and Guise, the grand prior, and the marquesse Dalbeuf, also the duke de Peimeurs, and other of hir friends and kinsmen.

There were two gallies prepared, and certeine other ships to go with hir into Scotland, and there went with hir three of hir said vnckles, the duke Daumall, the grand prior, and the marquesse Dalbeuf: also monseigneur Danuille the constables sonne, and diuerse other. She arrived at Leith the twentieth day of August, in the yeare of our Lord 1561, where the

was honorable receiued by the earle of Argile, the lord Erskin, the prior of saint Andzeus, and of the burgeses of Edenburgh, and conueied to the abbey of Holie rood house. For (as faith Buchanan) when some had spread abroad hir landing in Scotland, the nobilitie and others assembled out of all parts of the realme, as it were to a common spectacle.

Fr.Thin.

Buchanan,
lib.17.

This did they partlie to congratulat hir returne, & partlie to shew the dutie which they alwaies bare vnto hir (when she was absent) either to haue thanks therefore, or to preuent the slanders of their enemies; whereof not a few by these beginnings of hir reigne did geffe what would follow; although in those so variable motions of the minds of the people, euerie one was verie desirous to see their quene offered vnto them (vnloked for) after so manie haps of both fortunes as had fallen vnto hir. For when she was but six daies old, she lost hir father among the cruell tempests of battell, and was by great diligence brought up by hir mother (being a chosen and worthy person) but yet left as a preie to others, by reason of ciuill seditions in Scotland, and of outward warres with other nations, being further laid abroad to all the dangers of frowning fortune, before she could know what euill did meane.

For leauing hir owne countrie, she was nourished as a banished person, and hardlie preferred in life from the weapons of hir enemies, & violence of the seas. After which, fortune began to flatter hir, in that she honored hir with a worthy marriage, which in truth was to this quene rather a shadow of ioye, than anie comfort at all. For shortly after the same, all things were turned to sorrow, by the death of hir new yong husband, and of hir old and greued mother; by losse of hir new kingdome, and by the doubtful possession of hir old inheritable realme. But as for these things she was both pitied and praised; so was she also for gifts of nature as much loued and fauored; in that, beneficiall nature (or rather good God) had indued hir with a beautifull face, a well composed bodie, an excellent wit, a mild nature, and good behanior; which she had artificiallie furthered by courtlie education and affable demeanour. Whereby at the first sight, she won vnto hir the hearts of most people, and confirmed the loue of hir faithfull subiects.]

Being thus come out of France, she brought into Scotland manie rich and costlie iewels of gold worke, pretious stones, orient pearls, & suchlike, as excellent and faire as were to be found within Europe, with rich furniture of household, as hangings, carpets, counterpoints, and all other necessaries for the furnishing of hir princelie houses. The chiefe part of the hangings and other furniture of household, was shipped at Rome, and arrived at Leith in the moneth of October next following. After the quene of Scots had remained the space of foure or fife daies at Holie rood house, the duke of Chateaufault, the earle of Argile, and diuerse other of the nobilitie being present, there was an act made by the lords of the counsell (in which none of the cleargie (as faith Lesneus lib. 10. pa. 580) were present) with consent of the quene, that to remoue all causes of trouble in time to come for the matter of religion, it was ordeined, that no alteration of the estate of religion publickely standing within the realme, at hir arriual in the same, should be made; & that nothing should be attempted, either publickely or priuatlie to the contrarie, vpon great paine, which was put forth and published through all parts of the realme with great diligence.

Costlie iewels

Hir household
stuffe.

An act made
concerning
religion.

Fr.Thin.

After this, there were eleuen temporall lords, and one bishop chosen to be of the quenes secret counsell,

Some appointed to be of the
quenes
counsell.

¶ m. iii.

Secretarie.
Comptroller.
Lords of the
pryncie council.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.
lib. 16.

by whose aduise the should rule and gouerne things, six of them to remaine continually with hir in some of officers, as the secretarie, comptroller, and others. The lords of the pryncie counsell were these, the duke of Chatelerauld, the earle of Huntlye chan- cello, the earle of Argyle, the earle of Atholl, the earle Sparshall, the earle of Glencarne, the earle of For- ton, the earle of Montrose, the earle of Erroll, mas- ter Henrie Sinclair bishop of Ross, and the lord Erskin, with the prync of S. Andrew. * But among these reioysings of the quenes intertainment into hir kingdome, there happened a light fault, but such as did deepele enter into the minds of both the fac- tions, of the catholikes (for soth) and of the reformed religion.

For where it was agreed by the quene and the nobilitie, that no alteration should be had of religi- on in the publike state, yet was masse permitted to hir and to hir familie pryncie to be vsed. For the preparation wherof whilest the vestments and other things were caried through the hall into the chappell, one of the companie snatched awaie the war candels and byake them: by occasion wherof (if some of the household had not come betwene to helpe in that ac- tion, and ended the same) all the other furniture had bene thowne downe. Which matter was taken of people diuerse, some blaming it as a most sawcie part; others interpreting it, that it was onelie done to trie the patience of the priest; and some iudged and said that the priest was worthy to be punished with that paine which the scripture appointeth to ido- lators.

Which matter in the berie beginning was appea- led by James the quenes bassard brother, not yet created, but in expectation earle of Morrie. For which cause he would not offend the quene, as I suppose, though afterward he not onelie offended hir, but deposed hir, and set by hir sonne; as more plainlie shall hereafter appeare. At the quieting of this matter (saith Buchanan) George Gordon was greatlye greiued, being a man bent to all occasions of troubles, who thinking now to win fauor to him thereby, did say to the quenes vncles that were pre- sent, that he would reduce the countrie beyond Ca- liden vnto the old religion. The which being indeed suspected of manie, and feared by such as had heard manie other things of his wit; they caried the same to the quenes brother, by meanes wherof this little sparke in the beginning was the occasion of all the long ciuill dissention in Scotland, as I am led to iudge by manie reasons.

But now although the gouernment (as before is touched) was appointed to twelue before named, or at lest to six, which by turnes should be assistant to the quene: yet the whole deed of ruling did in effect de- pend vpon hir bassard brother James, by reason of the fauor that the quene especiallie did beare vnto him. Wherefore this James, vsing the quenes au- thoritie at his pleasure, did bestow manie liberall gifts vpon his felowes. Which the nobles so much disliked, that in the end manie of them began eger- lie to beare his authoritie, as hereafter shall be more touched.]

The duke Daumall, after he had remained with the quene a certeine time, toke his leaue of hir, and with the gallies returned into France. The grand prync and monseieur Danuille taried somewhat lon- ger, and passed through England into France. The marquisse Daubeneuf taried in Scotland all the next winter, till the spring of the yere, and then returned into France through England. The towne of E- denburgh prepared great and costlie triumphs for the quenes entering, which she made into that towne in the moneth of September. After this,

she passed vnto Strueling, and from thence to Perth, and then to Dundee, and also to saint An- drews, into which townes she was receiued with great honor and triumph. From saint Andrews she returned vnto Edinburgh, where she remained all the next winter. In December there was a great assemblie of all the principall lords, spirituall and temporell of the realme; where it was demanded of the prelats, to grant the third part of the fruits of their benefices to the quene, towards the bearing of hir charges for the maintenance of hir traine, and to susteine the ministers, till some order were taken to mainteine hir household, and a gard to tend on hir, by the aduise of the estates.

The prelats agreed for the quenes pleasure to support hir with the fourth part of the fruits of their benefices, for one yeres space onelie, to helpe to beare hir charges, and to susteine hir gard; and in the meane time order might be taken by the aduise of the whole estates for the same. But notwithstanding the refusall of the prelates to paie the third part, the lords of the pryncie counsell made an act, and set forth letters, that all the prelats and beneficed men should be charged to paie yerelie to the quenes comptrol- ler and his collector, the whole thirds of all fruits of their benefices: and that it should be lawfull to the comptroller and his deputies, to take the third of what part of euerie benefice where he best pleased, and to deale therewith at his pleasure: also to haue to do with the rents of brotherhoods of common churches, and such like. This order hath bene obser- ued euer since, not without great grudge of the pre- lats, and other beneficed men of the realme, and their friends, as well those that professed the reformed re- ligion, as others.

* Whilest these things were in doing, William Metellan the yonger was sent ambassador into England, to salute the quene of that realme (as the manner is) & to declare the good mind that the quene of Scots bare vnto hir, & the desire that his mistresse had to haue peace and vnitie preserved betwene them. Besides all which, and manie other demands touching Scotland (which I suppress for manie rea- sons, because (as Salomon saith) *Corregis insecretabile*, & the mysteries of princes gouernment are not to be laid open to common eyes and eares) this am- bassador deliuered letters to the quene of England from the nobilitie of Scotland. In which there was a courteous remembrance of hir former fauor and of their good will. Requesting further that the quene of England would shew a publike and pryncat li- king and friendship to their quene, to the end that the quene of Scots prynced by hir benefices, might not onelie remaine stedfast in the amitie already begun: but might also (if it were possible) be dallie more and more fast bound vnto hir: and they for their parts would not omit anie occasion with all god will and diligence to continue this amitie.

To which ambassador the quene of England made no lesse honorabie than wise answer: the effect wherof, because it concerneth matter of great im- portance, & is long and largelie already set downe by Buchanan, in hir maiesties singular commenda- tion to the whole world in the Latine tong, I thinke it not necessarie here to repeat: and therefore I do purposelie omit the same, least I might seeme by sta- terie to intrude my pen into the eloquent speech of hir maiestie: and not being able to deliuer it with such grace as both she spake it, and Buchanan pen- neth it, I might dishonor hir, & ouerthrow my selfe, like vnto Phaeton. For as he, taking vpon him to rule the chariot of the sunne, was by his insufficien- cie therefore consumed with the heat and glorie ther- of; so should I in presuming with unskill to pen the tale

The quene
visited the
townes.

An assemblie
of the lords.

The third
part of the spi-
ritual things
demanded.

An act for the
charge.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan, lib. 17.

Buchanan. li. 17.

1562.
James Stre-
ward made
earle of Mor-
rie.
Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan
lib. 17.

The quene o
England desi-
rous to speak
with the
quene of
Scotland.

The meeting
time was dil-
appointed.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan, li. 17.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 587.

Daumall went
with the two
gallies into
France.
The rest went
through Eng-
land into
France.

A preparation
of triumphs.

quene
of the
es.

Assemble
loids,

third
of the spe-
llings
mided,

it for the
gie.

him.
han.lib.17.

Edinburgh. 17.

1562.
James Ste-
ward made
earle of Mar-
rie.
R.Thin.

R.Thin.
Buchanan
lib. 17.

The quene of
England desir-
ous to speake
with the
quene of
Scotland.

The meeting
time was dis-
appointed.

R.Thin.
Buchan. li. 17.

tales of such a worthy prince, continue my credit, in misbelieving or defacing the maiestie, grauitie, wisdom, and life of his singular wit and eloquence. For which cause, leaving the same, we do in this sort bring backe our pen to the continuance of the historie of Scotland.

The quene of Scots had a brother called John, a man desirous of authoritie, but yet not so secure in mind as was James the other brother. This John castie perswading himselfe to obey the quene in all things, was the more deare unto her, and most fit for her, desirous (as saith Buchanan, but how trulie I knowe not) to confound all things. With this John (in absence of the other brother James) she did consule to hire a companie of souldiers to be about her, the cause whereof was this. In the night there was a tumult or stir, as though the earle of Arran would, in the absence of the nobilitie, secretly set upon the quene, and by strength haue labored to carie her to his castell, which was fourtene miles from thence. All which seemeth likely to be but a tale, either for the quenes mind that was estranged from him, or for the immoderat loue which he bare unto her: both which were sufficientlie knowne to the common people. Which tumult being spread abroad, these souldiers after they had all night scoured the fields, riding up and downe thither & thither, they thewed themselves the next day before the court gates, to the offense of some, and the ioll of others.]

The Sunday before Shouetuesdaie, being the eight day of Februarie (as some write) James Stewart then prior of saint Andrews, and earle of Mar, bafe brother to the quene, was made earle of Marrie, [in place (as saith Buchanan) of the earledome of Mar, which belonged to John Arskine] by the quens speciall gift, and was married the same day unto Agnes Keith, daughter to the erle Marshall, with great feasts and triumphs, lasting three daies. * In which marriage he did so much exceed, that he greatly offended the minds of his friends, and ministered matter to his enemies to speake euill of him; and that the more vehementlie, because he had before time in all his life behaved himselfe far more temperatlie than he did at this time.]

The quene of England desirous to haue a meeting betwixt her and the quene of Scots her cosine, sent diuerse messengers with letters, desiring her most instantlie to come to Forke, where she would meet her, to talke with her of diuerse matters, that might make to the confirmation of the amitie and friendship which nature had knit betwixt them, by coniunction and affinitie of blood. And after consultation had with her counsell, the quene of Scots agreed thereto: and so they were appointed to meet at Forke in the moneth of Iulie next following. But when things were prepared and put in a readinesse for the iourne, the quene of England sent word to the quene of Scots, that she could not keepe the appointment made for their meeting, desiring her to haue her excused for that time. Which message was accepted, and so the iourne staid.

* Such about this time, or rather somewhat before, as in truth I suppose it was, James Hamilton being duke of Chatelerault, and father to the earle of Arran, first wrote to the quene, then after went he vnto her to saint Andrews, and with manie prayers requested her that she would vpon sufficient pledges deliuer to him the earle Bothwell, and Caluene Hamilton, but he could not obtaine arie thing therein at her hands. At what time also the quene went to Dumberton (which Hamilton held since the time that he was gouernor) to demand the deliuerie of the same into her hands, which was accordingly deliuered vnto her. Shortly after, the quene of Scots

toke her iourne towards the north parts of Scotland, and set from Struthing in the moneth of August.

About this time it chanced that the lord Ogilvie, and John Gordon of Finmarter, came to the earle of Huntlie, met on the caiste of Edinburgh & fought, where (after manie blowes and stripes giuen and taken) the lord Ogilvie and his companie were hurt. Wherefore John Gordon was taken, & put in ward at the tolburth of Edinburgh, out of which he escaped, after he had remained prisoner thereon about twentie daies, and toke his way northward: where vpon followed great trouble shortly after to the house of Huntlie. The quene accompanied with the earles of Argile, Marrie, and Gordon, the lord Erskin, and others, passed forwards in her iourne towards the north part, and caused John Gordon of Finmarter to be summoned to appeere and answer the law at Aberdeen, for breaking prison, and hurting the lord Ogilvie. The quene coming to the towne of Aberdeen, was honorable receiued with diuerse orations, and Latine enterludes, before the grammar schoole and college.

* These things thus done at Aberdeen, as the quene determined to go further, she was untreated by John Leslie a noble man, and follower of the Gordons, to boughsaie his house in her waie, being 12 miles from the towne: to which she granted, & went vnto the same. This place, because it was no common place of resort, was thought verie conuenient for the execution of the earle of Marrie, whose death was conspired (as after shall appeere.) Where vpon Leslie, who was not ignorant of this secret counsell, besought the quene that she would not laie such a note of infamie vpon him and his familie, that he should seeme to haue betrayed the chiefest brother of the quene, no euill man, and one that was not his enimie, whereby he might come vnto his death at his house. Where vpon it then ceased, and the next night was also quietly passed ouer at Rothmie, a towne of the Abernethians, because the next day the quens was determined to go to Strabogie.]

Where vpon the earle of Huntlie, having before heard that his sonne was thus summoned, assembled the principall earles, lords, barons, and gentlemen of the north, who came with him to Aberdeen, to helpe his son at the law day appointed for his appeareance, which was in September. The earle came vnto the quene himselfe, and at length it was agreed, that his sonne the said John Gordon should returne to prison againe in Struthing castell, there to remaine during the quenes pleasure. But he following the euill counsell of some young heads that were with him, neither fulfilled the quenes pleasure, nor his fathers appointment, but attempted to reuenge his extreme handling (as he toke it) vpon the earle of Marrie, whome he put most in blame for the rigour shewed against him, but his enterprise toke not effect. Now the quene aduertised of his disobedience, went not to Strabogie, notwithstanding there was great preparation made for her in that place, for the receiuing of her and her traine: but she went vnto Balthowie, the earle of Athols place, and from thence to Kinlos, to Earnewaite, and so came to Inuernesse, and there lodged.

In this meane while, the earle of Huntlie, purposing to attend on the quene at Inuernesse, caused provision to be made in the castell for his lodging. The quene suspecting his dealing, least this should be done vpon some policie, commanded the keepers of the castell to render the same to one of her berabes: but it was not deliuered till the next day, and therefore the captiue of that castell called Alexander Gordon, for refusing to deliuer it, was hanged vpon the towne

The quene made her progress into the north parts of Scotland. Lord Ogilvie and John Gordon fight together.

John Gordon breaketh prison.

John Gordon is summoned by the quene.

Gordon is accompanied with a great company.

R.Thin. Buchanan li. 17.

Gordon is commanded to Struthing castell.

He disobeyed.

The quene suspected the earle of Huntlie.

Alexander Gordon was hanged.

towne byodge. The lord Gordon & his brother John Gordon of Finnatere came that night within a litle space distant from the towne of Inverness, which caused great feare in the towne, so that there was a diligent watch all that night. The earle of Huntley being come to kinlosse, and hearing that the castell of Inverness was commanded to be given by into the hands of an herald, sent with all diligence to the keepers, that they should deliver it; & returned himselfe to Strabogie.

The quene remained in Inverness the space of foure or five daies, where the principall captaine of the clanes of the countrey came to hir, and with a great companie [of the ancient Scots (as bath Buchanan) thereof the chiefe were the Fraisers and Purries, valiant families in those parts] conveyed hir to Spine, where she was informed that the earle of Huntley had gathered an armie to come against hir, and made their assemble at Spaie. Whereupon, they took with them all the artillerie over Spine, and caried the same in carts, and all other kind of munition, and passed forward to Bann that night. The earle of Huntley all this while came not forth of Strabogie. The quene as she passed forward, rode to the place of Finnatere, and there in hir owne presence, caused the keepers thereof to be charged to deliver it, which they refused to do. From Bann the quene rode to the lard of Weichtis place, called Weicht, and the next day there was great preparation for hir entrie into the new towne of Aberdeen. She lodged one night in the bishops palace, and the next day she was honorable received, and lodged in the priors house of the towne, where she remained all the time of hir abode in Aberdeen.

After this, the lord John prior of Colbingham, with diuerse gentlemen, was sent against the earle of Huntley to Strabogie, but he was escaped before they approached. The ladie Huntley received them verie courteously, and gaue them good intertainment, and so they returned. There was charge given to Louthian, Fife, Angus, Strathern, the Perns, and to the shire of Aberdeen, to come to Aberdeen quarterlie, euery countrey to remaine there sixtene daies; and so they did, during the time of hir abiding there. The earle of Huntley sent his wife in message to the quene and counsell, but she was not admitted to come within a mile of them, but commanded to returne. After this, he sent a messenger, offering to enter in ward till his cause might be tried by the whole nobilitie: but this was refused. In the meane time all the principall of the Gordons that were landed men, were charged to enter into ward. About the same time James Hepburne earle of Bothwell, who (upon displeasure conceived against him about a quarrell betwixt him and the earle of Arrane, had bene committed to prison in Easter weeke last before past) escaped out of Dauids tower in Edinburgh at a window.

*The earle of Huntley, vnderstanding by his friends at the court how things passed, determined to flee to the mounteins: but after (trusting to the promises of his friends) he determined to abide battell in a place of some strength. Whereupon in October he came with his armie to Cornethie in Spar. By reason whereof the earle of Purrie, who at the first had scarce a hundred horsemen with him, began with James Douglas earle of Morton, and Patrick Lindsay, to lead an armie against his enemies, and gathered a greater number of eight hundred people of the regions adioining. Wherefore he first placed souldiers about the water passages, to keepe all those places, that Huntley should not escape, and with the rest went forward on a foot pace, to meet his enimie: whose comming Huntley did a-

bide, with three hundred men, keeping their places, although not a few of that companie were fled from the Gordons the night before.

When the earle of Purrie was come to the side of a hill, from whence he might see all the marshes about him, he incamped there in a slender order of battell. At length the armies met, at that time manie on the earle of Purrie his side did flee awaie, having before given a signe to the enimie. But the earle Purrie, which saw there was no succour in fleeing, stood to it valiantlie, called his men together, set vpon the enimie, caused them (which before followed his men fleeing awaie) now to flee as fast backe as they came forward. Which change of fortune when the traitors that before fled did perceiue, they came afresh and pursued the Huntleys, and (to cleare them from the first fault) committed all the slaughter that was done that daie.

There was killed of the part of Huntley a hundred and twentie, and a hundred taken: but on the other side not one. Amongst such as were taken, was the earle Huntley himselfe, and his two sons, John and Adam. But the father being old and short breathed by reason of his griefenes, was slaine betwene the hands of such as took him, and the rest were late in the night brought to Aberdeen. The quene seemed sorie for the earles death, but in Nouember John Gordon was beheaded in Aberdeen, and shortly after the quene returned southwards, leaving foure commissioners in Aberdeen, the treasurer, maister James Macgill, maister John Spens of Dundie, and the lard of Mettarrow, to compound for the effects of them that were in the field with the earle of Huntley. Great summes of monie were taken and leuied of them for that trespass. *The earle Bothwell was commanded the first kalends of December by an herald to yeld himselfe againe to prison, but because he would not, he was declared a publicke enimie.]

The lord George Gordon, eldest sonne to the earle of Huntley, was taken by the duke of Chateaufort his father in law, at Curnernoull, and brought to Edinburgh, where he was put in the castell, and after by a iurie convicted, forsailed, and condemned to die, and sent to Dunbar castell, there to remaine in ward, where he continued till the yeere of God, 1565. *At this time was a monie milt set vpon such as did eat flesh in the time of Lent. The setting forth thereof was not so much for religion, as for publicke commoditie, by the iudgement of Buchanan. The archbishop of saint Andrews, because (after an edict made therefore at the quenes comming into Scotland) he did not abstaine from hearing and saying masse, was committed prisoner to the castell of Edinburgh, and the rest that were found in such actions were fined, with promise of a greater punishment to be laied vpon them, if they were found of sending againe in that sort.]

The quene held a parlement in Edinburgh, where the earle of Huntleys dead bodie was brought presented before the estates in the tolbooth, and forsailed. The earle of Sutherland George Gordon was forsailed also, and diuerse other of their friends. And in this parlement the act of oblivion was ratified and approved, and diuerse other new acts made. This yeere in August, the quene went on progresse into Argyle. This yeere deceased diuerse counsellors or senators of the college of Justice, as maister John Stephanson chancelor of Glasgowe, and the priuost of Corstrophine. In place of the first, maister John Leslie, officiall of Aberdeen, was promoted; and in the priuosts place maister James Baulfour succeeded. There came an ambassadoe from the king of Sweden, to treat of a mariage to be contracted with the

Fr. Thin.

She came to Aberdeen.

The earle of Huntley is sent for.

The ladie Huntley is sent vnto the quene.

The Gordons are imprisoned.

The earle Bothwell escaped out of prison.

Fr. Thin. Buchan, lib. 17.

John Gordon is beheaded.

Fr. Thin. Buchan, lib. 17.

The lord Gordons taken prisoner. 1562. Buch. 1562.

Fr. Thin. Buchan, lib. 17.

1562. A parlement.

The act of oblivion ratified.

The quene goeth on progresse.

New officers.

1564. Ambassadors from Sweden.

The bishop of Ross went into France.

The quenes progresse.

The earle of Argyll came into Scotland.

A progresse.

Lord Darnley became into Scotland.

1563. A parlement.

Lord Darnley is made lord of Ross.

The quene of England dissolved that marriage.

Ambassadoe sent into Scotland.

The earle of Purrie a tutor vnto the quene.

Dispensation had from Rome for to marrie.

Consultation to stop the marriage.

Gordon is treated earle of Huntley. Bothwell is sent for. Fr. Thin.

Lord Darnley.

quene, but his message was not regarded. The second of Julie Henric Sinclair bishop of Ross shipped at Leith to passe into France, to procure some helpe of his disease. He was cut of the stone in Paris, and died the second of Januarie next after. There succeeded to that bishopricke of Ross, maister John Leslie, parson of Dun, being then one of the senators of the session and college of iustice.

In the moneth of August, the quene passed into Atholl in progresse, and from thence to Badenoch, to Inverness, and to the sanquie of Ross, and returned through Spurreie to Gartlath, Aberdeen, Dunnoter, and so to Edinburgh, where she remained the next winter. In the moneth of October, the earle of Lennor came into Scotland, and for his cause there was a parliament holden in December, in which he was restored to all his lands, honors, and dignities, within that reatune. In December also, the bishop of Dunblane deceased, and after him succeeded maister William Chesholme his brothers son.

In Januarie, the quene took his journey through Fife, and in manie gentlemen's places was banqueted. In which time, Henric Stewart, lord Darnlie, a gentle man of personage, and sonne to the earle of Lennor, came into Scotland, where he came to the quenes presence in the Cleames, the ninth day of Februarie. The quene so well liked him, that she assembled all the temporall lords together at Striveling, in the moneth of Aprill, and there obtained of them their consents, that he might marrie the said lord Darneleie. After this, he was made earle of Ross.

In the meane time, the quene of England sent sir Nicholas Throckmorton into Scotland, to understand the proceedings in the quenes marriage with the lord Darneleie, and for other affaires, who came to the assemblee at Striveling to that effect. The quene of Scots sent maister John Hute abbat of Balmerinoch into England to the quene, to mitigate his displeasure towards the lord Darneleie, and to obtaine his consent to the marriage; who answered, that she ment to send an ambassadoe of hir owne into Scotland for that and other causes, and (according to his promise) she sent one. Shortly after, certeine captenis & men of warre in saint Andrews, Dundee, and saint Johns towne, received monie about the same time of the earle of Spurreie, to take part with him, for the which they were after punished. After the assemblee at Striveling, the quene seemed not to like of the earle of Spurreie so well as she had done before: whereupon he departed the court, and repaired to saint Andrews, where (through the counsell of certeine persons) he sought waies to stop the marriage.

The quene neuertheless sent the bishop of Dunblane to Rome for a dispensation to marrie with the lord Darneleie, being his cosine in the second degree of consanguinitie, which he obtained, & sent it home shortly after. The quene was then principallie counselled by the earles of Atholl, and Lennor, the lord Ruthwen, and their friends. In the meane time, the earle of Spurreie perswaded the duke of Chateaufault, the earle of Argile, and sundrie other, to meet at Striveling, where they made a bond to stop the marriage, alledging the same to be made for maintenance of the religion. The quene advertised thereof, released the lord Gordon lord of Dunbar, wherein he had bene kept within the castell of Dunbar, and restoring him to his fathers lands, created him earle of Huntlie. She also sent for the earle of Bothwell to returne home, who was banished, and was then in France [and the earle of Southerland to returne out of Flanders.]

In the moneth of Julie, the lord Darneleie earle of Ross was made duke of Albanye. And on saturdaye at even, the eight and twentieth daie of the same moneth, before the marriage, he was proclaimed king by the quenes commandement at the market croffe of Edinburgh. And on the nine and twentieth daie of the same moneth, he was married to the quene in the chappell of Holie rood house, at five of the clocke in the morning. Shortly after, the duke of Chateaufault, the earles of Argile, Spurreie, and the countie places, were summoned to appeare before the quene and his counsell within six daies; & because they refused to do so, they were put to the horne.

The king and quene thereupon assembled their power, and by a herald demand the delivrie of the castell of Hamilton. But (he returning without the effect of his message) they addresse themselves to warre. At what time the lords of the congregation were at some variance amongst themselves, as severed into diverse opinions: for the Hamiltons that were of greatest power in those places, did affirme, that they should have no firme conditions of peace, except the king and quene were made abais: so long as they were in health, they could hope for nothing but new warres, new deceipts, and dissembled peace, a thing farre more dangerous than open war. For though manie times the injuries of privat persons maie be laied downe by travell and persuasion, and maie be recompensed againe with great commodities: yet there is no waie to appeale the displeasure of kings, but by taking them alive.

Upon which had speech, the earles of Spurreie and of Clencarne (which well understood that the Hamiltons did not seeke the publike commoditie, but their owne privat riches as persons that were next to the crowne after the quens death) did abhor the slaughter and government of the Hamiltons, whom of late they had felt to be both cruell and covetous: and did therefore give more mild and sound counsell, saying that this dissention being civill, was not yet come to be bloudie: in which hitherto they had onlie contended with words not with swords, being not yet so far, but that (if it were possible) the same might be ended with honest conditions.

To the perswasion whereof, he said that there were manie in the camps of the two princes, which graciously desired to heare of peace, & would not faile to further their endeavor therein, nor to defend themselves & their cause with needfull weapons: all which did perchance foresee that the king and quene (by reason of their youth) had not yet faulted so greatly, as that it turned to the utter overthrow of the common-wealth; & if they have faults (as who hath not) they were such as were rather to their owne privat reproch than otherwise, and therefore they ought not to be punished with flat death: but rather to be cured with easier remedies. For he did remember it to have alwaies bene observed heretofore, that in the life of kings, we should alwaies cover their secret bices, we should mildly interpret their doubtful faults, and we should with patience beare their knowne evils: so that they did not by them bring utter destruction to the common-wealth.

When this opinion was pleasing to most of the hearers, the other Hamiltons (except James, which was head of that familie) determined to rest in quiet; but he accompanied with sixteen hundred men remained with the lords. Who being now so weakened of their power, that they could neither wage battell, nor safely passe to their owne; did give place to the time, and went that night to Hamilton. The quene assembled an armie, and went to Glasgowe to pursue them [at what time (as faith Buchanan) the earle of Lennor was made warden of the east marches; and the duke and earles with other of their companye

leis is made duke of Albanye. Lord Darnlie is proclaimed king. The quene is married.

Certain lords refuse to appeare before the quene.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan lib. 17.

wicked counsell alwaies sways to the guerd.

52. ment.

of ob- stitied.

anc 1 p. 104

ricers.

54. adors weds

The bishop of Ross went into France.

The quenes progresse.

The earle of Lennor came into Scotland.

In progresse.

Lord Darnlie came into Scotland.

1562. A parliament.

Lord Darnlie is made lord of Ross.

The quene of England dissuaded that marriage.

Embassage sent into Scotland.

The earle of Spurreie a suitor unto the quene.

Dispensation had from Rome for to marrie.

Consultation to stop the marriage.

Gordon is created earle of Huntlie. Bothwell is sent for. Fr. Thin.

Lord Darnlie

54. adors weds

Gordon adch.

20 nis to soner. Buch. 62.

Lib. 17.

An armie gathered against them. The lords went into Dunfreis.

Certeine townes are punished.

A great armie

The lords fled into England.

Their contrivers got their pardon.

The quene returned againe into Edinburgh. The quene sent into France for aid.

The lords sent to the quene of England.

The quene of England sent to the quene of Scots.

nie came to Edinburgh, where the castell shot off at them, and therefore they departed towards Dunfreis, and were receiued by the lord Heris.

The quene hearing thereof, by aduise of hir council assembled forth of all the parts of the whole realme an armie, appointing the same to be at Beggart, in the beginning of October, to pursue the rebels. In the meane time, the hearing that the townes of saint Andrews, Dundee, and saint Johns towne, had helped the lords to raise men of warre for their support, passed thither hir selfe, and toke inquisition thereof, giuing order in those townes, that no such thing should afterwards be put in practice. But there were none that suffered death for that matter; but diuerse were committed to prison in the north parts of the realme, as the prouost and bailzeis of saint Andrews; also certeine of the towne of Dundee, and saint Johns towne, and other were banished; and diuerse barons, as Lundie, Lang, and Balward, were sent to Aberdeen, and to other parts, where they remained the winter following.

About this time, the quene toke the castell of Cantallan from the earle of Moriston, because he was suspected to fauor the rebels. The keeping thereof was giuen to the earle of Atholl. The quene returning to Edinburgh in September, prepared all things necessarie for the armie, and departing from Edinburgh, came to Beggart, where all the noble men with their retinues were assembled the eight of October. From thence they passed forward to Dunfreis. In the meane time, the duke of Chatelerault, the earles of Arrreie, Glencarne, Rothes, the lord Schiltre, the abbat of Kilwinning, the lords of Orange, Cunningham, Herdie, Pettaroto, maister James Holiburton tutor of Petcur, and others, hearing of the quens comming with an armie, fled into England & came to Caerleill, where they were receiued, the earle of Bedford at that time being lord lieutenant of the north.

The lord Heris then maister of Marwell conuened them to the water of Sulweie, and afterward returned to Dunfreis to the quene, where (of hir clemencie) he got pardon of his offense; and the lords of Lochinwar and Dunlanrig likewise. After the armie had taried certeine daies, putting direction for obseruing of god order in the countrie, the quene returned to Edinburgh, where she remained all the next winter. The quene sent the maister David Chalmer chancelor of Rosse into France to the king, with letters for his assistance against hir rebels. And shortly after, the French king sent a gentleman called monsieur Paluolier into Scotland, with verie friendlie letters vnto the quene, promising his helpe & assistance against the rebels; which message was most thankfullie receiued, and the said Paluolier honorable at his departure rewarded.

The duke of Chatelerault, and the other lords with him departed from Caerleill to Newcastle upon Tyne, and from thence sent the earle of Arrreie, and the abbat of Kilwinning to the quene of England, making sute to hir grace for aid to be restored to their countrie againe. The quens maiestie promised them, that she would send a gentleman to the quene hir sister, and moue hir in their fauors, as she did; and so they returned to Newcastle, where the duke of Chatelerault, perceiuing no other helpe appearing, sent the abbat of Kilwinning into Scotland to the quene with letters, submitting himselfe to hir graces will, and so he obtained pardon for him and his friends, with licence to passe into France, there to remaine the space of three yeares, and shortly after he passed through England, and so ouer into France, according to his appointment.

The king passed the most part of that winter in the countries of Fife, Strathierne, Striuelinghire, & Louthian; spending his time in halloking. The quene remained at Edinburgh with the nobilitie, and because she was conceiued with child, trauelled little abroad. About this time was a new order taken for placing the king and quens name in all their writings and patents. For where, untill this time, the kings name was set before the quens; now quite contrarie, the name of the quene was written before the kings: besides which, afterward the quene hir selfe would onelie set hir name to the writings in place of his and his; and David the secretaire was appointed in his place to haue a stamp of the kings name, to vse when need required.

In the meane time a parlement was called, to be holden in the moneth of March next ensuing, and summons decreed against the earle of Arrreie, and the other lords that remained in England, and also against the earle of Argile, lieng then in his countrie of Argile to heare them forsailed. The French king sent monsieur Kambeneullet into Scotland, as ambassado: from him to the quene, with commission, to make the king hir husband knight of the order of S. Michaele. Which with great solemnitie and reuerence was accomplished in the chappell of Holy rood house the tenth of Februarie, being sunday: after the which, the said Kambeneullet returned into France, being highly rewarded.

From that time that the parlement was proclaimed, and the summons also published, the earle of Arrreies friends being in Scotland, neuer ceased to seeke all the waies and means they could devise to staie the same: in so much that the earle of Moriston, the lord Ruthwen, and the lord Lindseie, secretly persuaded the king to staie the parlement, and also to consent to the restoring of the erle of Arrreie and his complices, making to him faithfull promise, that if he would follow their counsell, he should be made & crowned king of Scotland absolutelie, and the quene so to haue lesse to doe with the gouernement afterwards, where though he agreed to the m.

And so after the parlement was assembled, the lords of the articles being chosen the seventh day of March, they perceiuing the forsalture like to proceed, and iudgement thereof to be giuen, the eleuenth of March next following, the king with the assistance of the said earle of Moriston, the lords Ruthwen, and Lindseie, entred into the quens priue chamber about eight of the clocke in the night, being saturday, and the ninth of March; where being arrived in warlike manner, the lord Ruthwen declared vnto the quene, that they would not suffer hir any longer to haue the gouernement of the realme, to abuse the same by the counsell of strangers, as she had done; and therefore pulled violentlie out of hir chamber David Ritcheo an Italian, that was one of hir secretaries, crieng pittoulle, *Injustitia, Injustitia*: and in hir bitter chamber they suddenlie slew him with great crueltie. The king himselfe was also present, and his dagger was likewise found sticking in the dead bodie.

The quene was shut vp within hir chamber, and certeine appointed to attend hir, and to keepe all the doores and gates about the palace. The earles of Huntleie and Bothwell escaped by a backe window forth in their chamber, wherof the king and his complices were right sorie. The erle of Atholl and others being with him, departed in the night season by a ferrie ouer the Forth, called the quenes ferrie, and went to S. Johns towne. On the morow being sunday (the quene being secretlie kept) proclamation was made, that all the lords that had voice in parlement

The king went a hawking.

Fr. Thin.

Eucha. lib. 17.

A parlement.

The lords that were exiled are summoned.

The king receiued the order of saint Michaele.

1566.

They persuaded with the king.

The king was persuaded.

The king was entred into the quens priue chamber.

David Ritcheo is slain.

The earle of Huntleie is fled and the residue also.

The exiled lords come into Scotland.

They made their protestation.

The quene had conference with the king.

The king was sore persuaded.

Huntleie and Bothwell.

Proclamation made.

Pardon is craved and obtained.

The murthers are excused.

Daniel pardoned.

The quene commeth to Edinburgh.

In the
year 1567
the earle of
Mar
was
executed

ment, should depart out of the towne of Edinburgh: and after none the same day, the earles of Spurreie and Mothes, with other of their companies that came forth from Newcastle the saturday before, came to the abbey of Holir rood house about fift of the clocke in the after none, where they were thankfullie received by the king and his companie. They lodged also with the queene, who had no great comfort of their coming.

The earle of
Mar
was
executed

The morrow following being monday the earle of Spurreie, and the other that were summoned, passed to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, & made their proclamation there, that they were ready to answer in parliament, and none appeared to accuse them. After this, it was concluded to keep the queene in strict ward: But by her politique demeanour, their purpose in that behalfe was broken: for by secret conference with the king, she persuaded him to thinke, that he had named himself with those that would be his destruction, if it happened with his otherwise than well; as was no lesse to be doubted, by reason of the high displeasure that she had taken being quicke with child: through the which persuasion, and other murthering of things, he departed secretly with her in the night season, accompanied onlie with two men, and first came unto Seaton, and afterwards from thence to Dunbar.

The king
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The king
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Whether the earles of Huntieir and Bothwell hadlier repented, by whose counsell and others then with him, he caused proclamation to be made in the best parts of the realme, charging all manner of men in feats of warre, to come unto him to Dunbar, & to passe from thence unto Edinburgh within six daies after. He also sent letters to the same effect unto divers noble men of the realme, who prepared themselves with great diligence to meet him. The earle of Spurreie and the rest of the lords being with him, hearing the preparation that was made against them, and perceiving themselves not able to resist, thought good earnest of them to take some particular means to obtaine remission at the queens hands. Which they obtained all of them, except the earle of Sperton, the lords Ruthwen, Lindsay, and such other as were with them at the murder of David Rithoe. Whereupon they bespaking of pardon, fled into England; where the lord Ruthwen died at Newcastle: & Huntieir after, as in place ye shall heare.

The king
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The king
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The earle of Lennox, being partaker with them, came to Dunbar, and got pardon: the earle of Glen-carne and the lord of Cunningham had came thither also, and were pardoned. Likewise the earle of Mothes purchased his pardon at the same time. The earles of Argile and Spurreie, and the lord Both, being at Lihquo, sent to the queene for their pardon, and obtained it, being commanded nevertheless to passe into Argile, and to remaine there during her graces pleasure, which commandement they obeyed. The twentieth of March, the queene well accompanied came to Haddington towards night: and on the next day, the bishop of saint Andrews, and the Huntieirs met her at Haddingburgh, and so likewise did the lords Levingston, Fleming, Home, Bothwell, and many other noble men, and accompanied her unto Edinburgh.

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She lodged in the bishop of Dunkelds lodging, and tarried there a certaine space, having with her the earles of Huntieir, Atholl, Bothwell, Crauford, Spurreie, Southerland, Callines, the bishops of saint Andrews and Ross; the lords Levingston, Fleming, and divers other noble men, by whose counsell order was taken for travelling of the state of the realme, whereby the same was shortly brought to great quietnesse. After this, the queene perceiving herselfe to beate nere the time of her deliverance, went to

the castell of Edinburgh, there to remaine till her were delivered of her birth. In the moneth of Maye, Thomas Scot thuriffe, depuie of Perth, & a priest called sir Henrie Paul, servant to the lord Ruthwen, were apprehended for being doers in the slaughter of David, and were hanged and quartered. Their heads were set aloft, the one on the tower in the abbey, and the other on the nether bow.

The king
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In the moneth of April this year, the bishop of Brechin president of the session, deceased, and in his come succeeded to that bishopricke, a friend and counsellor to the earle of Argile, called Campbrell. In the end of April, the queene, willing to hear the earles of Argile and Spurreie joined with the rest of the counsell, sent for them to come to the castell of Edinburgh, where all gricfs and controuersies that rested betwixt them on the one side, and the earles of Huntieir, Atholl, & Bothwell on the other side, were referred to the queene, who agreed them, and they all remained with her the residue of the summer. The queene hearing that the earle of Sperton, the lord Ruthwen, and the other their assistants were received in England, and remained at Newcastle: she sent master James Thomson chanter, of Spurreie, with letters to the queene of England, and also to the king of France, and other her friends there: declaring by the tenor of the same letters the abuse and presumptuous attempts of certaine her subjects against her, desiring them not to receive them into their realmes or dominions.

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Shortly after, the queene of England sent a gentleman called Henrie Willingdale into Scotland, with letters and message to the queene, promising to cause them to depart forth of her realme of England: and withall sent unto them warning to depart betwixt that present time, and midsummer then next ensuing. But in the mean time the lord Ruthwen departed this life at Newcastle, with great repentance of his former life: giving God thanks, for that he had lent him time to call to him for mercie and forgiveness, whereof he did assure himselfe. And from thenceforth the earle of Sperton, and the master of Ruthwen, remained secretly nere to Arbroath, and other places of the borders, till they obtained pardon, and were restored. About this time there came from the king of France a wellearned gentleman, named monsieur de Crocke, as his ambassador, and remained in Scotland all the winter following.

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In the moneth of June the queene perceiving the time of her deliverance to approach, wrote unto all the principall noble men of her realme, to come and remaine within the towne of Edinburgh, during the time of her deliverance: where they assembled: and the king her husband, with the earles of Argile, Spurreie, Atholl, and Mar, remained with her in the castell: and the earle of Huntieir, Bothwell, and the remnant of the lords lodged in the towne. And upon the twentieth day of the same moneth of June, betwixt 10 and 11 of the clocke before none, her grace was delivered of a godlie man-child, to the great comfort of her highnesse, and all her subjects, thereof the nobilitie did receive reioyce. And incontinentlie all the artillerie in the castell was shot off, and all the lords and people came together in the church of saint Giles, to give thanks to almightie God for his great and beneficiall goodnes shewed to them, in giving to them a prince, and withall made their humble prayers unto his divine maiestie, to induce him with the feare of God, with vertue and knowledge to gouerne the realme and subjects thereof, when so ever the same should fall into his hands.

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The same night at seven, there were great fires for joy made in the towne of Edinburgh, and in all the

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“*fares (being from the death of his father one of the chiefe of the nobilitie) he did wholie dedicate himselfe to the dutie and seruice of the princes and kings of Scotland, as one boyne of a famous familie for his ancient nobilitie, & of great reuenues in this kingdome which he possessed by right of inheritance. At that time also he did especiallie and altogether consecrate himselfe to our mother, whilst she had the gouernement of the realme.*”

“*In which dutie towards hir, he did so constantlie perseuere, that although the greater part of the nobilitie, and almost all the towne were fallen from hir obedience (vnder the colour of religion) yet he would neuer decline from hir authoritie, as a person that could not be wone by anie promises or benefites, or feared with anie threats, or losse of his liuings, to neglect his dutie in anie part vnto hir: but that he would rather suffer his principall house, which was the head of his patrimonie, with his plentifull and pretious store of furniture thereof to be taken from him, and all his other lands to be left for spoile to the enimie, than violate his faith to our mother. Besides which, being destitute of helpe both of vs and our people (when the English host was brought by our domesticall enimies into the bowels of our kingdome, which directed their weapons to none other marke, than that our now husband at that time earle Bothwell, should by force be enforced to die) he fled into France, forsaking all his patrimonie, where he honored me with all dutie and seruice (that he might) vntill my returne into Scotland.*”

“*Neither are those exploits to be omitted, which were done by him in the warres against the English before my returne into mine owne countrie, where he shewed such parts of warlike valure and graue wisdom, that he was iudged (being then verie young) meet to haue the gouernment of ancient persons, to be made chiefe capteine of the armie of the countrie, & also to be chosen or substitute deputie and chancelor: as in truth he was. In which office he did not deceiue the hope and expectation which men conceiued of him. For (by his affaires ballantlie atchieued) he left a singular praise and fame of him, as well amongst his owne people, as amongst the enimies.*”

“*After our returne into Scotland, he employed all his induoz to the enlarging of our authoritie, and spared not to put himselfe in danger, in subduing those rebels which dwell about the borders of England. The dispatch therof being thortlie perfozmed, and they brought to great quiet, he was appointed to doe the like in all the other parts of the kingdome. But as enuie doth alwaies accompanie vertue, so the Scots repining thereat, and desirous of innovation, did laboz to diminish our fauour towards him (for his great labozs imploied in our behalfe) in misconstruing his good deeds.*”

“*By which in the end they wrought so much with me, that we committed him to prison; partlie to satisfie the minds of such as were emulous against him, and could not bzoke the increase of his following honoz and greatnesse; and partlie to appease such seditions as were likeli then to breake forth to the destruction of the whole kingdome. But he (escaping out of prison) got him into France, to giue place to the power of his enimies, where he remained almost two yeeres next following. At what time the authors of the former sedition, forgetting my clemencie towards them, and their dutie towards vs, did raise warre, and toke weapons against their queene.*”

“*From thence was he called backe into Scotland, & being restored to his former honozs & possessions, he was againe made generall of all the armie: by whose helpe our authoritie began afresh to flourish,*

that all the rebels (suddenlie forsaking their countrie) were enforced to flee into England, vntill part of them vpon humble submission were receiued anew into our fauour. But how traitorously I was handled by the rest that were restored (and especiallie such, whose ancestozs I had with benefits most promoted) our vncke is not ignorant, and therefore we will touch that no more.”

“*Neither is it to be ouerpasse in silence, with what diligence he deliuered me from the hands of such as detained me prisoner, and with what speed (and singular pzouidence of his) I did both escape from prison, and recovered my former authoritie: after that I had dispersed the factions of the conturators and seditious persons. In which trulie I am enforced to confesse, that his dutie and diligence at that time shewed towards me, was so acceptable vnto me, that I could neuer after forget it. These things although they be great of themselves, yet he hath his thereto increased them with such diligence and carefulnesse, that we cannot desire greater dutie, or with more assured trust in anie man, than we haue found in him; vntill these last times which followed the decaye of our husband.*”

“*But from that time, as his thoughts did seeme to tend higher, so his actions did after a sort seeme to be more insolent. And although the matter went so far, that we were to take all things in the best part: yet these things did then most greauouslie offend me; but especiallie his arrogancie, in that he thought that there were not other sufficient abilities in vs, to recompense his desertings, vnlesse we gaue our selue to him in marriage. Touching which, at the first he vsed secret reasons and counsels: but in the end, when he saw them not to succed after his mind, at length, shewing an open contempt of my authoritie, he fled to the benefit of violence, and vsed force (to the end his attempt might not want due effect) to bring me vnder his gouernement.*”

“*Wherefore all this course of his life maie be an example, to shew how craftilie they can contriue their dights (in attempting great things) vntill they haue obtained their purpose. For I did suppose, that all this his continuall dutie and carefulnesse in spendinge obedieng of my commandements, had not issued from anie other founteine, than of a vehement desire to shew his obedience and good will towards me: neither did I hope that a little more fauourable countenance (which we are accustomed to vse to the more worthy persons, to the end to win their minds to be more obedient to vs in dutie) should so haue raised his stomack (more than anie others) that he would promise to himselfe anie larger good will to proceed from me towards him, than he had before.*”

“*But he taking aduantage of all haps, & dzatwing all things (that chanced) to the furtherance of his purpose, and keeping all his counsels secret from me, did still shew his accustomed dutie, nourished my old fauour to him, & secretlie attempted a new thing by the helpe of the nobilitie. Which he brought to passe with such speedie diligence, that (vntil then to me) he obtained of the peeres of the realme (in the assent of the parlement here) a writing with all their hands set therevnto, for the more credit of the same. In which writing was contained, that they did not onlie assent vnto the marriage; but that they also further promised to spend their life and goods (offered to all dangers) in the executing thereof, and that they would be vtter enimies to all such as should laboz to hinder it. For the more easie obtaining of whose consents in this sort, he had perswaded the said nobilitie, that the same was not done against my mind and consent. At length, when he had purchased this writing from them, he began by little and little (with ear-*

neest intreacies & flatteries) to obtaine our consent. But when at the first our answers did not content his desire, he began to laie before me almost all those things, which are accustomed to happen in the attempt of such matters.

First, the outward tokens of our good favour towards him, the reasons by which our friends or his enemies might hinder the same, & manie other things which being objected or willingly happening, might frustrate his hope, or change the minds of such as had before subscribed. At length (fortune favouring him therein) he determined to pursue the matter, & in one instance to hazard his hope and life about the same. Wherefore, when he had determined with himselfe, with all importunitie to attempt the successe of his determination, he four days after having convenient time and place therefore in the high waie, set upon me with a strong band, as I was comming from taking of my deere sonne, and with great speed carried me to Dunbar.

Which euill deed how greivouslie we toke (especially done by him, from whence all our subiects neuer looked to haue such things to proceed) euerie bodie maie easilie consider. For there I did upbraid him, with what fauour I haue alwaies vsed him, what honorable opinion I haue had of him and of his conditions in my speech vsed to others, and of his vnthankfulness to me therefore; with all other things that might deliuer me out of his hands. These matters I laied against him with bitter words. But his answers thereunto were more mild, and tempered with gentler speeches, in this, that he would still vse all honor and dutie towards vs, and labor by all means to haue our good will, whom he would not offend.

As touching this, that he had against our will carried vs into one of our own castles, he humbly craued pardon therefore (in that he was enforced thereunto) although in the same he had forgotten that reuerence and dutie, which euerie subiect owght vnto vs. Whereunto he added, that he did the same for our safetie and defense. At which time also he began to repeat vnto me the whole course of his life, lamenting his fortune, to haue them (whome he neuer hurt) so greivouslie offended with him, that their malice had not overpassed anie occasions vntill he hurt him withall.

But especiallie in this, that their great enuie had burdened him with the murder of the king, and that his power was vnequall to resist the secret conspiracies of his enemies, whome he could not know; because they did in shew and speeches dissemble their friendship: & not knowing them, there was no waie for him to foresee and auoid their deceipts. Whose extreme hatred was now growen to such height, that he could not lue in safetie in anie place, or at anie time, except he might be assured of the queenes vnderchangeable fauour towards him. Which certaintie of his fauor could not be shewed but by this one meane, to persuaide his selfe to receiue him into the marriage bed. At what time he did most holilie sweare, that he gaped not after anie extraordinarie gouernement, or that he would leape to the highest step of supreme rule thereby, but onlie to reape this fruit thereof, that he might serue and obey his as long as he liued, in such sort as he did before. Whereunto he added the delights of such speeches as that matter required.

But in the end, when he saw that we could not be moued thereunto, either with praiers or promises, he shewed vnto vs what he had done with the whole nobilitie, and the chiefe of the parliament, and what they againe had promised vnder their hands. Which being suddenlie and vn hoped for laied against vs, whether it did with iust cause greatlie astonish vs, we

leane to the consideration of the king, the queene, our vnckles, and the rest of our friends. Wherefore, when I perceiued my selfe a prisoner vnder the power of an other man, farre from the helpe of all those whose counsell I did and should haue vsed; yea and that I saw them before my face, in whose former faith and wisdome I did repose my selfe; whose strength did defend our authoritie, and without which our power was but small or none: when (I say) I had scene all these to haue vniuersally to serue his desire, and that I was alone left a preie for him, I did with my selfe in my mind consider manie things, but could bring none of them to effect.

Besides which, he gaue to vs but short time to take anie aduise, but incontinentlie and importunitie did still vige the same vnto me. At length, when I saw no waie to escape by flight, nor anie person of all our kingdome which had anie care of our libertie (for we well perceiued by their hands giuen, and by their deepe silence at that time, that they were all sworn to take his part) I was compelled (after that I a little pacified mine anger & displeasure against him) to refer my selfe to the discusse and consideration of his demands, & to laie before my selfe his dutie in times past, and the hope which we had of the following continuance of the same towards vs.

And further, how greivouslie our people would suffer a strange king, and heauilie receiue one vnacquainted, and not inuoyed with their lawes and customs, that they would not suffer me long to lue unmarried, and that the people (being by nature factious) could not be kept in obedience, except our authoritie were supported and praisted by a man which could equall them in bearing labor, and were able to bidle the insolencie of rebels in the administration of the common wealth: the weight of which charge, our power (being weakened and almost brought to nothing by continuall tumults and rebellions, since our comming into Scotland) was not able anie longer to susteine. For by reason of these seditions, we were enforced to appoint foure or more deputies in diuerse parts of our realmes, which after ward also did (vnder the colour of the authoritie which they were permitted to vse vnder vs) enforce our owne subiects to take armes against vs.

For all which causes, when we well perceiued that if we labored to preserve the dignitie of kinglie maiestie, that they would enforce me to marriage, that our people could not abide a forein prince, and that amongest our owne subiects, there was not anie which for the nobilitie of his familie, for his wisdome and valure, or for other vertues of bodie and mind, might be preferred before or equalled vnto him, I commanded my selfe to loine with the whole consent of the parliament, and assemblie of the nobilitie before mentioned. After that my former constant determination was thus somewhat mollified by these and other reasons, he did toying from me partlie by force, and partlie by intreacie, a promise to him of marriage.

Which done, we could not yet by anie meanes and persuation obtaine of him (fearing an alteration in our mind) that the time wherein this marriage should be performed, might be deferred so long, as that we might participat the same with the king and queene of France, and such other friends as we had remaining in those parts. For he beginning with a bold attempt (after that he had once thereby attained the first step of his desire) did neuer after that cease to loine importunate praiers to his persuasions and arguments of reason, vntill he did without violence enforce vs to set end to the worke begun, and that at such time, and after such order, as seemed most convenient vnto him for the execution of his determination

The queene gathereth forces.

Carbarrie hill.

The number of the queens power.

The power of the lords.

“ nation . In which matter I cannot dissemble , but
 “ that I was otherwise intreated by him , than either
 “ I would or had deserved .

“ For he was more carefull to satisfie them , by
 “ whose consent (shewed at the beginning) he thought
 “ himselfe to haue obtained his purpose (though he did
 “ both deceive them and me) than to gratifie me , or
 “ to weite how méet it were for me , being brought vp
 “ in the precepts and rites of our religion; from which,
 “ neither he nor anie man living, whilst I did live ,
 “ could draw me awaie (aloue) by anie action. In which
 “ thing trulie , though we do acknowledge our error,
 “ yet we willinglie desire , that the king and quene
 “ his mother , our vncle , or anie friend of ours , do not
 “ er postulat with him, nor anie waie laie the fault vn-
 “ to his charge .

“ For sith things be now so ended , as that they
 “ cannot be againe undone, we take all things in the
 “ best part : & as he is in dæd , so he is to be accounted
 “ our husband , whome from henceforwards we haue
 “ determined both to loue & reuerence . Wherefore all
 “ they which professe themselves to be our friends ,
 “ must also shew the like to him which is ioined vnto
 “ vs with an indissoluble knot . And although he hath
 “ in manie things behaued himselfe lesse diligentlie , &
 “ almost ouer-rashlie , which we willinglie impute to
 “ his immoderat affection towards vs ; yet we desire
 “ the king , the quene , our vncle , and the rest of our
 “ friends , no lesse to loue and fauor him , than if all
 “ things had till this day bene done after their aduise
 “ and determination ; in the behalfe of which our hus-
 “ band, we promise that he shall in all things (which
 “ shalbe required of him hereafter) alwaies grati-
 “ fie them in what he maie .

These remedies being found to defend the quens
 credit amongst forren princes, other remedies were
 to be sought for defense of hir owne person against
 hir owne subiects . Wherefore (after that the earle of
 Spurreie was appointed to remaine as banished be-
 yond the seas in France , whither he took his jour-
 nie through England) the quene (deliuered of such a
 feare as he was to hir , & therefore better able to rule,
 or at least to make better shift; with such other as
 were conured , to vse Buchanans word , against hir)
 used what diligence she might to gather forces, espe-
 ciallie in the Pers and east Louthian .

The quene
gathereth for-
ces,

Carbarrie
hill,

The number
of the quens
power,

The power of
the lords,

And thinking that the enterprise of the lords had
 bene broken and disappointed , they marched from
 Dunbar on saturday the fourth of June , first to
 Bathington , & there resting till the euen, set forward
 to Glasfmore , and taking there deliberation in the
 matter; they lodged that night at Seiton , and in
 the morning marched in order of battell towards
 Carbarrie hill, and there chose forth a plot of ground
 of great aduantage; appointing to fight on foot; be-
 cause the power of the lords in number of horse-
 men, was stronger than the quens, and of greater
 experience . There were with the quene and Both-
 well, the lords Setton , Pesser, and Bothwicke; al-
 so the lords of Waudoun, Was , Dumilton, Wrea-
 verburne; Blackater, and Langton . They had with
 them also two hundred harquebussiers waged, and
 of great artillery some few pièces . Their whole
 number was esteemed to be about 2000; but the
 more part of them were commons & countriemen .

The earles of Forre , Atholl, Mar, Glencarne,
 the lords of Hume , Lindsay, Ruthwen, Sempill,
 Haugbar, the lords of Drumlangrto , Culbar-
 den, Orange, and young Sefford, were assembled
 together at Edinburgh with a power like in num-
 ber to the quens, but for the more part consisting
 of gentlemen, although not furnished with anie num-
 ber of harquebussiers, except a few of the townsmen
 of Edinburgh, that willinglie ioined with them in

that quarrell. Upon the fifteenth of June, they came
 forth of the towne , and approached their aduersaries.
 But there was monsieur la Croque , the French
 kings ambassadour , who took great paine , in tra-
 uelling betwixt the parties to reduce them to some a-
 grément . * Who by his interpreter laid before them
 how carefullie he had studied for the commoditie &
 tranquillitie of the publike state of Scotland before
 this; and that now also he caried the same mind with
 him . Wherefore he did vehementlie desire (if it
 were possible) that the matter might be so taken vp,
 for the commoditie of both parties; that it might be
 ended without force or bloodshed . For the compa-
 sing thereof , he would imploie all his trauchl, sith
 the quene also did not refuse to heare the counsell &
 persuation of peace . For the more certaintie wherof,
 he did at that time promise them pardon and utter
 forgetfulnesse of all things passed before time ; & did
 with great holinesse there pledge him selfe , that no
 hurt should fall vnto anie man there , for taking
 weapon against the highest gouernor .

After that the interpreter had deliuered these
 things, the earle of Forreton answered, that he did
 not take armes against the quene; but against him
 that had killed the king. Whome if the quene would
 deliuer to punishment, or separat him from hir; she
 should well vnderstand, that they & the rest of hir sub-
 iects held nothing more deere vnto them, than to con-
 tinue in their dutifull obedience: without which gran-
 ted to them, there could be no agrément made; be-
 cause they came not thither to craue pardon for anie
 offense which they had committed (whereunto the
 earle of Glencarne added) but rather to giue pardon
 to such as had offended .

Wherefore the ambassadour Croque returned backe
 to Edinburgh , and the quens part began to de-
 crease , diuerse thinking awaie from hir; so that af-
 ter it began to grow towards the euening , Both-
 well fled to the castell of Dunbar . But the quene
 desirous to talke with William Hircadie the lord of
 Orange, went to him, accompanied onelie with one
 capteine , and after some talke with him , she passed
 to the lords, who took hir with them to Edinburgh,
 [she being in a short garment, base, & woone , com-
 ming a little beneath hir knees (as saith Buchanan)
 of which lords she requested that they would suffer
 hir to depart, & not to keepe hir in that sort. The Ha-
 miltons were on the waie comming to assist the
 quene, with seven or eight hundred horsemen; but
 before they could reach to the place, the quene was
 in the hands of the lords, and so they returned .

The quene
commeth to
the lords.

Fr. Thin.

The lord of Cragmillar [then prouost of Eden-
 burgh] and sir James Balfoure also the capteine of
 the castell , were ioined in this confederacie with the
 lords, as shortly after it appeared . The quene after
 this was conueied ouer the Forth, and brought to
 Lochleith; where she was appointed to remaine in
 ward vnder the safe keeping of William Dologlas
 lord of that place . The earle Bothwell, escaping to
 Dunbar, found meanes to flee into Denmarke,
 where he was staied and committed to prison, where-
 in at length he died . Diuerse persons afterwards
 were apprehended as parties to the murder of the
 king, and thereupon condemned, were executed,
 confessing the said earle to be the principall executor
 of the same murder . * Leauing the quene therefore
 in this miserable plight , we will not yet forget (for
 the honor she once had) to set downe certaine verses
 made by Alexander Seton a Scot, in the commen-
 dation of hir ancessors, and of hir; who in the first
 yeares of hir gouernement used hir selfe to the good
 liking of all hir subiects . In which verses Seton
 doth further meane, that Lesle should hereafter set
 forth hir gouernement, as he hath done that of the
 An. G. — other

Fr. Thin.

The quene
is sent to
Lochleith.

Fr. Thin.

Let us be-
fore the pre-
face of his
eight booke.

other king before hir. The verses be as followeth.

*Clara atavis, genus antiquo de sanguine regum,
Nympha Caledonij gloria rara soli,
Ma aiorum hic laudes, totos quos insula ab orbe
Diuisti, toto cernis ab orbe legi.
Hoc illis peperere decus, non gloria regni,
Non genus, aut diues gazas, fauorque virum:
Sed pietatis honos, fidei constantia, morum
Integritas, belli gloria, pacis amor;
Quis tua maiores superet quum vinida virtus?
Que tamen meritis laus fuit aqua tuis?
Primum hoc Lesleo superest, tua fortia facta
Scribere, consilij multa peracta suis.
Et mihi sunt verbus saltem tua facta canenda:
A proavis ne sim degener ipse meus.]*

James the
sixt.

The nineteenth of Julie, Charles James the young prince of Scotland, after a sermon made by John Knox, was crowned king of the Scots in Sterling church, where were read certene letters of commission and procuracion, with the quens priuite seale at them for the establisshing of the same coronation. The first, for hir resignation of the crowne and gouernement of the young prince hir sonne. The second, to authorize the earle of Murreie to be regent during the kings minority. The third, to giue authoritie and power to seuen other iointing with the said earle of Murreie, in case he should refuse to exercise the same alone; that is to say, the duke of Chaterault, the earls of Lennox, Argyle, Atholl, Forth, Glencarne, and Spar. The tenors of which letters of commission and procuracion do here insue, as we find them imprinted at Edinburgh by Robert Lekpeuc printer to the king of Scots, the first of Aprill 1568, among the acts of parlement begun and holden at Edinburgh, the fifteenth of December, in the yeare 1567, by James earle of Murreie lord Abernethie, &c: regent vnto the said king.

The tenor of the commission, where-
by Marie the queene of Scots resigneth
the crowne to hir sonne, appointeth
his gardians, and maketh the earle of
Murreie regent.

Marie be the grace of God queene of Scots, to all and sundrie our iudges and ministers of law, liegis and subiectis, quhome it effectis, to quhai knalege thir our letteris fall come, greeting. For samekle as by lang trefelome and tedious trauell takin by vs, in the gouernement of this our realme and liegis thair of, we are sa verit and werit, that our bodie, spirit, and sensis are altogether become inhabill langer to trauell in that royaume; and thairfore we haue dimitit and renuncit the office of gouernement of this our realme and liegis thair of, in fauouris of our anelie maist deir sonne, natie prince of this our realme. And because of his tender youth and inhabillite to vse the said gouernement in his awin persoun, during his minority, we haue constitute our derrest brother James earle of Murreie, lord Abernethie, &c: regent to our said sonne, realme and liegis for saidis.

And in respect that our said derrest brother is actually furth of our realme, and cannot instantlie be present to accept the said office of regentrie vpon him, and vse and exercise the same during our saidis derrest sonis minority; we quhill his returning within our realme, or in cais of his deceis haue maid, constitute, namit, appointit, & ordainit, and by thir our letteris makis, constitutis, namis, appointis, and ordainis our traist consingis and counsallours,

James duke of Chaterault, earle of Arrane, lord Hamilton, Matho earle of Lennox, lord Dornie, &c: Archibald earle of Argyle, lord Campbell and Lorne, &c: John earle of Atholl, James earle of Forth, Alexander earle of Glencarne, and John earle of Spar, regentis to our said derrest son, realme and liegis; & in cais our said brother James earle of Murreie cum within our realme, and refussis to accept the said office of regentrie vpon his singular persoun, we make, constitute, name, appoint, and ordene, our traist consingis and counsallours for saidis, and our said brother regentis of our said deir sonne, realme, and liegis.

Geuand, grantand, and committand to thame, or onie fwe of thame continualle full power for our said sonne, and in his name to ressaue resignatiounis of landis, make dispositiounis of wairdis, nonentres, releuis, mariageis, benefices, eschetis, officis, and vtheris casualteis and priuilegis, quhat sumeuer concerning the said office, signatours thair vpon to make, subscribe, and cause be pass throug the seillis. And to vse and exercise the said office of regentrie in all thingis, priuilegis, and commoditets, siclike as frelie and with als greit libertie as onie regent or gouernor to vs or our predecessours vnt the samin in ony times bigan. Promittand to hold firme and stabill in the word and faith of a prince, to quhat sumeuer thingis our saidis traist consingis dois in the premissis.

Charging heirfore to all and sundrie our iudges and ministers of law, liegis and subiectis for saidis, to answer and obeie to our saidis traist consingis, regentis for saidis in all and sundrie thingis concerning the said office of regentrie, during our said derrest sonis minority, and ay and quhill he be of the age of seuentene zeiris compleit. As ye and like ane of you will declair you lussing subiectis to our said maist deir son, your natie prince, and vnder all paine, charge, and offense that ye and like ane of you maie commit and intrin against his maiestie in that part. Subscriuit with our hand, and giuen vnder our priue seill, at Lochleum, the four and twentith day of Julij, and of our reigne the five and twentieth zeir.

The commission, authorising certene
noble men in the queens name, to re-
nounce the kingdome to hir sonne,

and authorising others to receiue
the same in hir sons name.

Marie be the grace of God queene of Scots, to all and sundrie our iudges, and ministers of law, liegis, and subiectis, quhome it effectis, to quhai knalege thir our letteris fall come, greeting. For samekle as by lang trefelome and tedious trauell takin by vs, in the gouernement of this our realme and liegis thair of, we are sa verit and werit, that our bodie, spirit, and sensis are altogether become inhabill langer to trauell in that royaume; and thairfore we haue dimitit and renuncit the office of gouernement of this our realme and liegis thair of, in fauouris of our anelie maist deir sonne, natie prince of this our realme. And because of his tender youth and inhabillite to vse the said gouernement in his awin persoun, during his minority, we haue constitute our derrest brother James earle of Murreie, lord Abernethie, &c: regent to our said sonne, realme and liegis for saidis.

And in respect that our said derrest brother is actually furth of our realme, and cannot instantlie be present to accept the said office of regentrie vpon him, and vse and exercise the same during our saidis derrest sonis minority; we quhill his returning within our realme, or in cais of his deceis haue maid, constitute, namit, appointit, & ordainit, and by thir our letteris makis, constitutis, namis, appointis, and ordainis our traist consingis and counsallours,

God,

God, of his kindlie lufe, mercie, and gudnes to grant unto vs, of our alwin persoun, ane sone, quha in cais be the hand of God we be desit, will, and of richt, and of equitie man, and aucht to succed to vs and to the gouernment of our realme. And knawing that all creaturis ar subiect to that immutabil decret of the eternall, aims to rander and gif vp this life tempozall (the hour and time quhair of is maist vncertaine) and in cais be decess we be takin fra this life, during the time of his minoritie, it maie be doinit greittie, that resistance and troubill maie be maid to our said son, now native prince of this our realme, in his tender yeres (being sva destitute of vs) to succed to that royaume and kingdome, quhill maist iustlie of all lawis apperteneis to him. Quhill inconuenience be Godis helpe and god providence we mene to prevent, in sick maner, that it fall not lie in the power of onie vnnaturall subiects to resist Godis ordinance in that behalfe. And vnderstanding that na thing eirdie is mair iolous, and happie to vs, nor to se our said derrest sone, in our alwin life time peccable placit in that royaume, and honozabill estate quhairto he iustlie aucht and mair succed to: we of the motherlie affectioun we heir toward our said onlie sonne, haue renuncit, and dimittit, and be thir our letteris frelie, of our alwin motiue will renuncis, & dimittis the gouernment, guiding and gouerning of this our realme of Scotland, liegis, and subiects thair of, and all intronissoun and dispositioun of onie casualiteis, properties, benefices, and offices, and all thingis appertaining, or heir tofor is knawin, or heir after fall happen to appertein thairto, in fauouris of our said derrest sone. To that effect, that he maie be plantit, placit, & possedit thairin, vse & exerce all thingis belang and thairto, as native king, and prince of the samis, & siclike as we or onie our predecessoris, kingis of Scottis, hes done in onie times bypast.

Atfor, that this our dimissoun maie tak the mair solempne effect, and that nane pretend ignorance thair of, we haue giuin, grantit, and committit, and be thir our letteris, geuis, grantis, & committis our commissoun full, fre, and plane power, generall, & speciall command, to our traist counsingis, Patrike lord Lindesae of the Eiris, and William lord Ruthuen, and to ilk ane of thame coniunctie and feneralie, to comper before sa manie of the nobilitie, clergie, burgessis, and vther pepill of our realme, as fall happen to be assemblit to that effect in our burgh of Strirling, or anie vther place, or placis quhair it fall be thocht maist conuenient, at onie date or dais, and thair publikie in thair presence, for vs, in our name, and vpon our behalf dimit, and renounce the gouernment, guiding, & reuling of this our realme, liegis, and subiects thair of, all intronissoun with the propertie, casualtie, or vtheris thingis appertaining to vs thairby, and all richt, and title that we had, hes, or maie haue be onie maner of way thairto, in fauouris of our said son, to that effect, that he maie be inaugurat, placit, and rowmit thairin, and the crowne roiall deliuerit to him, and be obeit in all thingis concerning the samin, as we, or our predecessoris hes bene in times bypast.

And in likelike be thir presents geuis, grantis, and committis our full, fre, and plane power, to our right traist counsingis, James earle of Moroun, lord of Dalkeith, John earle of Atholl, &c: John earle of Mar, &c: Alexander earle of Glenearne, William earle of Menteith, John maister of Graham, Alexander lord Hume, Adam bishop of Dunblane, the prouostis of Dundie, Montrois, or onie of thame, to ressaue the said renuntiation, and dimissoun in fauouris of our said son, and thair after the ressaue thair of, to plant, place, and inaugu-

rat him in the kingdome, and with all ceremonies requissit to put the crowne roiall vpon his heid, in signe and takin of the establisshing of him thairin, and in his name to make, and gif to the saidis nobilitie, clergie, burgessis, and vtheris our liegis, his prince, lie, and kinglie aith defuillie, & lauchfullie as effectis: and to ressaue thair aithis, for due and lauchfull homage to be maid be thame to him, in all times curreing, as becomis subiects to thair native king and prince. And generallie all and sundrie vther thingis to do, exerce, and vse, that for sere performance and accomplisshment heirof maie, or can be done, firme and stable hauid, and for to hold all and quhat summeuer thingis in our name, in the presentis leidis to be done, in the word and faithfull promis of ane prince. And ordanis thir our letteris (gif neid be is) to be publiat at all places neidfull. Subscriuit with our hand, and giuin vnder our preme seill, at Edinburgh the foure and twentieth daie of Julij, and of our reigne the five and twentieth year, 1567.

The commission, in which the earle of Murreie is alone appointed to be regent of the yoong king, and of his kingdome.



Marie be the grace of God, quene of Scots, to all & sundrie our indgis, and ministeris of our lawis, liegis, and subiects, quhome it effectis, to quhais knalege thir our letteris fall cum, greeting. For samelike as efter lang, greit, and intollerable painis, & labouris takin be vs sen our arrivall within our realme, for gouernement thair of, and keeping of the liegis of the same in quietnes, we haue not anelic bene verit in our spirit, bodie, and sensis thairby, bot als at length as algotider sa verit thair of, that our habilitie, and strenght of bodie is not habill langer to indure the samin: thairfore, and because nathing eirdie can be mair consoztabill and happie to vs in this eird, nor in our life time, than to se our deir son, the native prince of this our realme, placit in the kingdome thair of, and the crowne roiall set on his heid, we of our owin fre will, an speciall motiue, haue dimittit, and renuncit the gouernment, guiding, and gouerning of this our realme of Scotland, liegis, and subiects thair of, in fauouris of our said son, to that effect: that in all times heir after, he maie peccable, and quietlie entoie the samin, without troubill, an be obeit as native king, and prince of the samin be the liegis thair of.

And vnderstanding that (be resoun of his tender youth) he is not of habilitie in his atwin persoun to administrate in his kinglie royaume and gouernment, as equitie requiris, quhill that heir after he cum to the yeres of discretioun; and als knawing the proximite of blude standand betwixt vs, our said sone, and our derrest brother James earle of Sparray, lord Abirneithie, &c: and hauid experience of the naturall affectioun, and tenderlie lufe he hes in all times borne, and presentlie betwixt towardis vs, the honour & estate of our said sone; of quhais lufe and fauour towardis him we can not bot assure our selfe: to quhome na greter honour, loy, nor felicitie in eird can cum, nor to se our said sone inaugurat in his kingdome, setrit, reuerencit, and obeit be his liegis thair of. In respect quhair of, and of the certanetie, and notozitie, of the honestie, habilitie, qualification, and sufficiencie of our said derrest brother, to haue the cure and regiment of our said sone, realme, and liegis forsaids, during our said sonis minoritie: we haue maid, namid, appointit, constitut,

John, liij,

tute, and ordanit, and be thir our letteris naitis, appointis, makis, constitutis, and ordanis our said derrest brother James erle of Murray, regent to our said derrest sone, realme, and liegis foirsaidis, during his minoritie and les age, and ay and quhill he be of the age of seintene zeiris compleit. And that our said brother be callit, during the said space, regent to our said sone, his realme, and liegis.

So that our said sone efter the completing of the zeiris foirsaidis, in his awin persoun may tak vpon him the said gouernement, and vse, and exerce all and findie priuilegis, honours, and vtheris immunitetis that appertenis to the office of ane king; als weill in gouerning his realme and pepill, according to the lawis, as in repelleng the violence of sic as wald inuad, or insullie resist him or thame, or his authoritie roisall. With pother to our said derrest brother James erle of Murray, in name, authoritie, and behalfe of our said maist beir sone, to ressaue resignatiounis of quhatsumeuir landis holdin of him, or zit of offices, castles, towris, fortalices, milnis, fishings, wooddis, beneficis, or pertinencis quhatsumeuir; the samin againe in our said sonis name to gif, and deliuer signaturis thair vpon: and vpon the giftis of wairdis, nonentredis, and releuis of landis, and mariages of airis falland, or that fall happin, to fall in our said sonis handis as superiour thair of.

And als vpon presentatioun of landis, beneficis, ecclesiis of gualdis monabbill and vnmouabbill, deitis and takkis, respitis, remissionis, supercederis, and vpon the dispositioun of officis vacand, or quhen they fall happin to baith, to subscribe, and cause be past the seillis the said office of regentrie, to vse and exerce in all thingis, priuilegis, and commoditeis, suchlike as frelie, and with als greit libertie, as ony regent, or gouernour to vse, or our predecessours vbit in ony times bigane, and suchlike as gif euerie heid, priuilege and article concerning the said office vber at leny expresseit and amplifit in thir our letteris. Promissand to hold firme and stabill in the word and faith of ane prince, to quhatsumeuir thingis our said derrest brother in the premissis happin to do. Chargeing heirfor zois all, and findie our iudgis, and ministeris of law, liegis, and subiectis foirsaidis, to answer and obey to our said derrest brother, in all and findie thingis concerning the said office of regentrie, as ze and ilke ane of zois will declair zois lussing subiectis, to our said maist beir sone, and vnder all paine, charge, and offense that ze and ilke ane of zois may commit, and inir aganis his maistie in that part. Subscriuit with our hand, and geuir vnder our preite seill, at Lochleuin the 14 day of Julij. And of our reigne, the twentie five zeir.

The kings oth.

Fr. Thin.

These comarissions being read, the bishop of Argle, with two superintendents, proceeded to the coronation: the earle of Morton, and the lord Home toke the oth for the king, that he should rule in the faith, feare, and loue of God, and to mainteine the religion then preached and exercised in Scotland, and to persecute all aduersaries to the same. The whole ceremonie was done in the Scots English tong, the quene mother to the king remaining at that time prisoner in Lochleuin. * But before we enter into the augmentation of the historie of this kings time, I thinke it not vnmet to deliuer one thing, which I haue with some wonder obserued in all the kings of Scotland descended of the Stewards: that neuer anie one of them except the first & second king of that name was of the age of man, or of one and twentie yeeres when they put on the kinglie ornaments. A rare thing, and not vnmet to be considered of, although we can not enter into the

secret iudgements of God. The prose of which matter, being after this sort, I haue set downe in a catalog of the orderlie descent of those kings. In the computation of the yeeres of whose age and first comming to the crowne I haue followed Lesleus.

Robert Steward the first king of that surname, was 57 yeeres old when he began his reigne, in the yeere of our redemption 1370. John Steward son of the said Robert began his reigne 1390. These two alorie were of full age, when the title of the kingdome descended vnto them. James Steward, the first of the name of James, & the third of the name of Stewards, was within age at the death of his father, when the title and crowne descended vnto him: who although he receiued not the crowne at Seidre (because he was about eightene yeeres honozable kept as a prisoner in England) untill he was of mans age: yet being king in right, and the crowne inuested in him when he was within age, I doubt not to make him king from the death of his father, and so within age to haue obtained the kingdome, though not the kinglie vse thereof, beginning his reigne in the yeere of our redemption 1424.

James the second, and the fourth of the Stewards, was six yeeres old when he was crowned, in the yeere of Christ 1436. James the third, and sixt of the Stewards, being seven yeeres old, was crowned king of Scotland in the yeere that the word became flesh 1460. James the fourth, and sixt of the Stewards, being thirtene yeeres of age, was adorned with the ensignes of the kingdome, in the yeere of our saluation 1488. James the fift, and the seuenth of the Stewards, being one yeere, five moneths, and ten daies old, was crowned king of Scotland, in the yeere from the birth of Christ 1513. Marie the eight of the name of Stewards, being but seven daies old, was crowned quene of Scots; in the yeere of Christ 1542. Henrie Steward, sonne to spathew earle of Lennox, and husband to the said Marie Steward, was not one and twentie yeeres old, when he came to be king in the right of his wiife Marie: for he was not past one and twentie when he was slaine, as before in the yeere 1567. Charles James Steward, the first of the name of James, and the ninth of the surname of Stewards, sonne of the said Henrie Steward and Marie Steward, being about a yeere old, began his reigne in the yeere that God became man 1567. To whome Andzewo Spelvine (this yeere 1585 in England) did thilke he was in Scotland dedicate these verses following:

*Dum tu, magne puer patribus das iura vocatis,
Et populi pensas crimina lance pari,
Iura tibi, tuus ille Solon, tuus ille Lycurgus,
Querebunt i puris fontibus hausta dedit,
Nobis regum exemplis obsequat anis,
Et ubi quid fugias, quidue sequaris habes.
Felix si fugias fugienda, sequenda sequaris!
Felix cum populo tuq, patre, tuo.*

There was order taken by the magistrates of the reformed churches, assembled for that purpose, touching the discipline of excommunication, and the excommunicated, diuised into these heads: that is to say, that crimes be worthy of that severe censur of the church by excommunication: how the minister shall behaue himselfe in publike audience of the people: of confession of the penitent: of the offenses which merit publike repentance: of the order to proceed therein: the forme and the order of publike repentance: an admonition to the church: a thanksgiving for the conuersion and repentance of the censured: the forme of the excommunication: the praier for the obstinate that will not repent after that censur: the praier before the excommunication:

Out of the booke printed thereof.

Parliament holden at Edinburgh.

In act for the abolishing of the popes authority in Scotland.

The castell of Dunbar and the fortress of Insherry to be rased.

Fr. Thin, Buchanan, lib. 19.

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cation: the maner to innocate the name of Iesus, with the sentence of excommunication: the order to receiue the excommunicate againe into the church: the forme of the absolution: and lastlie the praier for the church. Which booke containing the discourse of these matters at large, with authoritie of scriptures and reasons, was set forth by John Knox minister, and commanded to be printed by the generall assemblee, in the yere of Christ 1569, beinge saene and allowed by those which followed, appointed to that function by the said assemblee: whose names were John Withlike, maister John Crag, Robert Pont, John How, David Lindsay, William Christison, James Greg, &c.

Parlement
holden at
Edinburgh.

In act for
the abolishing
of the popes au-
thoritie in
Scotland.

The castell of
Dunbar and
the fortreffe of
Insketh to be
rased.

Fr. Thin,
Buchanan,
1569.

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On the fifteenth of December a parlement begun, beinge holden at Edinburgh before the earle of Murreie lord regent, in the which diuers acts and statutes were deuised, made, and ratified: as first concerning the quenes demission of hir crowne, and resignati-
on thereof made to hir sonne king James the first. And likewise concerning the instituting of the earle of Murreie in the regencie of the realme, which he
toke vpon him the two and twentieth day of August last past, according to hir letters of commission and
procuracion aboue specified. Also there was an act
made for the abolishing of the pope, and his usurped
authoritie. And an other act for the annulling of for-
mer acts made in parlement for maintenance of su-
perstition and idolatrie. And hereto was annored
a confession of the faith and doctrine receiued by the
protestants of the realme of Scotland, authorized in
the same parlement. There was also an act made for
the indemnitie of those that had leuied warre, and
apprehended the quene at Carbarrie hill, the fif-
teenth of Iulie last past, and concerning the detei-
ning of hir in Lochleuin.

Moreover, it was ordeined by an act passed in this
parlement, that the castell of Dunbar, and the for-
treffe of Insketh, should be demolished and rased
downe to the earth. To be brieife, there were one and
fortie acts or statutes made and stablished in this pa-
lement, as by the register thereof it maie appere.
* In the first beginning of the spring, the gouernor
determined to make a progresse ouer the realme,
with the iudges that were appointed to aduinsister
law: which he ment to do, to the end that he might
amend and establishe such things as were indamaged
by the tumults of the yere before. Which matter
working diuerse opinions in those of the quenes fa-
ction, did cause that Metellane and John Balfurie
sought meanes to deliuer the quene out of prison.
Touching which matter also the Hamiltons labored
who (being next to the crowne, if the yong king were
gone, and the quene made alwaie, both which per-
haps was no great matter to procure) did soine
with the quenes faction and fauourers. Whose part
in like manner the earles of Atholl and Huntlie re-
fused not to take, because the mother of the one, and
the wife of the other, were of the familie of the Ha-
miltons.

William Murreie of Millbairtie, for his con-
trarie opinion in the controuersies of religion, and
for priuat quarrels, being estranged and grieved
from and with the gouernor, did not onelie now de-
part from the kings faction (although before he shew-
ed great diligence in taking the quene) but did al-
so draw with him a great compantie of his friends in-
tified therewith no small hope of benefit to rise
vnto them thereby. And as these were heads and
chiefe of such as sought the quenes deliuerance: so
there were a great manie other, whom priuat neces-
sitie, secret grudge, desire of reuenge, hope of ad-
uancement, and nécessite of alliance to those which
are before named, procured to follow, and to further

the cause of the quenes libertie. In the meane time,
whilst the regent was at Glasco to minister law
to such as required it (and that he had there heard of
these things) this determination of setting the
quene at libertie was put in execution, the manner
thereof was in this sort. There was in the castell of
Lochleuin, wherein the quene was kept as prisoner,
the mother of the regent, and three of his brethren by
an other father, with a great troupe of women: but
none were admitted to see the quene, save such as
were well known or sent thither by the regent.

Of all this household compantie, there was none
that seemed so meet to the quene to execute anie
matter, as was George Dowglas the yongest bro-
ther of the regent, being a man of a pleasant wit,
and easilie to be ouertaken with the faire speeches of
women. This man had access to the quene to
plaie at cards, and to vie hir with other courtie pa-
stimes: who determining to set hir at libertie, did
with promises and gifts win the seruants of the ca-
stell to fauour him and his enterprises. Wherevpon
this Dowglas (not unwitting as was thought to
his mother) omitted nothing that might seeme to
serue for the quenes libertie: the which although ma-
nie there did perceiue & toke not in verie good part,
giving intelligence therof to the regent; yet he gaue
such credit to his owne people there, that he changed
(as hath Buchanan) none of the keepers in that place,
but onelie commanded his brother George to depart
out of the Island. This said George, when he passed
into the next countrie adioining to the lake, in which
the castell stood, did more liberallie than before (by
corrupting the keepers with monie) consult with the
quene of all hir affaires.

Wherefore not onelie the Scots (whome the pre-
sent state of things did mislike) being drawn into
that faction; but also the Frenchmen by James Ha-
milton (which had bene regent not manie yeres be-
fore) and James archbishop of Glasco solicited
therewith, the Scots promised their bodilie force, and
the French promised their helping purse. Now about
the end of Aprill, an ambassador came out of France
requiring in the name of his king, that he might
haue leaue to go to the quene: which if he were deni-
ed, he made shew that he would presentlie depart.
Wherevnto the gouernor answered, that it was not
in his power to grant it: that the quene was not
committed to prison by him, and that he could not de-
termine anie thing herein without their knowledge
which first restrained hir of libertie, and after by de-
crete confirmed that deed: but he would not cease in
pleasuring his sister, and such a friend as the king
(his maister) was, to do all that he might: and fur-
ther, that he would take order for an assemblee of the
nobilitie the twentieth daie of the next moneth. Untill
which time the ambassador seemed somewhat appeased,
and the regent applied the administration of the
lawes.]

On sundae the second of Maie, in the yere
1568, at supper time, the quene escaped out of Loch-
leuin, by the meanes and helpe of George Dowglas
brother to the lard of Lochleuin. The lard Seton,
the lard of Ricarton, and James Hamilton of Drib-
ston, were readie to receiue hir, and conueied hir o-
uer the quenes ferrie, first to Padzie the lard Seton
his house, and from thence to Hamilton castell, where
she remained till the thirtenth daie of Maie being
thursdaie, gathering in the meane time such forces as
she might from all places. The earle of Murreie lord
regent was in Glasco, at that time the thus esca-
ped out of Lochleuin; and vpon knowledge had ther-
of, ment at the first to haue withdrawen himselfe to
Sterling: but suddenlie changing his purpose in
that behalfe, he determined to continue at Glas-
co.

The quene
gathereth a
power.

The regents determination to raise at Glasgou.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan, lib. 19.

coto, which is not past eight miles from Hamilton, because he was persuaded, that if he should thinke backe neuer so little, he should encourage his aduersaries, and discourage his friends, and so consequently weaken his part greatlie. * Which they also supposed was the more weakened, by the departure of Robert Woid (vnto the quenes part) hauing untill that time wome a great opinion of his constancie towards the regent.

This man, being of a famous familie, was now in the decate of his house meanelie and sparinglie brought vp vnder his father, a valiant gentleman, and one that followed the frugalitie of the Scots, who (willing to prepare a waie to the readuance of his house, as manie of his other kindred did) was now content to seeke meanes therefore: for which cause both he and his father did first follow the Hamiltons then ruling all things. But after that their gouernment was posseed ouer from them to the quene mother the regent; and that contention was moued about religion: he ioined himselfe to the lords of the congregation, from whome his father was most estranged: in which this Robert Woid firmelie continued untill the quenes returne out of France. By meanes whereof, there was a great opinion of his valure & wisdom, on whose counsell Coline Campbell earle of Arghill did almost wholie depend. But when by chance certeine of the nobilitie had conspired or conspired (to vse Buchanans word) for no euill act, but for the defense of the king, he subscribed to the same league.

But after, with like lightnesse both he and the earle of Argyle (which hong vpon his aduise) wrote vnto the quene enerie thing that was done in the same assemblee, from which time this Woid was partaker of all the quenes secrets against his old friends, who with the quene did yet obtaine no greater opinion of constancie, than he did amongst others of lightnesse and inconstancie. But after that the quene was imprisoned, and the earle of Spurreie made regent, he went then to the part of the gouernor: with whome he shewed such proofe of his wit and industrie, that he was admitted into the priuie counsels of the regent, contrarie to the opinion of others. But after when the matter should be tried by fight betwene the regent & the quene (after hir escape from Lochleuin) he fled againe to the quene.] All which notwithstanding, the thirtieth daie of Maie afore mentioned, the quene with hir power marched from Hamilton, by the south side of Clede toward Dunbarton; and out of Glasgou on the other part marched the lord regent with his forces: so as at length both the armies met at a place called the Langside, nere to the house of Cathcart within two miles of Glasgou.

The armies met at Langside.

Lords on the quenes part.

Lords on the regents part.

They foine in battell.

There were on the quenes part the earles of Argyle, Castles, Eglington, and Rothes, Claud Hamilton sonne to the duke of Chateleraunt, the lords Seton, Summervill, Pesser, Worthwike, Leuing, fion, Herries, Marwell, Saugubar, Woid and Kofse, lards and knights, Lochinwar, Was, Mauchton, Dalhousie, Kofse the thiriffe of Aire, sir James Hamilton, and manie others. On the regents part were these accounted as principall, the earles of Moriton, Mar, Glencarne, Menteith, the maister of Graham, the lords Hume, Lindie, Ruthuen, Sempill, Ogiltrae and Cathcart, of lairds and knights, Bargauey, Blacquhan, Drumlanrig, Selsford, Las, Buchanan, Talibardin, Detenr, Grange, Lochleuin, Leithington, and sir James Balfour. At the first foining there was a verie sharpe encounter: for after they had bestowed their shot of harquebuzes and arrows, they fell to it with speares and swords. But at length, after three quarters of an houres fight, the

quenes part was put to flight.

The victorie remained with the regent, who suffered none to be slaine but those that were killed in the fight, before they turned their backs: among the which were fourtene of the surname of the Hamiltons killed. There were taken prisoners about three hundred, of which number the principall were these: the lords Seton and Kofse, sir James Hamilton, and manie other of that surname. Of the regents part, the lord Hume was hurt in the leg and face, and the lord Ogiltrae in the necke, by the lord Herries: the lord Lindie, and the lards of Drumlanrig, and of Grange, bare themselves verie valiantlie that day, falling not in anie point that belonged to the dutie of hardie captieins. The quenes part was thought to be nere at the point of sir thousand men, and the regents was reckoned to be foure thousand: so that there were ten thousand men in the field that daie, what vpon the one side and the other.

The earle of Huntlieie was coming forward to haue assisted the quenes part, but the battell was striken, and hir people discomfited (as ye haue heard) per he could come, and so he returned. In this battell the ballancie of an Hieland gentileman named Macferlane, stood the regents part in great need. For in the hottest brunt of the fight, he came in with two hundred of his friends and countie-men, and so manfullie gaue in vpon the flanke of the quenes people, that he was a great cause of the disordering of them. This Macferlane had bene latelie before (as I haue heard) condemned to die for some outrage by him committed: and obtaining pardon (through sute of the countesse of Spurreie) he recompented that clemencie by this peece of seruice now at this battell, (which was (as faith Buchanan) fought the third daie of Maie, and the eleuenth after the quene had escaped out of prison.)

The quene perceiuing the ouerthrow of hir people, fled from the place where she stood to behold the battell, and with hereto to Crawfordstone, and so by the Saugubar to Dunbarton in Gallowate: and after she had taried there two or three daies, she took ship and passed to Worckington in England, where she was staied & conueied to Caerleill, and from thence to Bolton castell, belonging to the lord Scrope, who with sir Rafe Sadler (being sent downe for that purpose) had the custodie of hir, till at length she was committed vnto the earle of Shrewesburie. * The French ambassador, which looked for the good successe of this battell, and did promise to himselfe assured victorie on the quenes part, vnderstanding the contrarie, and being deceived of his former hope, changed his copie, and with horlle and guides hasted all he could into England, without bidding the regent farewell. In which iourne he was robbed by thieues: but James Dowglas, capteine of the marches of Drumlanrig, did this honoz to the ambassador, that he had all his goods restored vnto him.]

But now to the doings in Scotland. The regent sent to summon Hamilton castell, but the answer was respited till the next daie: and then he that had the charge came to Glasgou, and offered the keyes to the regent. The castell of Draxan was also yeilded at the same time to the regent. The eighteenth of Maie, the regent made proclamation, that the inhabitants of the shires of Perns, Angus, Fife, Mers, Louthan, Hile, and Carricke, should prouide themselves of vittels for sixtene daies, and to meet him at Weggan the tenth of Iune, to ride with him into the south-west parts of Scotland, to chastise certeine thieues, and other disobedient persons. Herevpon, the eleuenth of Iune, the regent marched forth of Edinburgh, and came that night to Weggan. The armie being assembled, contained foure or five thousand

The quenes part discomfited.

Fourtene of the Hamiltons slaine. Prisoners taken.

The earle of Huntlieie coming forward to aid the quene.

Fr. Thin.

The quene of Scots fled into England.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan lib. 19.

The regents iourne into the south-west parts of Scotland.

The castell of Boghall. Shirling castle.

Crawford.

Saugubar.

Saint John Delaghan.

Kenmore.

The water of St. Dunreith.

Hoddon peiled to the regent.

The lard of Drumlanrig.

James deliuered to the gouernor. Lochmaben.

Two houses slaine. John = son taken by the regent.

and horsemen verie well appointed, beside a thousand footmen, gunners and halberdiers: of boies and young men that went with the carriage; there were about foure thousand.

The castell of Boghall, pertaining to the lord Fleming, was surrendered to them. The twelfth of June Skirling castell was rased (a faire house) to the end that other understanding therof, might be put in greater feare. That night they came to Crawford, where the castell was to them surrendered; it belonged unto

10 sir James Hamilton, whom they had in their hands. The thirteenth of June they marched to Saucher, a castell, the which being rendered they spared, because the lord Cheynton the owner thereof, promised at a certeine daie to come to the regent to Edinburgh.

The fourteenth of June they came to Barbarack, where they laie that night, and the lord Wedderburne was sent to speake with the lord of Louchinware.

20 Wednesday the fifteenth of June, they marched to a place called saint John Schlaghan, staing there in trust of the lord of Louchinware comming unto them, but he came not: whereupon, the next daie being the sixteenth of June, they rased the house of Benmure, and an other house also, for that the owners were friends to the said Louchinware.

The seventeenth of June they came to a gentleman's house, standing by the water of Ar, where divers gentlemen came in, and were received. The eighteenth of June they marched to Dunfreis, and remained there all the next daie. A strong house standing in that towne, & appertaining to the lord Sparwell, was offered unto them.

Diverse of the Sparwells, Johnstons, Brewins, Grahams, and Wels, came unto the regent, and offering themselves to be obedient, were received. Two daies before this, the lord Sparwell, the lords of Johnston, Colvill, and Louchinware, had bene at Dunfreis with a thousand men, and spent all the vittels. It was thought that the lord Sparwell would have come in, if the other

40 had not counseled him to the contrarie. The twentieth of June they marched to Hoddon, a place belonging to the lord Herries: a thousand of the broken men were assembled and offered skirmish; two or three were taken, they laie within a mile of the regent that night.

The one and twentieth the house was yielded, and the custodie thereof committed to the lord of Dumlanrig that was appointed warden of those marches. It was thought verie strong, so that the defendants might have kept it longer if they had bene disposed.

50 Great hunger began to pinch the armie, a pint of wine was sold at seven shillings Scottish; and no bread to be had for anie monie. The regent sent forth the earle of Morton, and the lord Hume with a thousand men, to trie if they might have drawn the broken men to a chase: but it would not be, for they went their waies, and would not carrie it. The two and twentieth of June the campe laie still, but the regent with a thousand men went to Annand, and had it delivered unto him.

Here he met with the lord Scraype, and after returned to the campe. The three and twentieth of June they went to Lochmaben and received the castell, the which the regent delivered to Dumlanrig: but some of the Sparwells being close

lie hid within an odd corner of the house, after the regent was gone, brake out and seized the house againe into their hands.

The same daie, two houses belonging to the lord of Johnston, the one named Lochwood, and the other Lohwhouse, were taken, but not burnt: because the lord Johnston had put in suertie to come in by a day unto the regent. The same daie they took great stores of cattell, and that night with a shot of the great artillerie, they slew two thieues among three score o-

thers that came and approached verie nere to the armie, as the manner of the pickers is. The armie laie that night at Hilton holms. The foure and twentieth of June they came to Peebles, and the next day to Edinburgh, so ending that iourneie, in the which they had passed through the countries of Clidestdale, Gal-lowate, Riddesdale, Annandale, & Wurdale. Much a doo and great trouble arose within Scotland, by reason that the Hamiltons and their adherents

made parts against the regent, and those other lords that governed vnder the king; whereof as I haue no certeine notes, so I must passe the same with silence.

Whilest these things were thus in doing, let- ters came to the regent from the queene of England: for she was persuaded by such as were fled with the queene of Scots into England, that there was great iniurie done unto the queene of Scots, being

burdened with high matters, through the crueltie of hir euill subiects, in which chiefe the kinglie authoritie was remiled, and the regiment of sacred maiestie defaced. A thing which did not alone pertaine to the priuat person of the queene of Scots, but to the example of all other princes. Which crueltie of expelling kings, was speedilie and soundlie to be prevented, least it might creape anie further. By which and other persuasions, the queene of England required of the regent to send sufficient men, that should declare to hir the order of all things as they were done, and that should answer all such reproches as were laied

against him.

Touching which matter, although it appeared grieuous and heauie in it selfe, to call things in question which before were by parlement established; and to bring in by a new kind of iudgement of their causes before forein iudges and kings who were their enemies, and first persuaded against the regent by such as maliced him and his faction; and that after a sort the same seemed dangerous and full of shame

yeon the other side there were manie things that in forced him to accept that request of the queene of England, although it were vnjust. Wherefore when he had determined to send ambassadors, and that they could not agree who they should be, with the chieftest, and those of the nobilitie refused it: at length the regent professed that he would take that iourneie upon him. For the performance whereof he chose certeine persons to accompanie him into England; contrarie to the mind of William Stewart, which onelie denied and stood against it. Wherefore he caried the said Stewart with him (fauoring the queene)

not doubting in the end by one meanes or other to win him to his part.

The rest that went willinglie with him, were James Dowglas, Patrike Lindrie, being of the nobilitie; the bishop of Orknie, & the abbat of Fermilindon, churchmen; James Spacgill, and Hentie Baine, lawyers of the college of iudges. To whom as the ninth was ioined George Buchanair

author of the Scottish historie: with whom the regent accompanied to the number of 1000 horses; took his iourneie into England, and came the fourth mones of October to Porke, to the assemble appointed there by the queene of England. On which day, and almost at the same houre, Thomas Howard duke of Northfolke came thither also; to which duke were associat in commission, to heare the controuersie of the Scots, the earle of Sussex, and sir Rafe Sadler knight. After a few daies, came thither such as were sent by the queene of Scots, which did com- plaine of hir vnkind subiects, and required helpe to restore hir to hir kingdome. These men being heard (sundered from the regent and the earls) did (after they had protested that they came not unto them as iudges, hauing anie right to make lawes to bind

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Great trouble in Scotland.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 19.

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e earle of ntleie com- g forward id the me.

Thin.

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Thin. hana 19.

re regents rnie into southwark of Scotland.

bind them) with manie wordes open the injuries which the Scottish subiects had done unto their quene, and required of the quene of England, that either she would perswade hir unkind people to receive their pynce againe; or if they refused the same, that she would giue them an armie, with which they might compell them thereunto.

In fewe hours after this, the regent (calling the matter to the deciding of law, before equall arbitratours) did contend (sith nothing was done but by right, by law, by the ancient custome of their countrie, by the determination of the assemblie of parliament, and by the subscription of manie such as were there present to accuse them) that he alone by his authoritie could not vndo the same; but when the English commissioners had denied that they could be satisfiied with those things done at home, & here pronounced by the Scots, except some cause were shewed that enforced them so seuerelie to pronounce against their quene; the regent answered that he did chiefly see that matter, least he should be dzien to accuse his quene and sister. Which he denied to do, not willing to late abroad to foren nations hir wicked dedes, as Buchanan fearemeth them. So the contrarie whereof he would not be enforced, unless the quene of England would promise to defend the cause of the now king, and to take him into hir protection: if he did manifestlie proue, that the quene of Scots had murdered the king of Scots hir husband. Whereunto the English answered, that they had authoritie onelie to heare both parts, and to declare their whole request unto their quene.

By reason whereof, in the end they wrote to the quene of England all the state of their doings; who did write backe, that the earle of Surreie should send one or more to the English court, fullie to informe hir thereof, sith she would do all therein that belonged unto hir. Which letters receiued, the earle of Surreie sent Petrellan (a man before suspected, and that did after soine in conference with John Lesle bishop of Koss) to the court of England, associated with James Macgill. Now after these men were come to the quene at London, it was thought most conuenient by hir and hir counsell, that the regent himselfe should be present, when all matters of controuersie were intreated vpon. For which cause, sending part of his companie backe into Scotland, the regent came with a small traine to London: where the same difficultie was objected against him which was done at Porke: to which he answered as before. Whilst these things were doing at London, the quene of Scots did by James Balfoure moue warres in Scotland. For the furtherance whereof, she wrote letters to hers and Bothwells friends, and made manie deputies to execute hir authoritie in Scotland.

When the regent saw himselfe thus beset on euerie side, he determined to retorne with all speed into Scotland aswell as he might, without dispatch of that for which he came. Wherefore the English still instantlie vying him to tell the cause (which being vtold, they could not determine anie thing therein) that moued them to do those things in Scotland: the regent (loth to offend the quene of England) made a long protestation how unwilling he was to accuse the quene, and his sister; and therefore requested one thing, that they which were the occasion to lead him into this battell might be present thereat, for because he would vse their witnes in the weightiest matters. Which for manie great reasons being denied by the English, the quene of England required, that the quene of Scots (by force and armes expelled) might be restored home; & therewithall giuing the regent a day, to shew cause whie the re-

uengers of the kings death had taken armes against the quene: although the earle of Surreie were none of them: for he was in France at the time of the deed done. Wherefore the regent shewing all he could against the quene of Scots for the defense of hir aduersaries; in the end, the quene of England deferring the same to another day, permitted the regent to depart home to appease the troubles there, and that he should leaue some one of his behind him, to answer all such euils as should be objected against him.

But the regent desired them whilst he was there, that his accusours might be brought out. Wherevpon the accusours being present, and saing that they had not then anie thing to saie; but that they would further shew their accusation where it pleased the quene: the matter with much controuersie ended on both parts, & the counsell brake by without anie small sentence therein. But whilst the regent remained thus in England (as is a little before touched) there were manie things without successe attempted by the quene of Scots followers. For James Hamilton (who a little before had bene gouernour) being grieued with the mishap of things at home, falling out contrarie vnto his mind, did therefore depart into France, where (remoued from all companie, and onelie attended vpon with a man or two) he did secretlie liue to himselfe.

But when the quene of Scots was escaped the prison of Lochleuin, and that she was after subdued in battell, being within a fewe daies after compelled to land in England; the Frenchmen that could not draw the earle of Surreie (now by his friends called home into his countrie) into their faction, thought it best for manie reasons (sith they might not for the troubles in France send him succor or monie) to raise by the said Hamilton against the earle of Surreie, and especiallie at that time whilst the regent was in England. Wherefore he committing out of his den abode into the world, enriched by the French with a fewe golden crownes, and overcharged with manie faire promises, was importuned by his friends and kindred, whilst he hastened from England into Scotland, that the quene of England with the authoritie of the quene of Scots, would induce the earle of Surreie to deliuer by his regentship of Scotland vnto him; sith that place was of right due vnto him (by the maners and lawes of all nations, but chiefelie by the custome of his countrie) as next rest in blood, and next in succession.

For the proue whereof, it is not necessarie to reckon by the memorie of histories from the first times, considering it is knowne to all men, that gouernours haue bene giuen to those of yong yeares (not able to rule the kingdome) of such as haue bene nearest of blood. For so, after the death of James the third, Robert his uncle had the gouernement in the absence of James the first; and Murdac the son of the same Robert succeeded him therein. And of late time in our remembrance, John duke of Albany did gouerne the yong yeares of James the fifth; and Hamilton himselfe, in the minority of Marie the quene that now is, being as then neither fit for a husband or a kingdome, did a fewe yeares rule all the affaires of Scotland. Who now by certeine rebels, was through vnlawfull voices excluded thereof with force and violence, and that (which is worse) a bastard is aduanced thereunto in contempt of lawfull blood. Which honoz, if it were restored vnto him, he would shortly appeale all those ciuill bzalles, and restore the quene of Scots vnto hir kingdome, without anie force or tumult of armes.

Wherevnto the king of Scots legats did answer, that Hamilton did not onelie demand a thing quite contrarie

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contrarie to the lawes and old customs of Scotland; but also a thing most vniust, if no authoritie of law were against it. For our ancestors (by reason of many murders committed by those of the kings blood) almost a thousand three hundred yeares past, did change the order in creating of their kings. For whereas before, they which were of the familie of Fergusius, the first king of that name, were in the life of the king chosen after to reigne, not as nearest of blood; but as persons most worthy to weild a kingdome: Kenneth the third (to the end to take awaie from the court all treacherie towards the kings familie, and cruell murders of kindreds amongst themselves) did establish that order which is now obserued in creating of our kings; which was, that the next in blood should be aduanced to the place of the deceased king.

But afterwards, when men were taught by the successe of things, that it could scarce be chosen; but that in such inconstancie of fortune, the right of the chiefest magistrat must sometime light vpon children and vpon heires also vnfit for gouernement, they did ordeine, that he should be chosen to the administration of the publike wealthe; which did excell others in wealth and wisdom. Which course our ancestors haue kept almost these six hundred yeares, leauing the kingdome whole & sound to posteritie. According to the which, when Robert Bruce was dead, there were gouernors chosen by voices: which were Thomas Randolph earle of Arrreie, Donald earle of Mar, Andrew Arrreie, John Randolph, & Robert Steward. For sometime, as manie were chosen gouernors together; so when James the second was a child, Alexander Levingston, being no kin to the king, no not so much as of the nobilitie, but onlie a knight, was appointed gouernor to the yong king.

Which may not be excused, in saying that the same was then so done, because there wanted men of the kings blood to supplie those places. For at that time were liuing John Kennedy head of the familie, the kings kinsman by the sister of James the first; and the vncle by his fathers side: James Kennedy also, bishop of saint Andrews, a man of most account in the kingdome for all kinds of vertue, being borne of the kings aunt: and Douglas also, earle of Angus, with Archembald earle of Douglas, both of the kings blood; whereof the last was in riches and power almost equall to the king, but far beyond the wealth and power of all others; of whom, none did euer complaine to the parlement, when they were put besides the gouernement, and others not so nere of blood appointed thereunto. Not long after, foure tutors were appointed to James the third, which were not made in respect of blood; but chosen by the voices of the nobilitie.

And although of late, John duke of Albanie was by the nobilitie called out of France to the gouernment of Scotland, during the tender yeeres of James the fifth, and confirmed in the same by publicke decrees of parlement; yet was it not giuen vnto him in respect of nearnesse of blood. For he had Alexander his elder brother in life, who although perhaps he was inferior to the duke; yet he was farre aboue James Hamilton (in all kind of vertue) which did sometimes reach after that place. But in the absence of James the first, Robert his vncle ruled the kingdome. But by what right? Was he admitted thereunto for nearnesse of blood? No trulie.

What then? Was he chosen of the people? No. How then was he made? Marie when king Robert the third was not sufficient to rule the kingdome, either for strength of bodie or mind, he did substitute Robert his brother as his deputie, & commended his

children to his gouernment; who in the end famished David the eldest, and also threatened death vnto the yonger sonne James, which he did auoid by fleeing Scotland. Which Robert being in the possession of authoritie by tyrannie (and his brother killed with thought) did leaue the same to Murdac his sonne. So that it cannot be doubted that the mind of the last king Robert was to his brother, for he would neuer (if he had liued and bene in health) haue made him tutor of his children, whom at the houre of his death he cursed as the butcher of his children.

That time also, in which this Hamilton gouerned, both remember vnto vs manie things (though what sooner was then done, is no more that it was well done) which are to be considered of. For when the cardinal Beaton did labor by subtiltie to inuade the chiefe gouernement, this Hamilton rather leaning to the hatred which good men did beare towards Beaton, than trusting to the fauor of the people towards himselfe, did leape into the empty place of a gouernor; in which he ruled with much crueltie and couetousnesse, and in few yeeres after, both sold the gouernment (obtained by force) and the queene, whom he had vnder his authoritie. At what time was shewed the fauour which the people bare vnto him, when they preferred the gouernement of a strange woman, before the bondage which they had vnder him.

Don see now (I hope) the request of the Hamiltons to be against our countrie lawes, and decrees of our ancestors, and that so contrarie vnto them, that wanting other sufficient arguments, he is constrained to confirme the same onelie with lies. But if there were anie such custome, I suppose there is none but doth see how vniust it were. For what can be more vnrighfull, than to commit yong, weak, and faultlesse yeeres to his faith, which doth daile either loke or with for the death of the pupill? Whose whole familie hath alwaies bene at daile and deadlie warre with the house of the king that now is? What defense can be here by nearnesse of blood against old malice, vnmearurable couetousnesse, and the heauie violence of (alreadie tasted) tyrannie? Laodice the queene of Cappadocia is supposed to haue killed hir owne children, as they came to yeeres of discretion, and to haue bought the small continuance of hir gouernement with the blood of hir sonnes.

Wherefore, if the mother spared not hir owne flesh, for the gaine of short authoritie; what will old enimities do, inflamed to crueltie with the brands of couetousnesse (nay rather what is to be thought that they will not do) against a child, which deferreth effect of their hope of gouernement? If this example seeme ouer old or obscure to anie man, or to be ouer farre set, I will lay downe some nearer home, and those most notable. Who is so ignorant of this late lie done, that he knoweth not that Calcas Sfortia (growne to discretion, a husband, and sonne in law to a most mightie king) was slaine by his vncle Lodowike? To whom are the calamities vnknewe, which followed so cruell a parrieide and kin-slaier? For the most beautifull countrie of Italie was almost brought thereby to utter destruction: the familie of the Sfortias, the mother of manie a valiant person cleane destroyed, and the barbarous people (from whose crueltie and couetousnesse nothing was safe) brought into the pleasant places about Padus. Who is he that is borne in Britaine, that hath not heard of the crueltie of Richard (the third king of that name in England) against the children of his brother? But with what bloodshed was that in the end purged?

Now, sith these did not feare to do such evils to their

their nearest blood, by the onelie inforcing desire to gouerne, being otherwise worthe persons: what shall we looke for from him, whose inconstancie of mind all the Scots doe knowe: whose vnskillfull gouernement they haue tried with manie slaughters? And (which is more) whose familie not content with the murder of this kings great grandfather, did go about to intrap his grandfather by the mothers side, whilst he was in life; and when he could not kill the grandfather by the fathers side, he thrust the poore father out of the kingdome, brought forth the mother to be slaine as a sacrifice, & sold hir kingdome (when they could not inioy it) to strangers: out of which bondage they (by the prouidence of God) being deliuered, they haue throwne themselves into these troubles in which they now are. Whereby we may easilie vnderstand, what the iudgement of the common people was touching that matter, in that those men doe now seeme to be deliuered out of a prison of miserable bondage, and to behold the sweet light of libertie; when they (which knew not how to order it) doe sell their gouernment to a strange woman.

These things being thus heard on both sides before the councell of England, the queene thereof by hir said councell declared to Hamilton, that he required an vntrist thing, and that he should not hope for anie aid from hir; and that she hath promised the kings ambassado, that Hamilton should not depart England, before that the said ambassado had leaue likewise to go home. After that these things were done, and that the regent somewhat indifferentlie dispatched his affairs in England, he obtained leaue to depart, and was honorablie conducted home with the English, who sufficientlie garded him: but especially the nobilitie and companie of the north parts, sith it was great honor for hir maiestie safetie to returne him home, who (vpon hir letters had) was come out of his owne countrie. Which regent comming to Edinburgh the next day after the kalends of Februarie, hee was there receiued with great pompe.

Few daies after this, those of the kings faction assembled at Striueling, where the regent declared vnto them what he had done in England; which being well liked, was in the end confirmed by all the nobilitie. Much about that time, James Hamilton chiefe of that familie came out of England, being by the queene of Scots authorised with a new and arrogant letter: in that he called him hir father, and made him hir vicar and deputie of the kingdome. This man at his first comming made proclamation, that no man should obeye anie other than such as were substituted by him. Wherevpon those of the kings part (bestowing summes of monie vpon souldiers, to make them readie, if need required, to the uttermost conflict) met on a day appointed at Glasgow.

But when there was a great assemble of the common people at Hamilton, more than they looked for, a meanes of agreement was attempted, with this condition: that Hamilton, comming to Glasgow, should acknowledge the king for chiefeest gouernor: which if he did, all other things should easilie be agreed; but if he denied that, he should come in baine: all which he promised to doe, and the kings armie was dismissed. When he came to Glasgow, they obtained their former goods and honors the same day, in which he and his friends professed themselves subiects to the king: but yet so, that in the meane time they should remaine in prison, or else giue pledges of their next kin; with further notice, that if anie of the said part would so doe, they should also be receiued on the same covenants, wherevnto the earle of Argile and the earle Huntlee refused to subscribe.

Hamilton comming at the day appointed to Edinburgh, did deferre the performance of his promises, deuising manie delaies; vntill the other principall of the factions were come, whereby the covenants might be established by all their consents, for which he prayed day till the tenth of Maie: and that in the meane time he might vnderstand the mind of the imprisoned queene of Scots: all which in the end was denied vnto him. Wherevpon Hamilton (confessing the truth) said, that he consented to those conditions by compulsion; and that (if he were free) hee would not allow of anie of them. For which answer, Hamilton & Marwell were committed prisoners to the castell of Edinburgh. The earle of Argile was suffered to be quiet at home, but the earle Huntlee was more hardlie dealt withall, because that in the absence of the gouernor he had taken manie, and had made deputies about Crawford and Dgillie.

Wherevpon there was day giuen vnto them both to meet at the assemble at saint Andzeus, whither the earle of Argile first came: with whom there was no extreme dealing, because he ceased to trouble the realme anie more, was of kinred to the gouernor, and they two were of great friendship together euen from their young yeers. But when the cause of Huntlee (long before his comming) was well debated, the gouernor pronounced, that he would pardon all priuate faults done to him, or to the king: but that he neither could nor would pardon anie iniuries done to any other. And if Huntlee, or his friends that followed his faction, could passe away with those spoils, he would willinglie labor that arbitrators chosen by both parts, should temper the value of the damage. At what time also there grew a further mischiefe, whether all they which took part with Huntlee should also be pardoned; but in the end, vpon deliberation, all things seemed indifferentlie well pacified.

During these things, the queene of England sent letters into Scotland in the behalfe of the imprisoned queene, either that she might wholie be restored, or iointlie rule with hir sonne; or admitted to liue priuatlie in hir owne countrie. All which being denied to be granted, the Scots sent Robert Petcarne, a man of great wisedome and fidelitie, to deliuer their answer vnto the queene of England. Whilst these things were in doing, the gouernor fearing the power of the imprisoned queene, which now waxed great, did call William Pettellan before him, from Perth to Striueling; who requested the earle of Argile to go with him for his better seruicie. Afterwards, this William sitting in the councell, was accused by Thomas Crawford of the kings death, wherevpon he was commanded prisoner to a chamber in the castell, and others were sent to apprehend James Balfurie.

But in the end, the gouernors mildnesse suffered no great hurt to fall vpon them; for Balfurie by his friends some obtained pardon; and Pettellan being led to Edinburgh, was left in a house there not farre from the castell: to whome certaine householders were appointed keepers, vnder the charge of Alexander Iume a noble young man, appointed chiefe ouer them. But William Kircadie, capteine of the castell of Edinburgh, about ten of the clocke at night, did counterfeit letters signed with the hand of the earle of Arrerte, and brought them to Alexander, willing him to deliuer William Pettellan, which he did accordingly. Wherevpon Pettellan was caried by Kircadie into the castell, to the great milike of the nobilitie, being almost vncertaine whether they should impute the deed to Kircadie, or to the gouernor, not being vnacquainted with the boldnesse of Kircadie: in such sort, that the same was like to grow to a commotion, if the innocencie of

Buchanan.
lib. 19.

Buchanan.
lib. 19.

1569.
Rebellion in
the north of
England, by
the earles of
Northumber-
land & West-
merland.

Proclamation
made at Wm
take by Sir
Jo. Foster.

The castell
Wnewike a
wardwood
fortified by
Jo. Foster

Sir John
Foster kee
peth snewe
fell against
the rebels.

Sir Henri
Dorrie aga
his brother
the earle of
Northumt
land.

of the gouernours had not before bene sufficientlie knowne.

1569.
Rebellion in
the north of
England, by
the earles of
Northumber-
land & West-
merland.

In the yere 1569, the earles of Northumber-
land and Westmerland raised a rebellion against
the quenes maiestie of England; but by the good di-
ligence and prudent circumspection of the earle of
Sussex, then lieutenant of the north parts, and by
such direction as was given by his maiestie and his
councell, for the leuieng of an armie under the lea-
ding of the earle of Warwicke, and the lord admerall
Clinton, the said two earles were kept so in feare,
that they durst not aduance farre forward in their
wicked begun enterprise, but were constrained to
retire backe towards Durham. Whereupon the earle
of Sussex, supposing that their meaning was for
their last refuge and safegard to take the castles of
Alnewicke and Markeworth, he wrote vnto sir John
Foster lord warden of the middle marches, either
by force, policie, or some other means, to get into his
hands the possession of those two castles, and the
same to fortifie with such number and garisons of
men, as to his discretion should be thought conueni-
ent, for the safe custodie and gard thereof.

Sir John Foster, being at his house nere to
Alnewicke, when he received these letters, accompa-
nied with his seruants, friends, and tenants, & some
souldiers that were come to him from Berwicke,
marched by to the castell on foot, where finding the
house garded with a great number of the earle of
Northumberlands seruants, retainers, and tenants,
he made proclamation before the castell gate, that
euerie of them with in the castell should come forth,
and with thair to their owne houses, vpon paine to
be reputed rebels to the quenes maiestie: and that
which of them for euer did refuse to obeie this procla-
mation, saing either in the castell or elsewhere in a
nie vnlawfull assemblie, it should be lawfull for eue-
rie man to spoile his goods, and him to kill if he
made resistance.

This proclamation notwithstanding, they with-
in the castell, at the first refused to yeeld it by. And
thereupon sir John Foster marched through the
towne into the market place, and there made the like
proclamation in behalfe of all the inhabitants that
were the earle of Northumberlands tenants, for
their repairing home to their houses. And comming
here with backe towards the castell, they within per-
ceiving themselves destitute of succor, and sir John
Foster to increase in power, did vpon better ad-
uise yeeld themselves vnto him, who saued all their
liues. After the same manner he got also the castell of
Markeworth, and fortified them both with suffi-
cient number of men. This done, he assembled such
forces as he was able to make, so that he got togi-
ther to the number of eleuen hundred horsemen, and
toke order to forsaie and stop the passages, so as the
earles friends and tenants in Northumberland
should not go vnto him.

The castell of
Alnewicke and
Markeworth
fortified by sir
Jo. Foster.

Sir John
Foster be-
sieged
Pewcastle
against
the rebels.

Sir Henrie
Percie against
his brother
the earle of
Northumber-
land.

After this, hauing in his companie the lord W.
gle, and Thomas Foster his brother, and other gen-
tlemen, he went to Pewcastle, where with Thomas
Gower esquire, that had the principall rule thereof at
that time, he toke order for the defense of that town
against the rebels. Hither came to him sir Henrie
Percie, offering his seruice against his brother, and
other the rebels, to the bittermost of his power. Here-
upon diuerse excursions were made south of Pew-
castle into the bishopricke, where the two earles
were incamped, and sundrie skirmishes chanced be-
twixt the two parties, though no great hurt followed
thereof. The earles yet on a day came from Durham,
and with their armie marched towards Pewcastle.
Sir John Foster, and sir Henrie Percie, hauing
intelligence thereof, issued south of Pewcastle with

all their forces, and certeine peeces of great ordi-
nance. They had also with them certeine bands of
the souldiers of Berwicke, meaning thereto haue
ioined battell with the earles: sir Henrie Percie
shewing himselfe as willing and forward thereto
as anie other in all the companies.

At Chester deane, midwaie betwixt Durham and
Pewcastle, the armies approached the one nere to
the other, a small brooke running in a hollow di-
ding them asunder, so that there was no passage for
them to conueie their ordinance ouer, the bankes on
either side being so steepe and cumbersome. Where-
upon the earles, perceiving that they were disappoint-
ed of their purpose, after some skirmishes betwixt
the hostement, they returned vnto Durham: and
from thence the next day they went to Berham, and
after being in vtter despaire, fled into Scotland:
where the erle of Westmerland lighted among those
that shifted him awaie so from place to place, that he
escaped out of that realme, when he could no longer
remaine there in secret. But the earle of Northum-
berland fell into their hands, which deliuered him vnto
the regent, who thought he could do no lesse than
put him in safe keeping, considering the amitie
that was betwixt the two princes, the quenes mai-
estie of England, and the king of Scots.

But shortly after, the regent (as he was riding
through Lithquo) was wickedlie shot in with an
harquebuse, by one James Hamilton, and so wound-
ed, that the next day he died of the hurt [as saith
Buchanan out of a wood gallerie, in which were clo-
thes hanged as it were to an other use.] * But the
night before the slaughter of the regent, Walter
Scot, and Thomas Kar also of Fernihirst entered
into England to spoile the borders, which they did
more cruellie than euer was done before, rather for
desire of reuenge of some iniurie, than for the gaine
of anie booties. Besides which, the capteine of the ca-
stell where Pettellan was prisoner, was now com-
manded to set the same Pettellan at libertie: who
vpon oath before the nobilitie (which allowed and con-
firmed the same) did purge himselfe of the death of
the king, and of the ciuill warres moued in Eng-
land (where with he was charged) adding that he
would proue the same at anie time when day should
be appointed to him therefore. After which, there was
an assemblie made for the election of a new gouer-
nour.

At that time Thomas Randolph, being sent thi-
ther ambassadoz for the quene of England in the life
of the regent, had audience granted vnto him; whose
message was to demand, the deliuerie of such re-
bels of England as had fled thither: which ambassa-
doz the deceased gouernour had before refused to
heare at Strimeling. Whereupon, with all things
were then in a turmoile by his death, they departed.
But now, when there was a parlement for the cho-
sing of a new regent, Randolph which had bene in
Scotland some yeres before, because he seemed best
to know the men and their conditions of Scotland,
and because he had before dispatched some other am-
bassages for the benefit of the realme, was held
deere and well esteemed of the nobilitie, and therefore
was brought into the councell.

Who, after that he had declared what the mind of
his prince had bene vnto the Scots, he shewed that
he would not now abbate the same vnto them in
these trouble some times, no more than he had be-
fore done. After which he remembered the inuasions
made into England, with the slaughters, spoiles, and
burnings committed a little before: all which he well
knew was not done by the counsell or laboz of the
publike state: and therefore his quenes fauor was
not diminished to them, but that the same god will
D. J.

The earles of
Northumber-
land & West-
merland fled
into Scot-
land.

1571. Buch.
1570.
The earle of
Murree lord
regent of Scot-
land.

Buchan, lib. 20.

old remaine to them now, as ample as ever it was. And where she was grievously offended (and that without hir desert) yet she was not now determined (although by right she iustlie might) to demand publike restitution and recompense for such evils: nor to exact punishment of the whole nation for the misdoing of a few.

For she was not ignorant that tumults and troubles of all things was of late raised amongst them. Notwithstanding this still, she did not yet arise with doubt of the fauor of the good and vertuous men vnto hir: and that she would not onlie for their cause separate the offense from the publike consent: but also (if they themselves for the domesticall seditions could not inforce the disturbers of the quiet to make restitution of such spoiles) that she would ioine hir power with them, to the end by common counsell they might take iust punishment vpon the truce-breakers. Which if they could not then doe by that means, that yet she would prosecute those iniuries with hir owne people, whose armie should without anie damage to them passe through such places as would be quiet, and take no reuenge vpon anie that were not guiltie of that iniurie. The rest of the parts of his ambassage did containe admonitions alwaies profitable in all lawfull assemblies, but most necessarie for the present state of Scotland.

Whereof the first aduise was for the defense of religion, with an especiall care of diligence therein: sith the same alone doth teach vs the forme of our dutie, and peace towards God, our prince, our equall & christian neighbors. For no common-wealth diuided in it selfe can long continue: for which cause they must chiefly labor with all their power, with might and maine, with faile and oyes, that peace and quiet maie be holdie and vertuously nourished at home amongst their people. For sith God the creator of all things, hath imparted a kinglie gouernement ouer this nation, it is iust and meet that they obeye their princes; and in dutifull sort bestow all honor, reuerence, and obedience vpon them; sith peace, concord, amitie, and loue, with all men (as much as in vs lieth to vse) is most acceptable to God, and doth take awaie (or at the least hinder) the thirst and shedding of mens blood, a fault which God of all others doth most hate.

Which vnitie increasing the wealth of euerie one, maketh all nations more fearefull to their enemies, and is the preferer of iustice: whose chiefe part consisteth in punishing the euill, is especiallie to be imbraced: when contrarie dissention and treason is a thing most detestable to all lawfull gouernement: sith such kind of people are to be pursued with all extremitie, and not be succored with anie fauor, with anie mercie, or with anie pardon, into what countrie soeuer they flee for refuge of their hated wickednesse. All these things did Randolph both goodlie and wiselie admonish vs of, and iustlie and modestlie require from vs.

But because there was no regent chosen for the supreme gouernement, there could no certeine answer be giuen therevnto: for which cause he was for that time put backe to the kalends of Aprill. At last, William and James Douglasse, brothers of the same regent by one mother, were heard in this parliament, who required that the vniuersitie death of their brother might be reuenged, sith the same was taken awaie not for anie priuat grudge, but for the common-wealths cause. Vpon the opening whereof men were of diuerse opinions about his death, though they all agreed that the offenders should be punished: for some would haue a day giuen to such as were suspected of the murder: for the names of manie persons were there shewed to answer the

same. But it better pleased other not to wait for anie appointed day of law to be giuen to them, who had already taken armes with violence to defend that deed which they had already done; & that they should not onelie raise their weapons against them, but also against all such as were condemned in that assembly of the nobilitie.

To which opinion all the knights and souldiours did soon agree, who yet could not hold their determination, especiallie sith the earle of Artholl and Forston did dissuade them from it: whereof the first would haue them tarry, vntill there were a greater assemble of the nobilitie: and the other supposed that it would come to passe, that if they ioined manie faults in one, that the reuenge of the regent would perish and come to nothing, and the matter would burst out to ciuill wars, whereby all they that feared peace, would flee to the part of such as were guiltie of the murder. Wherefore these faults were to be diuided, and (if it were possible) to treat of them by law, and that nothing should be done or changed vntill the kalends of Aprill, on which there was an assemble or parliament appointed.

Vpon which persuation the companie was dissolved, though the greatest part of the nobilitie did condemn this delaye, as moued therunto: because that the other would saie that all things were done at the becke of the kings enemies, who had thus protracted the time: to the end that the malice of the death of this regent might by little and little vanish in the meane time, and the aduerser faction gather greater power together. Which opinion of the common people was confirmed by manie things that went before, and manie things which folloved. For presentlie (before the death of the regent was fully spread abroad) James Hamilton (morgaging his lands to John Summeruill of Canineham) borrowed monie thereof: with which, and with other monie taken vp of the rest of his friends, he sent to his fauorers (to hire souldiours) being warned before, that they should alwaies be ready at all times, and for all causes which should happen by the taking awaie of their deable enemy, the earle of Arrerie: neither after that time did the queenes factions cease from meeting in diuerse distant places.

On the fifteenth kalends of March, there did assemble the chiefe of the rebellious faction (for by that name and epitheton doth Buchanan alwaies terme those that took the queenes part) to deuise of their affaires. At what time the earle of Argyle, and the lord Boyd did write vnto earle Forston, that they would willingly (sith they did not yet know who killed the regent, and who were consenting therevnto) consult with the other nobilitie about the same matter, both to search out and to punish the same: and that they would not come to Edinburgh about that matter. But if the kings faction would be so perswaded, they would willingly come to Lithgow, to Falkirk, or to Striveling, there to meet with them. Wherevpon, the earle of Forston, consulting with Metellan about the same (for so it was desired in the letters) in the end it came to no effect. At the same time, Thomas War wrote to Lincolne (to vse Buchanans word) to the gardian of the castell, to see if he could obtaine of the queene of England to staie hir armie: which if he brought to passe, that then he would take such order, that he would easilie pacifie the borders without anie further trouble, and that they should remaine in that dutie which they were wont: but if he did refuse this condition, he would continue in his attempt, not doubting but the god subjects would shew their obedience towards their imprisoned queene, & would ioine themselves together, because aid would shortly come out of France vnto them.

On the first nones of March, the Hamiltons, the earle of Argyle, and Boid came to Lithquo; but the murder of one hired souldior did trouble all their deale by a sudden tumult that was raised thereupon. Therefore the next day after the archbishop of saint Andrews did bring the Hamiltons home, the rest of the quenes faction, especiallie the earles of Huntleie, Atholl, Crawford, and the lords Gillie, Hume, Seton, and Spetellan, met at Edinburgh: in which the earle Sperton was accompanied with a small traine, untill the earles of Glencarne and Spar were come with their retinue. The fourth nones of March the chiefe of the factions met together to consult of the estate of things: but the same did proceed verie slowly, by reason of the absence of the earle of Argyle, whose power and authoritie was then verie great.

This man did Huntleie seeke to persuaide to ioine with the rest of the faction, but he returned without doing anie thing (as it was supposed by most men) through the subtiltie of Spetellan, which would haue things long deferred, that more conuenient meane might be had in that troublesome state of the kingdom, for the innouation of things. The greatest thing done in this assembling, was the argument for the chosse of a new gouernor, which (as it seemeth) came to no effect. Now when all these assemblies tended to little purpose, those of the quenes faction returned to solve sedition by procuring English warres, thereby to draw the common-people to assist their part. Therefore they send the capitaine (that before had done the like) afresh at this time to execute the same, who left nothing undone that might tend to extreme crueltie.

During which, the heads of the faction doreproch the quene of England, and slander the nobilitie of Scotland, as though they were the clients and followers of the English; further threatening abroad in euerie place, that they would use the aid of the French and Spanissh, if the lord of the congregation praied in aid of the English. Much about that time, (as it were by chance) landed (out of France) at Dunbarton, Meriacke, one of the chamber to the French king, which aduanced the mindes of the quenes faction, with manie large promises: by meanes whereof the Hamiltons appointed an assemble of their people at Lithquo the first ides of Aprill.

At which day, when a great assemble was made of the quenes faction, they began there openlie to treat of those things which before were whispered in secret: which was, that the death of the king and regent might be either forgotten, or at least war cold in the publike tumult of the realme, by making warre vpon the English. After which consultation, they determined to go to Edinburgh the third ides of Aprill, there (besides manie other commodities which might grow to them by that place) to ioine vnto them the citizens, by whom there was great helpe of good successe to be receiued. Which they thought they might easilie bring about, by reason that William Kirkcaldie was gouernor both of the castell and towne, against which deuise the citizens did yet contend. But in the end, with hard conditions, the quenes part was admitted into the towne. After which, not thus contented, they persuaaded the citizens to deliuer by the keyes of their towne, which they most wiselie refused.

All this while there was a great resort to Spetellan then lieng of the govt, for which cause his house was commonlie called the scholehouse, and himselfe the scholemaster. In which meane time, the earle of Atholl did not spare to traueil thither and thither, to draw those of the other faction to that assemble at Edinburgh. But they would not come thither at all,

untill the kalends of Maie (which was a day appointed for the parliament) unlesse they knew some iust necessitie which might prevent that day: and then if there happened anie thing of moment, which might not suffer anie delaie, they would communicate the same to the earle Sperton, whose house was but foure mile from thence, & he should giue other knowledge thereof. In the end, a day was appointed by the earle of Atholl, in which a few of both factions should meet at the towne of the earle Sperton, called Dalkeith, which place did not like the quenes faction, whose strength was much holpen by such prisoners as Kirkcaldie had set at libertie out of the castell of Edinburgh.

But all the deuises and helps of the quenes faction were quailed, by the rumor of the English armie coming to Berwik. Whereupon, Alexander Hume, and John Spartwell latelie deliuered out of prison, without anie publike authoritie, or leave to set them free, went home to defend their owne possessions; and a portion of that monie, which they had gathered to hire souldiers, was giuen to the said lord Hume, to strengthen his castell of Hume. Thomas Har, and Walter Scot (who were iudged to haue made some roads into England by the perswasion of the bishop of saint Andrews, whereby wars should rise in England) being forsaken of those which inhabited nere these places, & fearing their owne estate, sent vnto the chiefe of the faction, requesting helpe of them: or if they would not do so, that at least they should come to Louth the next towne; and from thence shew or make warre vpon England. Which when they could not obtaine (nor anie of the publike monie) they forthwith departed to their owne lands in great anger.

After this, whilist manie other things passed, as that the quenes faction sent an ambassado: to the earle of Suffolke, to staie his iournie into Scotland; that they also sent letters to the quene of England concerning their cause; and that a seruant of monsieur Lausac in France, had brought letters to the quenes factions (with thanks for their fidelitie) directed also vnto other that were indifferent, to ioine with the imprisoned quene; and that he promised them aid out of France; and that the quenes people were assured, that the kings part would come to Edinburgh at the kalends of Maie: after all these things (I say) they of the quenes side departed to Lithquo, supposing that place most commodious to assemble their confederats. Whither when the Hamiltons and their clients were come, they beset all the way to Edinburgh: for when they understood that John Areskin earle of Spar was coming thither, they laid ambushes vnder the next hills to intrap him.

But he knowing the insurie of the place, passed the riuer two miles aboue, and came to Edinburgh the third day of Maie about euening. Shortly after, the kings part remaining at Edinburgh, and the quenes at Lithquo, the three earls, Arran, Argyle, and Huntleie appoint a parliament at Lithquo, the three nones of August. The other faction sent Robert Hecarne ambassado: to the quene of England, to intreat with hir about the suppression of the common entrie; and further to let hir understand, that such were the good minds of the Scots vnto hir, that they would chosse a regent by hir appointment.

Besides which, the said lords of the kings part with generall consent wrote letters vnto the erle of Lennox, then remaining in England, to repaire home with all conuenient speed into Scotland. The same read in the historie of England, in what sort the erle of Suffolke lord lieutenant of the north parts, entring into Lindale the seven & twentieth of Aprill, burnt

The earle of Lennor sent forward to returne into Scotland.

The duke of Chateleraunt gathereth a power.

The duke returneth to Glasgowe.

Captains and gentlemen that went with the earle of Lennor into Scotland.

The earle of Lennor with the Englishmen come to Edinburgh.

the Hoose tower, the towne of Cratwling, the castell of Fernihirst, the towne of Hobowike, and the castell of Haurton, that belonged to the laird of Buckelough, with diuerse other castles, piles, towne, villages, and hamlets belonging to the lairds of Fernihirst, Buckelough, and others in those parts: also how the lord Scrope invaded the west borders of Scotland at the same time: and likewise how the said earle of Suder wan the castell of Hume, with diuerse other matters which here I passe over, referring you to the said historie.

But now about the same time, the earle of Lennor, hauing got licence of the queene of England to make his returne into Scotland, was set forward, and came to Berwicke towards the latter end of Aprill, where being visited with sicknesse, he remained by the space of fourteene daies or more. In the meane time the duke of Chateleraunt, the earles of Huntley, and Cassils, the lord Fleming, and sundrie others of that faction, seeing the time serued well for their purpose, now that the regent was laine and dispatched out of the waie, gathered a power, to the number of thre thousand men, and came downe to Edinburgh. But after that they had knowledge that the erle of Lennor was comming out of England with a power of Englishmen, by the queens maiesties appointment; aswell for the safegard of the young king, as also for the safe conuoy of the earle of Lennor home into Scotland: the duke and earles aforesaid retired themselves from Edinburgh to Glasgowe, where they besieged the castell by the space of five or six daies, untill the earle of Lennor approached thitherwards. For ye haue to vnderstand, that after the earle of Lennor was recovered of his sicknesse, there was appointed a power of horsemen and footmen, to go with him into Scotland, vnder the leading of sir William Duriel; as in the English historie ye may read more at large.

There were diuerse valiant capteins and gentlemen that went with him in that iourne, aswell such as had charge, as those that went with him of their owne good wils, to see the order of things, and to helpe to aduance their princes seruite. With charge there were these; sir George Carie capteine of an hundred lances, Henrie Aysell capteine of fiftie lances, William Curleie capteine of fiftie lances, maister Henrie Carie capteine of two hundred light horsemen, capteine Case lieutenant of the generals band of light horsemen, being also two hundred; sir Robert Constable sergeant maior of the footbands, sir Thomas Paners, capteine Birkwell, capteine Carnill, capteine Came, capteine Lambard, capteine Crington, John Constable, and Huntley Berwicke leaders of the footmen. Capteine Crington was also lieutenant to sir George Caries companie of lances. Other gentlemen that went of their owne good wils, there were diuers; as maister George Deuereux, sir Jerome Bowes, maister William Knolles, maister Robert Knolles, maister Michaele Carie, maister Gawdie, maister William Duriel of Suffolke cousin to the generall, maister Grenill, brother to sir Fulke Grenill, maister Contweie, brother to sir John Contweie, maister Edmund Berneie, and manie others, whose names I could not learne.

The footmen laie the first night at Coldingham. The next day the earle of Lennor himselfe with sir William Duriel and the horsemen overtooke the footmen, and lodged that night at Dunbar. The next day they made such speed in their march, that they came thorough to Edinburgh, where they found the earles of Hoxton, Purrie, Glencarne, the lords Ruthwen, Lindseie, Sempill, Glamis, Perthuen, Ogiltrie, and Cathcart, with diuerse gentlemen of

the kings side; who receiued the said earle of Lennor, and the Englishmen verie courteously. From Edinburgh they passed to Liffgho, as in the English historie it maie appeare: and from thence the footmen passed to Faulkirke, and there lodged. But the earle of Lennor, and the Scottish lords, with sir William Duriel and the horsemen rode to Sterling, where the king laie, then being in the custodie of the earle of Spar. From thence they went to Glasgowe, where the duke had besieged the castell, which was valiantlie defended by the lord of Spint and his brethren, with their seruants, being not past eightene persons in all; and yet they kept it five or six daies against the duke and his whole power, staling (as hath bene reported) about fortie or fiftie of his men; but in the end they were in great danger to haue bene taken, if they had not bene the more speedilie relieved. But the duke and his adherents, vnderstanding of the comming forward of the erle of Lennor with the English forces, brake by his siege and fled awaie, with losse and dishonor, as in the English historie we haue likewise noted.

After that the earle of Lennor and his friends were thus come vnto Glasgowe, finding the siege raised, he remained there by the space of five or six daies. During which time, there came to him of his kintred and friends, which ought him their seruice, according to the vse of the countrie, the number of foure thousand men, verie well appointed after their maner; the more part out of the countries of Lennor and Darneleie, which mustered befoze the said earle, and sir William Duriel, generall of the English there. This done, the earle of Lennor, accompanied with the earles and lords befoze mentioned, & likewise with the Englishmen, marched to Hamilton, where they entred into the palace belonging to the duke, and lodged therein that night.

The next day they besieged the castell, whereof Andrew Hamilton of Spertinton was capteine, hauing vnder him fiftie souldiers to defend it; and would not therefore deliuer it, till that two peeces of great ordnance being brought from Sterling, were planted in batterie. For then perceiuing themselves in danger to be taken by force, the capteine offered to yeld the house to the Englishmen; but not to the lords of Scotland, with condition, to haue the liues of all them within saued. Which was granted, vpon promise, that they should neuer after beare arms against their king, and to depart the realme with in a certaine terme, and herevnto they were sworne. But they kept not long their oth, for the night next ensuing, they did beset the lord Sempill that was lodged at that present in a house not far off, and not able to keepe it till rescue came, yelded it and himselfe prisoner, so that he was kept by the Hamiltons in safe custodie by the space of twelue moneths after. The castell of Hamilton being yelded (as ye haue heard) was blowne vp with powder. Diuers other houses there in the countrie about were burnt also, as Kiplocke, the abbat of Kilwinning house, with diuerse other of the Hamiltons houses in Clidisdale.

After the castell of Hamilton was thus wone and ouerthrowen, the lords returned to the palace, and lodged there againe that night; and on the morning, they set fire both vpon the same palace, and also vpon the towne of Hamilton; and therewith the Englishmen taking leaue of the lords in Scotland, departed homewards; as in the English historie ye may read more at large. The erle of Hoxton went with them; but the earle of Lennor and the other earles and lords with their companies toke their way towards Glasgowe, and from thence euerie of the

Faulkirke.

The earle of Lennor and sir William Duriel ride to Strirling.

The castell of Glasgowe besieged by the duke of Chateleraunt.

The breaketh by his siege.

A muster of foure thousand Scots.

Set more hereof in England.

The castell of Hamilton besieged.

It is deliuered to the Englishmen.

The lord Sempill taken.

The castell of Hamilton blowne up and rased.

The towne and palace of Hamilton burnt.

A conuention of the lords. The earle of Angus made regent.

The earle of Huntley.

A parlement proclaimed by both the factions at one day and place.

The earle of Huntley cometh no more into Scotland.

The earle of Huntley etc. peris.

Execution.

The castell of Downe yelded.

Commissioners sent into England.

Faulkirk.
The earle of
Lennox and
ir William
Dunrie ride to
Striueling.

The castell of
Glasgow be-
sieged by the
duke of Cha-
teleraut.

He breaketh
op his siege.

A number of
four thousand
Scots.

See more
herof in
England.

The castell of
Hamilton be-
sieged.

It is deliue-
red to the
Englishmen.

The lord
Sempill tak-
en.

The castell of
Hamilton
blown by
and rased.

The towne
and palace of
Hamilton
burnt.

A convention
of the lordes.
The earle of
Lennox made
regent.

The earle of
Huntlie.

A parlement
proclaimed by
both the fac-
tions at one
day and place.

The earle of
Huntlie com-
meth no nee-
re than Bre-
chine.

The earle of
Huntlie esca-
peth.

Execution.

The castell of
Dunne pel-
led.

Commis-
sioners sent into
England.

the noble men departed home to their houses. Short-
lie after, there was a convention of the lordes at
Striueling, where the earle of Lennox was made
lord lieutenant of Scotland: and afterwards in Au-
gust following, there was an other convention at
Edenburgh, where, by the consent of the three estates
of the realme, the said earle was made regent of
Scotland.

And about the same time, the earle of Huntlie
toke vpon him to be lieutenant of Scotland for the
quene of Scots that remained still in England, and
therevpon in his name summoned a parlement to
be holden at Lithgub, the one and twentieth of Sep-
tember then next following. Unto the which parle-
ment, aswell the earle of Lennox then regent, as
all the residue of the lordes of both parties were sum-
moned. Whereof the regent being advertised, caused
a parlement to be summoned in the kings name to
be kept at Lithgub, at the selfe same day which was
appointed by the earle Huntlie. At which day there
appeared the lordes of the kings partie, & also sundrie
great lordes, knights, and gentlemen, to the num-
ber of eight thousand, verie well furnished, looking
for the earle of Huntlie comming, according to his
appointed order; but he came no nether than Bre-
chine.

Wherevpon it was decreed by the regent and no-
bilitie there, to pursue him: and to that end, James
Douglas earle of Morton was sent before with a
thousand horsemen to have taken him vpon the sab-
den in the towne of Brechine, before he should have
anie warning of their comming, the regent follow-
ing after with an armie. But Huntlie hauing war-
ning of their approach, escaped their hands, although
verie narrowlie; in somuch that some of his fol-
lowers were so put to their shifts, that they were driven
for their refuge (being so beset on the sudden) to take
the castell of Brechine: the earle of Huntlie pro-
mising before he went from them, to succour them
within eight daies; but they being breachele besieged,
and the earle not keeping promise with them, after
those eight daies were expired, they yielded them-
selues and the castell unto the regents mercie.

They were in all about three hundred, of which
number one and thirtie of the chiefest were executed.
Some of them had borne arms against the king be-
fore that time, and had bene pardoned, and there-
fore were now thought by the regent and his friends
the more worthy to die. After this, the regent re-
turned to Striueling, and from thence passed to the
castell of Dunne, and besieged it; being kept by the
servants of the lord of saint Colmes Inch, who yel-
ded it to the regent after three daies siege. During
the time of the regents being there, he sent one of
his servants called John Spone, with letters into
England, directed to the quene of Englands coun-
cell: who (for his secret practising and conference had
with such as were enemies to the king and regent
before his departure out of Scotland, and for recei-
ving of their letters to be conveyed also, and here-
with discovering sundrie secrets to them, the which
were committed vnto his credit and trust) was ap-
prehended, and the same letters which he had secret-
lie receiued being found vpon him, and the matters
aforesaid proued against him, he was by law execu-
ted.

About the same time the earle of Morton, the ab-
bat of Dunfermeling, and James Macgill, clearks
of the register, were sent into England commissio-
ners vpon the kings partie; the bishop of Ross, the
abbat of Kilwinning, & the lord Lenington, appoin-
ted for the quene then being in England. In Ja-
nuarie following, the regent then being at Eden-
burgh, Claud Hamilton, one of the duke of Cha-

telerauts sonnes, entred the house of Halseis, then
being kept by the servants of the lord Sempill: and
seizing vpon all things which they found as food
with his pleasure, he fortified the house with men,
munition, and vittels, such as he could get either in
the towne of Halseis, or nere thereabouts. The re-
gent advertised thereof, repaired thither with a
power in all speedie sorte, and laid siege to the house.
They within surd for a truce, which was granted
to them for the space of six daies, the better to aduise
of their owne estate: which terme being expired, pro-
clamation was made by the regent, that if they
would yield the house, so manie of them as had not
borne arms before that time against the king and
regent, should haue their liues saved, the rest to re-
maine at the regents pleasure.

Wherevpon contention rose among them within
the house: for whereas the more part of them hauing
not serued in anie towne or exploit against the king
before that time, would needs yield; the other, being
the less number, were not able to defend it of them-
selues. Wherevpon they were readye to draw their
weapons one against another; but yet in the end
they agreed to surrender the house, and yielded them-
selues, vpon such condition as the regent had pre-
scribed: wherevpon five of them were executed, & all
the rest were pardoned of their liues. The capteine
John Hamilton, lord of Coughnall, and his two
brethren excepted, who were sent to the castell of
Glasgow, there to remaine in prison, and shortly
after the said John Hamilton was executed.

In March following, the regent returned to Glas-
gow, and for that Gilbert Kennedy with the erles of
Cassilis & Eglington refused to shew themselves obe-
dient to the king, and would not come to the regent,
who had sent for them by letters at sundrie times, the
regent gathered his power at Glasgow, and with
the same marched towards Ardrin and Air, and so
forward to the earle of Cassilis countrie, who hea-
ring of the regents comming, sent forth his brother
to offer his submission. Wherevpon it was conclu-
ded, that the messenger should remaine with the re-
gent as pledge for his brother, by the space of twen-
tie daies; and then the said earle to make his appea-
rance before the regent at Striueling, to answer
such matters as should be laid to his charge.

The same time also Hugh Montgomerie earle
of Eglington, and Robert Boid lented their hands
also to appeare and answer in like sort: and as well
the one as the other (according to their assurance gi-
uen) appeared at the day appointed; but yet not agree-
ing to such articles as were required of them, they
were both committed to prison, the one in the castell
of Dunbarton, & the other in the castell of Dunne.
Afterwards there was a truce taken betwix the
regent, the Hamiltons, and their adherents for
twentie daies, to wit, vntill the last of March. Which
truce once ended, the regent determined with him-
selfe to giue an attempt to the castell of Dunbarton,
which had bene long kept by the lord Fleming a-
gainst the king, and the earle of Murray late re-
gent, who had besieged it for the space of halfe a yere
or more, but could not by anie meanes compass to
win it.

But now on the first of Aprill, the truce being then
expired, the regent going forward with his purpose,
caused all the passages round about the countrie to
be stopped, as well by land as by water; and the same
night sent thitherward capteine Thomas Crawford,
and capteine Home, with an hundred souldiers, cho-
sen out for the purpose: who the second of Aprill, a-
bout foure of the clocke in the morning, came to the
castell, where the souldiers with ladders, ropes, and
other deuises, found meanes to clime by the rocke,
which

Halseis taken
and kept by
Claud Ham-
ilton.

The regent
besiegeth
Halseis.

Halseis is
surrendered to
the regent.

1571.

The regent
goeth against
the earle of
Cassilis.

The earles of
Cassilis and
Eglington
committed to
ward.

A truce for
twentie daies.

The castell of
Dunbzeiton
taken by a
police.

Captaine
Crawford &
Hume.

The lord
Fleming es-
capeth.

John Hall.

The strong
situation of
the castell of
Dunbzeiton.

The ladie
Fleming ho-
norable in-
treated.

which is of an exceeding great height, and so with great paine, and more danger, at length got up to the wall of the castell, standing upon the height of the rocke, to the which wall they reared up a ladder; by the which entered first one Alexander Kamilie, ensigne-bearer to captaine Crawford, & leaping over the wall, was straightwaies assailed by three of the watchmen, of the which he slew one: and a souldier named Wederborne that followed him, being the second that entered, slew another of them: the third of those watchmen was also slaine, as he was about to flee from them.

Here with captaine Crawford & captaine Hume got over the wall, and entering the castell with the rest of their souldiers, stroke by the drum, & cried: A Dernelie, being their watchword; and seying upon the ordinance, maintained the same. The lord Fleming captaine of the castell, hearing that sudden sight and tumult within the house, fled out by the posterne gate at the neither baile, and so escaping, got a fishers boat, and passed into Argile. The souldiers of the castell, perceiving their captaine fled, and the castell possessed by the enemies, yielded themselves, and were pardoned. There were taken with in the castell John Hamilton, the archbishop of saint Andrews, monsieur de Werlacke a Frenchman, sent thither by the French king, also the ladie Fleming, wife to the lord Fleming, and John Fleming lord of Boghall, Alexander the sonne of William Levingston, and John Hall an Englishman, being partener of a new intended conspiracie, as was after proved against him, for the which he was arreigned, condemned, and executed at London; as in the English historie appeareth.

The third of Aprill, being the morrow after that Dunbzeiton was thus strangellie toone, the regent came thither, and entered the same, where he calling the captaine and souldiers together, caught them with him to kneele downe upon their knees, and to give God humble thanks for their good successe in that enterprize, brought to passe rather by the providence of God than otherwise, for the castell seemed to all those that knew it, impossible in manner to be toone, by reason of the great height of the rocke, and the strange situation, being environed almost round about with the water of Clide on the one side, and the water of Leuin on the other. The report of the winning of this castell was so full to the townes and countries about, which before had bene a continuall scourge to them, by reason that the souldiers that kept it, would issue out at sundrie times, robbing, spoiling, and carieng awaie the commodities of the inhabitants thereabouts, as well by land as by water.

The regent dealt verie honorable with the ladie Fleming, suffering hir to depart away with all such plate and iewels, as appertained either to hir or hir husband. He granted also a safe conduct to monsieur de Werlacke, to passe homewards through the countrie, but the archbishop of saint Andrews was sent prisoner to Striueling. The spoile of the goods found in the castell was given to the souldiers that ventured so dangerously to achieve so high an enterprize, bringing it to the wished effect by policie with so little bloodshed as deserueth perpetuall remembrance. The day next ensuing, being the fourth of Aprill, the regent appointed John Cunningham lord of Dumfrieshall, a man of god service, and servant to the regent, to be captaine of that castell, and leaving him therein, departed to Striueling, where he caused the archbishop of saint Andrews to be examined upon certaine articles, as well touching the murder of the late king Henrie, as also for the death of the earle of Arrreie the late re-

gent, &c.

At that time there came in a priest without compulsion of any, as hath bene said, and before the regent declared that one John Hamilton, being in extreme sickness, under confession told him, that the bishop would send him with three others to the murder of the king. And as touching the murder of the erle of Arrreie, the bishops that answer was, he might have letted it if he would. The rest with the people that heard him, cried, Awaie with him, hang him. And so for these and other offenses, for the which he had bene forsaken afore that time, he was now executed on a gibet, set up in the market place of Striueling towne. After this, the regent summoned a parlement, to begin at Edinburgh the fourteenth of Maie next ensuing, and passed from Striueling to Lithquo.

Here the earle of Morton (with the rest of the commissioners for the kings part, being returned out of England, with other of the nobilitie) met the regent, and then they passed toward Edinburgh, where they thought to have bene received, and so to have kept the parlement there. But they were not suffered to enter that towne, nor yet the castell, the same being defended against them by the lord of Orange, who after the death of the earle of Arrreie, was revolted from the kings part to the Hamiltons side, and had fortified both the towne and castell: so that the regent and nobilitie being kept out there, held their parlement in the Cannogate street, in the suburbs of the towne, where sundrie of the quenes part were forsaken. This being done, and sundrie skirmishes had with them that issued forth of the towne against them without, the regent returned to Striueling, there to remaine for a season.

In the meane time the earle of Morton, having certaine stiffe come forth of England by sea, and brought to land at Leith, sent the lord of Carmichell with his household servants, & two hundred shot, to fetch the same from thence unto Dalketh, being five miles distant from Leith. At their returne with the stiffe, they were set upon by the earle of Huntleie, and the lord Hume, who issued out of Edinburgh with their power: so that betwixt them was a verie hot skirmish. But in the end the earle of Huntleie, & the lord Hume were constrained to flee, and were pursued by Carmichell and his companie even unto the gates of Edinburgh, some of their men being slaine, and others taken prisoners. For revenge of which overthrow, shortly after the earle of Huntleie, and Claud Hamilton, with their forces marched from Edinburgh, to Dalketh, purposing to have spoiled the towne.

But the earle of Morton, having knowledge of their intention and coming, sallied forth of Dalketh with the power which he had there with him, although not comparable in number to his adversaries; & meeting them in the field, there was a sharpe skirmish betwixt them, and manie hurt on both parties: but in the end the earle of Morton was put to the worse, fourtie or more of his men taken prisoners. And the cause was, for that his footmen were too forward, wanting helpe of their horsemen that should have succoured them. About the five & twentieth day of Maie following, captaine Cullen issued forth of Edinburgh with two hundred shot, meaning to intercept certaine harquebusers, which were appointed to come out of Fife over the river of the Forth, unto the earle of Morton, who kept still at Dalketh.

Whereupon the said earle, having knowledge of Cullens enterprize, advertised the regent thereof, who being then at Striueling, the next day came downe to Dunfermling in Fife. But before his coming thither,

The archbi-
shop of saint
Andrews
executed.

A parlement
summoned.

The castell of
Edinburgh
kept by the
lord of Orange
against the
regent.

The lord of
Carmichell.

The earle of
Huntleie and
lord Hume
put to flight.

The earle of
Morton put
to the worse.

Skirmish.

The abbat of
Kilwinning
slaine.
The lord
Hume and
captaine Cul-
len taken.

Fr. Thin.
Leith fortifi-
ed.

A proclama-
tion.

The chal-
lenge of the
lord of
Orange.

The lord of
Garsich.

John Chel-
holme.

hither, Cullen had met with a bote upon the water, wherein were aboard five and twentie shot, whome he took prisoners, and led them awaie with him to Edinburgh. The next day the earle of Morton came to Leith, where he met with sir William Duri; and there they lodged that night. The next morning sir William Duri passing south of Leith towards Edinburgh, accompanied with sundrie captains; and other gentlemen for his conuoye thither, they within Edinburgh perceiuing them comming, imagined that they were come forth to offer a skirmish, whereupon they issued out of the towne and castell to encounter them.

So that being readye on either side to begin the skirmish, sir William Duri, being come to talke with the parties for some accord to be had; took in hand with great diligence to appease them: and at length procured them to agree vpon a truce to indure till eight of the clocke at night. But yet when both parts staid in the fieldes for the space of an houre, because they could not agree whether companies should first retire from the field, they fell at length in skirmish (notwithstanding the truce) and fought verie sharplie for the time, till in the end they of the towne and castell had the ouerthrow: the abbat of Balthwinning being slaine, with diuerse other; and there were taken aboue an hundred prisoners: amongst the which the lord Hume, and capitaine Cullen were accounted principall. Those that escaped were chased, & constrained for their safetie to flee into the towne of Edinburgh, & capitaine Cullen was afterwards beheaded.

The regent immediatlie after this skirmish came with all speed to Leith; as well to fortifie the towne, as to make some further attempt against his aduersaries within the towne and castell of Edinburgh. Whereupon was Leith (whose capitaine was Patrike Lindseie) intrenched round about, being esteemed a place of great importance, standing both in the face of the enimies, and so readye to annoy them, and also serving well to prevent them of such succour as they looked for daillie out of France. In this meane time, the lord of Grange, then capitaine of the castell, and prouost of the towne of Edinburgh, caused proclamation to be made, that all those inhabitants which were not willing to take part with him in his doings, should depart out of the towne. Whereupon, manie of them departed thence, together with their wiues and children, and took with them also such goods as they could secretlie conueie: and comming to Leith, offered their seruice vnto the regent, who thankfullie accepted their offer: and so they remained at Leith, serving against the contrarie faction vpon their owne expences.

After this, the lord of Grange, vnderstanding that report had bene made by some of the kings part, that he was a traitor to the king, and an enimie to his countrie, offered the combat to anie that would issue the same. Which being aduertised to them within Leith, diuerse gentlemen were desirous to vnder take the challenge: but the regent granted it to the lord of Carlisch, being a Steward, & his kinsman, who had earnestlie requested it. Whereupon, after diuerse messages by heralds sent to and fro betwixt them, the time and place was appointed; but the matter went not forward, excuse being made on the behalfe of the lord Grange, that by reason of the charge which was committed to him, it was not thought conuenient that he should hazard the whole cause vpon his owne person.

Shortlie after, there came out of France one John Cheseholme, who was sent with monie to the lord of Grange for the payment of his souldiours: he brought with him also a certeine quantitie of powder, and

three hundred calievers. Upon his enterling into the water of Forth, and comming vp the same, he learned how the regent was in Leith: whereupon he landed at Bient Island, and afterwards for feare hid himselfe betwixt two clifs of a rocke, not farre from the quenes ferrie: but at length he was found out by the abbat of saint Colmes Inch, and deliuered to the regent at Leith, in which towne the said regent laie aboue two moneths, vntill sundrie means, as well by practise and policie, as by force to haue taken the towne of Edinburgh. In the meane time sundrie skirmishes chanced betwixt them, and diuerse prisoners were taken on either part.

At length, the regent caused a parlement to be summoned, appointing the same to be holden at Striueling the two & twentieth of August next ensuing. And when that day approached, he left the lord Lindseie at Leith in charge, as his lieutenant to gouerne the towne, and all the men of warre appointed to remaine in gard thereof; and repaired himselfe to Striueling, where at the prefixed date did assemble the earles of Morton, Mar, Crawford, Sutherland, Montrose, Eglington, Glencarne, the lords Ruthwen, Glamis, Methuen, Sempill, Ogiltrie, and Cathcart, with manie lards and gentlemen. The first day of this parlement the king was conueied thither, the crowne, scepter, and sword being borne before him.

When he had taken his place, he uttered a certeine speech as had bene taught him, touching the assembling of that parlement, which matter the regent more at large declared vnto the whole house: and this done, they proceeded further to other affaires, concerning the state of the common-wealth. Forcener in this parlement, the duke of Chateleraut with his two sonnes, the abbat of Arbroth, and Claud Hamilton, the earle of Huntly, the lord of Grange and sundrie others were forsailed. This parlement continued by the space of seuen daies: at the end whereof, to wit, vpon the second of September, Claud Hamilton, the lord of Bonclugh, the lord of Dumfries, and diuerse others, to the number of three hundred horsemen, verie earlie in the morning entered the towne of Striueling, and suddentlie beset not onelie the regent, but also the rest of the nobilitie within their lodgings.

The regent hearing a great uprore raised within the towne (in which George Ruthwen was slaine) and not vnderstanding the cause, nor who were the authors thereof, after he perceined how the house wherein he lodged was beset on each side, he defended the same against the enimies for a good space: but at length despairing of succours, and doubting least the house had bene vnderlaid with some barrels of powder, and that it would be blowne vp if he yelded not as some told him: and the enimie to increase that doubt, crying still, Blow vp the house, what shuld he stand longer about him: at length he was contented to yeld to the lord of Dumfries, but not before he saw that some of his stoutest captains had yelded themselves before his face. He yelded, with condition to haue his life saued: but promise in that behalfe was not long kept. For those that had thus taken him, when they perceiued rescue comming downe from the castell, so that they should not be able to carrie him awaie, capitaine Cander with a pistolet shot him in to the bodie, before he could be recouered out of their hands.

The rest of the nobilitie, to wit, the earles of Morton, Eglington, and Glencarne, and diuerse other being taken prisoners, were presentlie rescued by those that issued out of the castell. The earle of Morton being in the hands of the lord of Bonclugh, took the same lord prisoner, he yelding himselfe vnto him: and

A parlement summoned.

The duke of Chateleraut forsailed.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Lennox taken in his lodging

The earle of Lennox wounded.

and likewise the earle of Glencarne took his képet prisoner, and so did sundrie others take their takers : but Claud Hamilton, with others their companies, hauing first gotten all the hozles that were found in the towne into their hands, when they heard that the rescue was coming, thifted for themselues, and fled awaie. The regent, being mortallie wounded, but yet deliuered from his enimies, rid vp to the castell, and calling there vnto him the whole nobilitie, when he perceiued his end to approach, he vsed these wordes (or the like in substance) as followeth.

The earle of Lennox his wordes before his death.

My lordes, it is not vnknown vnto you all, that my coming hither to take this regiment vpon me, was not of mine owne seeking, but at the request of you all. And that which chiefe moued me heretofore, was for the defense of the kings person, being yet (as you see) an infant; of whome by nature and dutie I was bounden to haue carefull consideration, and that in his minority, the good and quiet gouernement of this common-wealth might be aduanced; and iustice executed vpon those that most cruellie did murder the late king, my sonne the kings father, and his vnckle the good earle of Spurreie, late regent: whose mischénous and diuelish deuises if in time you do not prevent by your wisdoms and discretions, they will procure the final ouerthrow and destruction of you all. In this action (as you see) I haue spent my blood, and haue played the last part of my tragedie, and now I see death to draw nere at hand.

Wherefore I require you all, for the due regard that you haue of your duties, first to almighty God, and next to the king your most lawfull and naturall prince now in these his tender yeeres, wholie to imploye your seruice in his defense, with care to mainteine the state of this common-wealth, whereby you shall not onelie accomplish your duties towards God, but shall be assured to find in your king in time to come (God lending him life) all that good which you can iustlie require. And I shall further commit to your friendlie protection, my poore seruants, who

for their good seruice haue well deserued, and yet remaine vntocompensed, desiring you all to be good to them. And lastlie, I desire you to commend me vnto the ladie Margaret my déere wife, now being in England: vnto whom I beseech God to be a comforter. And now sith my spirits begin to faile, and that my life draweth nere to an end, I take my leaue of you all, desiring you to praye to God for me. These wordes being ended, he called to God for mercie, and continuing in prayer vnto the end, with in a while after he departed this life, and was buried in the kings chappell in the castell of Strirling.

The earle of Lennox departed this life.

Thus haue I hitherto continued this historie of Scotland, not so largelie nor perfectlie as I could haue wished, but skambled forward with it in such sort as you maie see; hauing deliuered nothing vnto you to impair the credit of the Scottish nation, otherwise than I haue found in authozs, or learned by credible report (as I take it) hauing put off the parcell affection, which I beare of dutie to mine owne countrie, in this respect, that I shuld not seme to twist the wordes of writers, either to the aduantage of the English people, or disadvantage of the Scots, spectallie in politike gouernement, warlike exploits, ciuill demeanoz, and other vertuous exercises: which as I haue found them either in anie one person particularlie, or in the multitude in generall; so haue I reported the same, not sparing the truth herein, as I haue found it recozded, either for loue or hatred, dread, fauoz, or enuie: but yet in no wise presuming (as else where I haue said) to vse mine owne censure, but rather leauing the iudgement of other mens reports vnto the readers discretion. To whom I wish such vnderstanding and knowledge in the truth, as maie satisfie himselte, and rebound to the publike commoditie of his countrie, and pleasure of the almighty; in whose hands are the hearts of kings & gouernozs, guiding the states of realms and common wealths, as to his diuine wisdomes seemeth most expedient. To whom be glorie, honoz, and praise for euermore; Amen.

Thus farre the painefull industrie of *Raphaell Hollinshead*, and others.
The sequele, concerning the continuation of this Scottish historie, is a new addition before this time neuer in English published.

